

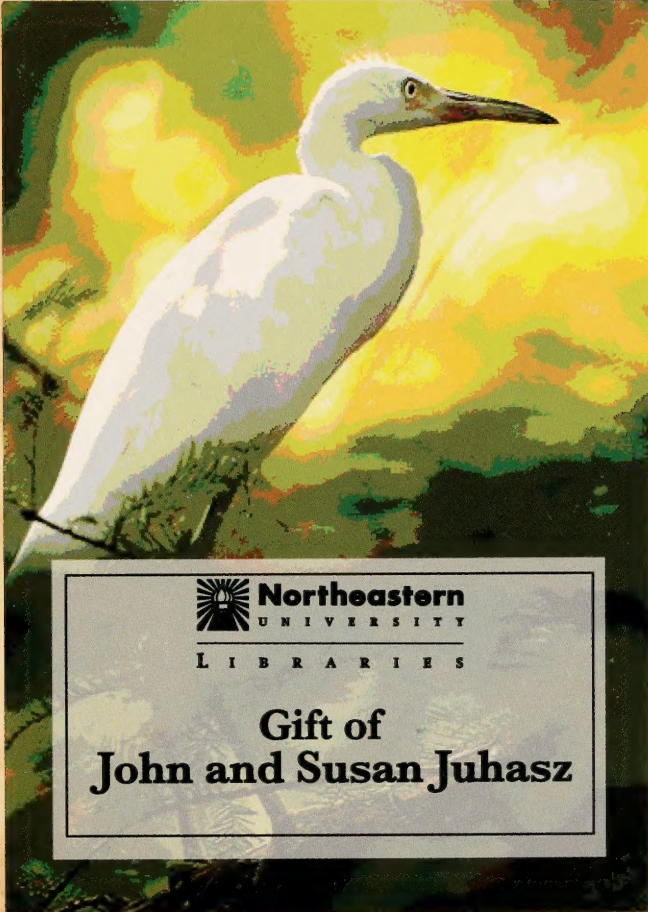








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# The Venetian Republic



The Venetian Republic

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# The Venetian Republic

Its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall

A.D. 409-1797

BY

W. CAREW HAZLITT

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# The Venetian Republic

## CHAPTER XXXII

A.D. 1457–1501

Venice in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century—*Dominio Veneto* substituted for *Commune Venetiarum*—The Turks at Constantinople—Their increasing power and aggressive tendency—A new Crusade organized and relinquished (1464)—The Duke of Milan warns the Venetians (1466)—Succession of Doges (1462–1501)—Fire of 1479—Quarrel with the Holy See on account of Ferrara—Interdict—Indifference of the Government—Financial pressure—Peace with Milan (1484)—Floating batteries employed in the late war—Relations with the Porte and Persia—Acquisition of Cyprus—Last Days of Caterina Cornaro—Geographical Discoveries—Solicitude of Venice—Affairs of Italy—The French in the Peninsula—Holy League against them—Ludovico Il Moro, Duke of Milan—Vicissitudes of the War—The Venetian share in the operations—Affairs of the Levant—Battle of Sapienza (1499)—Defeat of the Venetians.

THE course of the historical narrative, when we leave behind us the very important and brilliant reign of the Doge Foscari from 1423 to 1457, develops into the annals of that Empire City, which he lived to see so powerful, so glorious, and so rich, in spite of many errors and many vicissitudes, from having been during several centuries little more than the political biography of a long series of sovereigns, whose influence in the councils and in the policy of their country largely depended on their own personal character. The State, which has been always known as a Republic, was never such in reality. We have beheld it a federation of townships under consuls, tribunes, doges; we have next recognized it as a virtual monarchy under a magistrate by name a Doge, who was in principle only the chief of his fellow-citizens; and we have long since reached the point, where the supreme authority has passed from the hands of one, who was a king except in title, into those of a syndicate, who were his

ministers merely in form. Yet we are very far from being face to face with an unbroken or irresistible oligarchical preponderance; and the story, which remains to be told, will draw near to its finish, before we shall part with the element of political and even romantic individuality as a contribution to the governing force, and as a barrier against an earlier fall.

The career of Venice from the middle of the fifteenth to the close of the eighteenth century abounds in attractive episodes and picturesque illustrations; but it is apt, as it progresses, to fail in that sustained interest, which it continued to possess, so long as, occasional reverses of fortune notwithstanding, there was the inherent elastic energy and the inexhaustible resource, which made losses the stepping-stones to augmented aggrandizement. We feel that the study, in which we are engaged, has become that of a declining and retrograde Power, even while our senses are dazzled, and our admiration and respect are enlisted, by the latter-day triumphs of a few great commanders or statesmen by sea and land; but when the grave closes over the hero-doge Francesco Morosini in 1694, we are almost tempted to avert our eyes and close the record.

We have to confess astonishment, not that Venice was unsuccessful in holding together its vast possessions with financial resources which, so far as the State went, were at no time large or adequate, but that in the face of a constant twofold demand for funds and material supplies it was so long able to withstand collapse. On the one hand, its rulers had to reckon with that new factor in European politics, the Turk, who promptly grew into a Power both by sea and land, and who found it possible to advance step by step through the Balkans to the walls of Constantinople, and on the other, with an Italy totally different from the Italy of earlier days—one in which first France, and then Spain, became active elements of hostility and formidable sources of peril and expenditure.

It was perhaps at an inopportune juncture that the correctors of the Ducal promission formally introduced in 1462 a clause, which substituted *Domínio Veneto* or the Signory for the time-honoured designation *Commune Veneticarum*. The latter had sufficed through all the long period which embraced the highest prosperity and glory of the Republic.



The transfer of Constantinople and the command of the Levantine waters from the weak hands of the unscrupulous Greeks to the strong hands of the not less unscrupulous Sultan speedily made its influence sensible in a protracted, costly, and undignified struggle both by sea and land—one largely characterized on either side by the features of privateering warfare, and in the case of Turkey by wholesale slaughter and merciless brutality where the Porte gained the upper hand. With the exception of an unfortunate expedition against Siena, where malaria swept away a large number of troops, the affairs of the Peninsula furnished the Republic for the moment with no ground for direct or armed interference; the Tuscans were evidently beginning to decline in power and influence, and in 1464 they lost Cosmo de' Medici; Milan seemed unlikely to constitute hereafter any serious occasion for trouble, so far as the dynasty of Sforza-Visconti was concerned; and the Turkish difficulty, attended by fluctuating success, and by no means undistinguished by honourable efforts on the side of the Republic to maintain its ground in the Morea against stupendous odds, occupies (with intermissions) the greater part of the annals during the fifteenth and indeed two following centuries. The reconstruction in 1463 of the wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, demolished by the Porte, after their acquisition of Constantinople ten years before, was alone sufficient answer to those detractors who charged Venice with disloyal indifference to the cause of Christianity. The work is said to have been accomplished by the employment of 30,000 navvies in fifteen days.<sup>1</sup>

The military and naval energy of the Porte represented a combination of force and danger, for which Venice was at first not altogether prepared. But it was not long before authentic advices reached the Government from at least two quarters, that the preparations of Turkey were on a very large scale, and that an Arsenal was in course of rapid formation at Constantinople. The new enemy, which had thus arisen, apparently proposed to emulate the Republic on its own element, and to acquire in such a manner an ascendancy over the Western Power, always more or less crippled by the absence of a trustworthy military arm, which afforded such

<sup>1</sup> It was once more and finally destroyed by the Turks on their reconquest of the Morea toward the close of the seventeenth century.

an additional source of strength to a ruler, as reckless of life as he was regardless of treaties. Looking back, we are at liberty to criticise and condemn the Venetians, because they failed to provide against this mischief, or, when it occurred, failed to adopt, in the face of their religious catholicity, a different line of policy. For even some thinkers of that day were inclined to the view, that the Republic might have acted more wisely for itself in making common cause with Turkey, and arranging a partition of Eastern Europe between the two Powers, which no other combination then possible could have gainsaid. Or, again, it is open to us to inquire, why Venice, with a full official knowledge of the facts, neglected to organize a general coalition of the minor States of Greece and Asia Minor against the Porte, and support it with ships and money. The Government, hindered by financial embarrassments, a legacy from the Foscari regime, and always apprehensive of fresh Italian complications, hesitated to take steps to meet the occasion on a sufficiently ample scale; and in some measure through inadequate resources, and in some through incapacity, the Venetian commanders gave way at several points before antagonists, whose lives their employers had no scruples in sacrificing by thousands and tens of thousands. One signal cause of weakness on the part of Venice was an undecided, vacillating policy, the product of circumstances; at one moment the Republic endeavours to create a diversion on the side of Hungary and on that of Persia, which proved only temporarily and feebly effectual; at another, it approaches the Porte with diplomatic proposals, which are repulsed with insult; and then we come to a holy alliance between Hungary, Burgundy, the Holy See, and Venice, against the Mohammedans, of which not only does the entire burden fall, as usual, on Venice, but which is completely abortive beyond the eventual and indirect boon which it involved, through Cardinal Bessarion being employed by Pius II. as his envoy to the lagoon, and there making many pleasant acquaintances, of the splendid bequest of the library of his Eminence a few years later to the Republic. The true interests of the Venetians would have been, perhaps, to have drawn, if possible, close to Turkey, and have combined the strongest navy with the most powerful military organization of the day; but, although they affected to be first Venetians, and then Christians, there was

always a strong Catholic instinct, deterring more than formal diplomatic relations with the Porte; and had it been otherwise, the Papacy might have found itself once more at Avignon.

The relations between Venice and Hungary were disturbed and endangered by the apparent inability of the latter Power to appreciate the widely different situation of the Republic and the peculiar obstacles to a consistent and sincere union with other European States against the Turks, more especially after their establishment at Constantinople in 1453. The interests of Hungary under some of its hero-princes, particularly Matthias Corvinus, whose reign covered so large a part of the second half of the fifteenth century, namely, from 1458 to 1490, were in so many respects mainly those of a purely military and feudal State, that the Court of Buda could scarcely have looked for more than occasional or special help as a contributory factor in checking the forces of the Porte on the side of Friuli and the Illyric Isles. Corvinus, in one conference with a Venetian embassy sent to beg his co-operation against the Porte, is represented<sup>1</sup> to have bitterly and angrily reproached the members with the disloyalty of the Signory as a Christian government, its active connivance with the infidels, its duplicity, its cruelty, and its betrayal of the common Hungarian and Venetian cause; but, assuming that the indignant allocution of the Magyar Prince to the envoys possesses any share of authenticity, it is an indubitable fact that the object of complaint held an unusually perplexing position, and, when it moved in the desired direction, was, as a rule, most languidly and imperfectly seconded and supported.

It is reported of Matthias Corvinus that, on the same occasion, he declared to his diplomatic visitors that it would be no difficult task for him to invade the Dogado, and make himself master of Venice, as the Huns had done before, but that he forgave the offenders, and was even prepared to cross the Danube in their cause—an excellent Christian spirit, but not very sound history, since the Huns had never been in actual possession of Venice, and it was to them, in the first instance, that the Republic owed its independent life. The confidence of Corvinus was, moreover, rather extravagant and ill-founded. Where the Genoese had failed in earlier years, when Venice was less powerful, where other States and

<sup>1</sup> Georges de Scudery, *Curia Politia*, translated into English, 1654, pp. 20-32.



combinations of States were destined equally to do so, that an aggressor, whose resources were exclusively military, and whose base was so remote, would succeed, was seriously improbable.

The Doge Christoforo Moro, who had succeeded Malipiero in 1462, and who is described by a contemporary as an ill-conditioned man of short stature and penurious habits, with a squint, but who is nevertheless signalized on a contemporary medal as *Religionis et Justicie Cultor*, had volunteered to lead the proposed Venetian contingent to the Crusade; and his proposal was accepted by the Great Council almost unanimously in a House of 1634 members. But his Serenity changed his mind, and begged to be excused on account of his age and infirmities; he was bluntly informed that he would be compelled to adhere to his offer. It is said, that there was a scene, and that one of the Privy Council, Vettore Cappello, went so far as to assure the Most Serene that his person was less dear to them all than the public good. Moro, whatever his personal blemishes or faults might be, had seen much service; and even at this advanced period of his career the fervency of his piety made the notion of helping to exterminate the infidel at first sight not unpalatable. Pius II., now remembered as Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, diplomatist, traveller, man of letters and of the world, came in person to Ancona to promote the movement, and a silver *carlino* of a commemorative type was struck there in 1464. He had personally taken the Cross at Rome on the 18th of June.

The Doge eventually left Venice in the beginning of August 1464, in the presence of an imposing assemblage of spectators, and arrived, with four and twenty galleys, at Ancona on the 12th of the month, where he joined his Holiness. The latter was displeased by the evident intention of Moro to become the leader of the movement, as in fact he had had instructions to do; but his Holiness dissembled his feelings, and received Moro with an air of cordiality. The scheme, however, came to nothing through the unexpected death of the Pontiff,<sup>1</sup> and the Doge returned home on the 16th August, and on the 23rd reached Lido, where he was met by the Bucentaur and an escort of honour, so that his withdrawal from the enterprise was viewed at all events without displeasure or even with complacency.

<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by Pietro Barbo, a Venetian, as Paul II.

The Venetians were browbeaten not by the Porte only, but by the new Duke of Milan, who succeeded Francesco Sforza in 1466, and who seized two successive opportunities of rating the representative of the Republic for the greedy and grasping temper shown by his principals, and in the opinion of the Duke bound to entail ruinous consequences. The main ground of the anger of the Duke appears, from the reply of the Senate at the end of November 1467, to have been the inroads of Bartolommeo Coleoni on his territory with the presumed collusion of the Republic; but, as the Senate pointed out, Coleoni had quitted its service, and could do as he chose, yet it had sought to dissuade him from these proceedings. But, setting aside all that, the Senate desired peace; and if the Duke would become more explicit, it was willing to listen to him. In tendering his views and advice, Gian-Galeazzo declared to the secretary Gonnella that the Signory had better look to itself, for he knew, by God, what he was saying. He observed that when his father died, he left him a fine estate, and he thought he might spend his time as he chose; but that Bartolommeo of theirs (the Venetians) had obliged him to make friends with Ferdinand of Naples. Had he, however, laboured to maintain the Treaty of Lodi, and to promote Italian unity, he might have done himself a better service. On the other hand, Venice, after enormous difficulty and discouragement, at last carried to a conclusion the treaty of 1468, partly declaratory of that of Lodi, and so closed external troubles on one side. But elsewhere the Republic sustained the first heavy blow from the recent political changes in the East by the loss of the valuable island of Negropont, which the Turks took in July 1470,<sup>1</sup> under the personal direction of the Sultan, with all the atrocities and horrors attendant on such occasions, and forsooth not peculiar to the disciples of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> The Turkish loss was computed at a minimum of 40,000 men. The Venetian naval commander, Nicolo da Canale, who had hesitated to bring his fleet up in time to save the place, and who was condemned to end his days in prison, insisted on awaiting the expected reinforcements, which

<sup>1</sup> This event had been foreshadowed in a letter from Marino Sanudo Torsello to the Bishop of Ostia in 1329. See ch. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> An officer in the Venetian service at Negropont was convicted of treason in giving information to the besiegers, and his mangled quarters were shot into the Turkish camp. His accomplices were put to death. Romanin, iv. 338.

arrived only when all was over. The defence had nevertheless been incomparably noble, and women played their part in hurling missiles and pouring boiling water on the enemy. A very notable circumstance in this lamentable affair was the disposition and even decision of the Senate and Great Council to treat Da Canale with lenience, and merely to banish him for a term, and even the Holy See at his request interceded for him. For he was a personage of eminent distinction and culture, had filled many diplomatic appointments, and in 1451 was the bearer to the Doge Foscari from Nicholas V. of the sword and cap of maintenance and umbrella. But, as the diarist Sanudo puts it, instead of blaming the general-at-sea for reading books and neglecting his business, his employers should have blamed their own folly in intrusting such a charge to so studious and learned a personage. His hesitation in acting on the offensive has been ascribed in some measure to his apprehension lest his son who was on board one of the ships, might take harm, but this statement can have scarcely been serious. The Council of Ten, by virtue of whose warrant he had been arrested and brought home in irons, took a different and truer view of the matter, and shared the feeling, that Da Canale, by his dereliction of duty and his timidity, had exposed Venice itself to the most appalling danger, while every effort had been made there in the course of June and July, 1470, to equip ships, and raise money and supplies, the provinces of *terra firma* generously contributing;<sup>1</sup> and that body overruled the votes of both assemblies, and committed the offender to a confinement, at Portogruaro, from which he was released only by death on the 12th May 1483.<sup>2</sup> The Decemvirs became aware in the spring of 1471, that the exile was secretly renewing his appeals to the Pope and other potentates on his behalf, and a secretary was dispatched to direct the Podesta of the place to summon Da Canale, and admonish him, that, if he did not refrain from this sort of proceeding, he would repent it. But in truth the blame partly rested with the insufficiency of the fleet and the neglect to keep the fortifications in repair. One of the Venetian commanders says, "The sea seemed a wood." The Turkish fleet

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 336.

<sup>2</sup> "Il suo ritratto, a quanto ne dice il Sansovino, vedevasi effigiato nella sala del Maggior Consiglio in abito di dottore con sottano di broccato, manto di porpora, bavero di ermellini."—Romanin, iv. 349.



numbered 300 vessels against barely 60 on the other side. The attitude of the Porte toward the Signory began to assume the form of a chronic menace and peril, and in 1471 and the following year the Government of the Doge sent two successive embassies to the court of Persia at Spaan (Ispahan), with a view to enlisting the Sophi as an ally against the Turks. The elaborate relations of Josafat Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini have been repeatedly printed;<sup>1</sup> but Barbaro met on the road with a serious mishap, being stripped by bandits of nearly everything which he possessed, and only saving himself by the fleetness of his horse, while Contarini, who was four years (1473-7) absent on this business, does not appear to have accomplished any immediate result.

To the Doge Moro (1462-71) succeeded Nicolo Trono (1471-73), Nicolo Marcello (1473-74), Pietro Mocenigo (1474-76), and Andrea Vendramino (1476-78), four reigns powerfully contrasting in their brevity with the prolonged public career of Foscari. Trono, unlike his immediate predecessor, was a tall, big personage of unprepossessing features, and with an impediment in his speech, but rich and liberal, having made a fortune at Rhodes. He stands out in the series of Venetian sovereigns as almost the only one who succeeded in transferring his actual effigy to the coinage, an innovation which the Executive resented and promptly discontinued, and in the sumptuous and superb monument subsequently erected to his memory in the church of the Frari by Antonio Bregno, architect of the Giants' Staircase and of other public works. Pietro Mocenigo was a man of totally different antecedents, and had won distinction as captain-general in the Turkish war.<sup>2</sup> After his elevation to the throne he did not relax in his energetic exertions; and it is an incident worth commemorating that when dispatches arrived very late on the night of the 6th January 1475, while Mocenigo was present at festivities in honour of Frederic of Arragon, his Serenity at once quitted the room, and closeted himself with his advisers. The matter, however, occupied two entire days. The Sultan proposed an accommodation, and forwarded a safe-conduct for a representative of the

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed account of them will be found in a later section.

<sup>2</sup> An account of his reign was written by Coriolano Cepio, a Dalmatian, and printed at Venice in 1477, under the title of *Petri Mocenici Imperatoris Gestarum Libri III.*

Signory; but ultimately the overture was not accepted. Vendramino was a descendant of one of the families ennobled after the war of Chioggia, and was said to be worth 160,000 ducats, although, in order, as he himself said, to have sons-in-law to his liking, he had given to each of his six daughters dowries of from 5000 to 7000 ducats. His people in the old days had been store-keepers or provision-dealers. He was personally an enthusiastic antiquary and the owner of an extensive museum and library. The diarist Malipiero describes him as having been a great merchant in his earlier life, and having traded between Venice and Alexandria, and that he had had agents who in their turn had become rich. Hostilities in the Levant were not concluded, or at least did not experience a respite, till 1479, which involved, after a long and strenuous resistance, the farther loss of Scutari in Albania, although in 1475 the Sultan had, as we have seen, professed a desire to desist from hostilities, while he dictated terms which were thought inadmissible. The Republic had acquired Scutari in Albania in 1395, recovered it in 1420, and in 1442 was striking money for local use. In 1478 the Turks laid siege to the place, and were repeatedly unsuccessful in gaining an entrance. The Venetian commandant, when the inhabitants began to murmur at want of food and water, told them that they might eat his flesh and drink his blood. But the besiegers ultimately triumphed, and a humiliating peace was accepted.

The Republic marked its appreciation of the loyalty and devotion of the place, where it had built a citadel still visible in its decay, by allowing such of the surviving inhabitants as chose to do so, to settle at Venice, and granting them pensions and allotments of land.

The same year (1479) witnessed a calamitous fire on the night of the 14th September at the ducal palace, due to a candle left burning in the chapel. The flames consumed the private apartments of the Doge, the portraits of all the anterior sovereigns, and the *mappa mundi* of Antonio de' Leonardi, and was with the utmost difficulty prevented from extending farther. The loss was greater than it would have been, had not his Serenity insisted on keeping the doors shut from his fear of lawless spoliation. The next morning the Doge and the Signory installed themselves in the Casa

Duodo on the other bank of the Rio di Palazzo. Years elapsed before the building was completely restored, owing to diversity of opinions as to what should be done, and troubles with the architect.

There was a prevailing indisposition to lay out on the matter, considering the times, more than 6000 ducats; but Nicolo Trevisano proposed to demolish all the houses beyond the Rio di Palazzo as far as the Calle delle Rasse, and erect a new edifice on the site. But the old lines were eventually kept with the addition of a new storey.

The Doge Vendramino had been replaced in 1478 by Giovanni Mocenigo, who remained in office till 1485, when Marco Barbarigo and his brother Agostino successively rose to the head of affairs, the former reigning only a year, the latter till 1501.

The traditional jealousy and dislike harboured towards the reigning dynasty at Ferrara, and the periodical friction arising out of questions connected with the navigation of the Po, were destined to become once more the source of acute troubles and the ground for elaborate diplomatic negotiations. It appears that the Signory, ever intent on setting back the Venetian frontier to the Duchy of Milan, and not averse from having at Ferrara a master weaker than the house of Este, entered in 1481 into an arrangement on paper with the Holy See, by which the Este inheritance was to be divided between them, the Venetians receiving Modena and Reggio, and the Pope taking over Ferrara, which he proposed to transfer to Girolamo Riario, Signore of Imola and Forli, married to the Madonna di Forli, Caterina Sforza-Visconti, of the ducal house of Milan. In September, 1481, Riario and his wife paid a visit to Venice, and were entertained with boundless splendour. But the practical side of the matter proved disillusionizing and barren. The Government declared that it would stand aloof, and that it considered the return of Ferrara to papal rule undesirable, as the Pontifical States were exposed to attack on all sides, and this was calculated still farther to weaken his Holiness and his allies. An old cause of dissension, the claim of Venice in respect of certain salterns and customs due on or near the Po, shortly afterwards (May 1482) involved hostile relations with Milan and Naples, and ultimately with the Holy See and others. It appeared as if the sword was



sheathed in the East merely to be drawn again elsewhere, and such was now likely to be for ever the experience. Some successes gained by the Venetians, who instantaneously mitigated as far as possible the burdens of the liberated and recovered cities and territories, inspired the Duke of Milan with alarm, and in the beginning of November he tried to negotiate a reconciliation; but the Senate dismissed his envoy with a virtual refusal (27th November 1482), couched under the usual circumlocution and compliment. Sixtus IV., who had commenced as an ally of Venice, now entered into a diplomatic correspondence with the Doge, urging the papal pretensions to the territory and control; six letters are known<sup>1</sup> to have been exchanged, and without yielding any result to the Holy See; and on the 22nd June, 1483, the Pontiff abruptly demanded an abandonment of the attack on Ferrara, and, on being apprised that such a thing was out of the question, launched an interdict against the Republic, with a grace of fifteen days to allow full opportunity for repentance and submission. The Venetian *locum tenens*, in the absence of the ambassador at the Vatican, declined to forward it; and it was sent to the Patriarch, who pleaded illness, and privately informed the Council of Ten, which commanded him to observe strict silence, and to allow religious rites to proceed as usual. The Republic prepared an appeal to the next General Council, and contrived to have a copy of it nailed to the door of San Celso in Rome.<sup>2</sup>

This bold stroke did not save the operations connected with the Ferrarese quarrel, which the Duke of Milan did his part in secretly fomenting and aggravating, from becoming an insupportable burden. For although the Venetians gained many advantages in the field, the area of hostilities had gradually extended, till nearly the whole of Italy took one side or the other. The wealthier classes in Venice had responded with unusual alacrity to a call for fresh subsidies, and partly by loans and partly by donations half a million ducats were collected. The popular enthusiasm was immense, and numbers

<sup>1</sup> They were printed by W. Caxton at Westminster under the editorship of Petrus Carmelianus, who styles himself Poet Laureate (1483). I presume that it is he who signalizes them as *perelegantissimæ*.

<sup>2</sup> This episode reminds us of the attachment to Whitehall gate in 1641 of the Proclamation of Charles I. against the Five Members, to which the Lord Keeper refused to attach the seal, and which was accordingly never published.



followed the troops without pay. The money did not last very long under the conditions rather unexpectedly developed. Sanudo the Diarist paints in dark colours the state of affairs at this time. All taxes and dues had been collected; the plate of private persons had been compulsorily sold below the value; women had taken their gold chains to the mint. The public revenue was falling short; there were no able-bodied men left to man the ships; that Arsenal, which once commanded admiration and dread all over the world, was empty; they had spent 1,200,000 ducats; and if they made peace they would be obliged to give back all that they had taken. This was all, no doubt, true enough and sad enough, while it betrayed a share of pessimism worthy of Sanudo; and it in no manner helped to improve the prospect, even if Venice, in reprisal for the attitude of Milan and Naples, and the openly avowed intention of the former to instigate the Sultan against the Republic, really, as it has been represented, offered Charles VIII. of France and the Duke of Orleans its co-operation in acquiring those two States. The Holy See, however, was the first to give way;<sup>1</sup> the Papal delegates met those of the Republic at Cesena in May 1484; and in July the Duke of Milan followed, and sent his lieutenant Trivulzio to the Venetian camp to see if an amicable arrangement could be achieved. In July a suspension of arms was signed, and it was succeeded on the 7th August by the treaty of Bagnolo, which left Venice much in the same position as she occupied under the treaty of Lodi, with the addition of the Polesine and Rovigo. The settlement was esteemed by the Republic, under all the circumstances, a ground for congratulation and rejoicing. There were three days of bell-ringing, festivities, and tournaments. Sanseverino, the present condottiero, who had served the Signory well in these recent operations, was presented with two feudal lordships in the Padovano and Veronese, and a house on the Grand Canal; his wife received an annuity of 100 ducats a month for life: and his daughter, on her marriage with Guido de' Rossi (January 1485), had a dowry of 10,000 ducats. So the Venetians studied the art of drawing toward them all who could prove themselves at once capable and faithful. No Power before or since has been so royal a paymaster. The recent pacification

<sup>1</sup> The interdict was not officially withdrawn till the end of February 1485.

awakened a wide feeling of interest and satisfaction ; the event must have been in many minds, many mouths, from the extended area of the movement, and we find even a commentator on the *Georgics* of Virgil noting at the end of his MS. that it was finished concurrently with the close of the war between Venice and her opponents in 1484.

The use of cannon and gunpowder goes back to a much earlier year in the century ; but the war just terminated appears to have witnessed the first employment of floating batteries, of which two, each carrying two guns, were constructed in the Arsenal for service on the Po, and were propelled by sails and oars.

The splendid defence of Negropont and Scutari manifested to the Porte that it had in Venice no insignificant foe. Both places were heroically held against the Turkish forces, the latter with success in two separate instances, the former unsuccessfully through the misconduct of the Venetian commander, and his neglect to co-operate with the garrison and inhabitants, who strained every nerve to resist the siege. The dearth of funds was the grand obstacle and problem ; and private generosity, even including the noble legacy by the famous Bergamasque condottiero Bartolommeo Coleoni, of his entire fortune of half a million ducats in 1474,<sup>1</sup> was less capable than formerly of meeting an incessant drain on the exchequer. The demand for money and material had never been greater ; the sources of supply threatened to fail. The leading Venetian families began to lean less exclusively on commerce than in former and better times, and to acquire real estate and funded property, from which the income was necessarily more limited ; and there was no middle class or general body of citizens from which an appreciable and permanent amount of revenue was to be drawn. We have traced the fortunes of Venice through about a thousand years, and when we critically examine its financial system we discover that it was still based on quasi-feudal principles, and had no national or popular groundwork in spite of the most elaborate bureaucratic mechanism ever beheld.

During a long series of years there had been a steady

<sup>1</sup> The grateful Republic raised an equestrian statue to him, in 1496, in marble and bronze by Leopardi, still a familiar object in the Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Sanudo the Diarist remarks that, when it was unveiled, "tutti lo ando a veder."

effort, attended by heavy expense, to bring forward Persia as an active factor on the side of Venice and the other Western States against the Porte. The Signory endeavoured to secure some of its ablest public servants in the promotion of this object, and when at last the Sophi was persuaded to assume the offensive, he was signally defeated. The truth seems to be, that the Venetian emissaries, notwithstanding their insight and acumen, failed to take accurate measurement of the condition of the country and the laxity of the administrative system—the absence of political cohesion. These protracted negotiations therefore, no less than the efforts of the Republic to prevail on the other European Powers to second it in what the latter pronounced to be a general cause, but which others affected to treat as a purely Venetian one, were fruitless, and in 1479 it was thought best to conclude a treaty, even under disadvantageous terms, in the presence of renewed difficulties nearer home. The sole consolation and indemnity to Venice was the recognition of a protectorate over Cyprus, and perhaps the assurance that, in a conflict with a Power, which studied neither human life nor any other impediment to its ambition, the Government, contending with many drawbacks, had done its best to stem the crisis. Other Powers had been content to leave to the Republic the sole championship of the Christian cause, and the efforts of the Holy See were usually limited to the futile issue of indulgences to those willing to engage in a Crusade. In 1481 we find the papal commissary-general circulating a form to be filled up by recruits. But no practical result ensued.<sup>1</sup>

Italian affairs, after the succession of Innocent VIII. to the pontificate in 1484, still continued to be unsettled and disquieting; and peace and war always hung in the balance. Diplomacy fulfilled its part in seeking reconciliations, adjustments, and compromises; but the foreign element in the Peninsula was beginning to grow more and more a germ of political distemper and disunion. Even Sanseverino, whom the Signory had so generously treated not so long ago, finding himself out of commission, and pressed by the Neapolitan forces, planted some of his troops without permission on Venetian territory, and begged to be taken back into service; and he had to be informed that the Signory could not afford

<sup>1</sup> My *Bibliographical Notes*, 1903, p. 387; and see Blades, 1877, pp. 251-2.



such expense. All the princes, secular and ecclesiastical, loved peace, and were nearly always at war—each through the perfidy of the rest. Machiavelli was of opinion, that the Venetians erred in not forming a steadfast alliance with Milan, instead of joining the French; but the practical actors on the scene hardly knew from week to week what to do, or whom to trust.

The island of Cyprus, successively Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, autonomous under kings, and a place of great importance from its situation and rich products, of which wine alone yielded annually, it has been said, three million gallons, had been under the protection of Venice since 1473, and was finally incorporated with the Dominion or Signory in 1488, under circumstances, which amounted to a *coup d'état*, inasmuch as the Government of the Doge found it necessary to intervene, on the death of Jean II. de Lusignan in 1432, to whose house the territory had originally fallen at the partition of 1204, between Carlotta, daughter of the late king, and her husband Louis, subsequently (1439) Duke of Savoy, and a natural son of Jean, Jacques de Lusignan, whom the rival party expelled from his home. Venice espoused the cause of Jacques, who in 1472 was married by proxy to Caterina Cornaro, a granddaughter of Giorgio Cornaro, who has been mentioned in connexion with the wars in the earlier part of the century between Venice and Milan; in the succeeding year the Venetian candidate died, leaving Caterina *enceinte*; on the 14th November, assassins burst into the palace and murdered several persons, probably intending to include the pregnant Queen, who escaped, her uncle and cousin being cut to pieces. The Venetian Admiral arrived to protect Caterina, whose authority was curtailed by the presence of two proveditors; in 1474 her child died; the family of the late King was deported to Venice, and the upshot of the whole business was that Caterina herself was persuaded by her brother in 1488 to renounce her sovereignty, and to settle on an estate at Asolo, assigned to her as the daughter of Saint Mark. The ex-Queen was met on her arrival by the Doge in the Bucentaur with all imaginable honour; her Majesty had a house in the capital, besides the delightful residence in the country. We find her taking advantage of her retirement to pay a ceremonial visit to Brescia, where she had many



connexions, and where she was received with all marks of honour and affection; and an address was delivered in her presence by the public orator, claiming for her Majesty every virtue which could adorn a princess and a lady.<sup>1</sup> It is extremely probable that such a personage would possess a collection of books and MSS. But there is no present trace of it. Lassels,<sup>2</sup> an English traveller of the seventeenth century, has left an account of the circumstances connected with Caterina Cornaro, which is partly erroneous, but which seeks to explain the way in which that lady formed the matrimonial alliance with the reigning family in Cyprus. He says: "The story is this: Katherine was daughter of Marco Cornaro, and niece of Andrew Cornaro, two noblemen of Venice. Andrew was sent Auditor General into the Kingdom of Cyprus, in the time of James, King of that Island, and helpt him to many thousand Crowns, whereby he settled his tottering Crown. One day, as the King was talking familiarly with him, he let fall (whether by chance or design) a little picture in miniature of a very handsome lady. The King, curious to see it, called for it civilly, and viewing it well, fell hugely in love with the Original, which Andrew assured him to be far handsomer than the copy, and withal added, that if his Majesty liked her, she was his Niece, and that therefore he offered her freely to him for his wife, with all the money he had already lent him. and a hundred thousand crowns more. The King bit willingly at these two baits, beauty and money, and was not quiet till he married her." The writer farther states, that at the Cornaro Palace he saw the whole story painted by the hand of Veronese.

It has been said that the Queen brought back with her to Venice the secret of distilling an aromatic liqueur from a certain shrub; it was what the French term *Eau hémostatique* or *Eau de Lechelle*.<sup>3</sup>

She spent the rest of her life in works of piety and benevolence, in cultivating her gardens, and in the enjoyment of literary society. She survived till 1510, and subscribed herself to the last *Queen of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia, and Lady of Asolo*. She was a short plump woman, of whom there are several portraits, somewhat puzzling in

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, ii. 516-9.

<sup>2</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, pp. 373-4.

<sup>3</sup> Fournier, *Le Vieux-Neuf*, 1877, iii. 627, note.

their different pose and detail, but all belonging to mature years:<sup>1</sup> of genial conversation, yet dignified in her manner, and never forgot those who had done her service. She did not study finery or grandeur in her own dress, and was not pleased if her attendants paid too much attention to such matters. The ex-queen is said to have been particularly fond of the company of Cardinal Bembo, and to have appreciated the erudition of that distinguished man, whom she must have often visited in his home at Venice or in his elegant villa at Murano. Bembo is principally remembered, so far as Venice is concerned, as the scholar, the diplomatist, and the historian, and it was many years since he had contracted a Venetian marriage and founded a family. The friendship between the ex-queen of Cyprus and himself was, no doubt, purely sentimental; but his Eminence could have related—possibly did in suitable company—many a gallant anecdote of his earlier life, and even have contributed to the private memoirs of Lucrezia Borgia, who numbered him among her lovers, and kept his letters<sup>2</sup> as proofs of their three years more than Platonic intimacy. He was by no means, however, an old man—quite in middle life—when he knew both the famous ladies who have been named. He was only forty when Caterina Cornaro died. It was probably to his acquaintance with the Lady of Asolo that we owe the *Asolani*, which made its appearance in 1505, with an inscription to Lucrezia, subsequently withdrawn—perhaps from political motives.

The Venetians lay between two grave sources of peril, a chronically perturbed Italy and the irrepressible Turk; and the efforts to extend in the East, notably in Caramania and Persia, Venetian commercial relations concurrently with the establishment of a political and military diversion on the Persian side against the Porte, had awakened the jealousy of the Florentine traders, who were the keenest rivals of the Signory in the leadership of commerce, and had thus farther complicated Italian diplomacy; but it hitherto fortunately happened that both these sources of anxiety and danger had not made simultaneous demands on Venice. The second moiety of the fifteenth century, however, offers to our view

<sup>1</sup> Joānis Baptistae planii (Appiani) Brixiani Jureconsulti celiberimi *ad Augustissimam Cyprorum Reginā Oratio*. 4° (about 1495).

<sup>2</sup> These are preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan bound in a tress of Lucrezia's own hair.

a study of powerful dramatic interest in connection with the immediate subject, for from the first outset, with the settlement of the Turks at Constantinople and the steady expansion of their influence, coupled with the ultramontane development, which might from year to year assume a new form and augmented gravity, there was the even more permanent and progressive incidence of geographical discovery and eventual dislocation of markets and prices.

The historian, surveying the field of action, when the actors have so long quitted it, and comparing at his leisure the records of the past, may entertain a feeling of surprise that the Venetians should, so far as can be judged, have taken such untrue measurement of the relative strength of the masters of Constantinople and the masters of Persia, Caramania, and other parts, and should have failed to perceive that, of whatever value the latter might be on commercial grounds in the farther East—and it long remained very considerable, especially as their official representatives had repeated opportunities of exploring and studying the regions—as political and belligerent makeweights against Turkey they were almost worthless. It is more intelligible and more excusable, that the Signory did not foresee that the transfer of the Osmanli power to its new seat was a perhaps unconscious preparation toward the establishment of an empire destined alike by land and sea to prove more dangerous and costly to Venice than any probable European combination of forces.

Hitherto, although commerce had found certain new channels, and had lost the character of a monopoly to some extent, the Republic had continued to enjoy a preponderant share of the rich fruits of European intercourse with the East, and, combined with local industries and multifarious business transacted by land and water throughout Lombardy and along the Dalmatian littoral, her subjects had no reason to complain of a failure of prosperity or of a check to their profitable function as middlemen between distant markets. But the periodical Crusades, apart from even anterior experiments in geographical exploration counted among their results the rise and growth of a permanent spirit of enterprise; and it is not only no ground for wonder, that this movement eventuated in 1486 in the discovery by the Portuguese of the Cape of



Good Hope and a revolution in the whole system of Oriental traffic with the West, but it seems strange that such an event was so long postponed, when we have under our eyes successive and iterated narratives of intelligent and observant navigators, who must have approached very near the point. But such has been the incidence of many revelations in all branches of science. During centuries men of all nationalities sailed within a day or two's journey of some coast or headland, and penetrated no farther from an unconsciousness of what was before them; and this is perfectly the case with several of the Venetian trading expeditions, as well as even with some Portuguese adventurers before Diaz. They just failed to steer on the true track. The pace of discovery in this direction was retarded by the conservative temper of the Latin explorers, by the limited facilities for revictualling ships, and by the timid and narrow sailing charts, and we accordingly find many of the momentous extensions of knowledge due to some accidental deviation from the appointed course.

The opening of the Cape route led to the subsequent approach to India; and the intermediate achievements of Columbus and Vespucci laid open a new continent and farther promises of wealth. All these movements, however, were naturally adverse to the old-established and conservative policy and plans of the Republic, which instantaneously appreciated the importance and gravity of the intelligence, when it first reached Venice. It was not the discovery of the Cape itself in 1486, but the pursuit by Da Gama in 1497 of the clue furnished by Diaz, which caused uneasiness. Information of the ulterior event was received at Venice, before the second Portuguese explorer returned home; for in May 1501 we see that Pietro Pasqualigo was dispatched to Lisbon to institute inquiries, and was very graciously received by the King, who offered to do his utmost to serve the Signory. Pasqualigo wrote to his Government, so soon as he had collected all the particulars, which he judged likely to be useful, and among other points mentioned that the Florentines were already on the ground. His dispatch, for the sole text of which we are indebted to Priuli the Diarist, reached its destination on the 24th July 1501. Venice perceived the dilemma, yet hesitated how to act. Priuli speaks of the



feeling produced on the first reception of the tidings as one of consternation, since the classes affected could not fail to see, that Lisbon would rob them of all their trade by degrees, and be in a position to sell at a cheaper rate the goods brought by sea than those transported overland under the old system, where dues were levied at so many points, and an article, which began by costing a ducat, ended by costing from 70 to 100. Then, again, the Republic could not buy in the Portuguese market for resale, because the Spaniards would naturally levy arbitrary tolls in the Straits of Marrocco (Morocco) or the Gut of Gibraltar, while, if they concluded new treaties, there could be no reliance on their durability, and they would be at best on a parity of footing with other Powers. Opinions on the subject were not unanimous, as some doubted whether the Portuguese could successfully manage the trade, and cited a recent instance in which seven out of thirteen caravels bound for Calicut in Malabar perished. Nothing definitive, at any rate, was done; the mercantile treaty with Egypt was renewed in 1504, and some of the new artillery shipped out to enable the Sultan to hold his ground against the Portuguese; and in 1505, on reflection, the Signory reappeared at Lisbon as a negotiator, but only to find that the Florentines had forestalled them. In 1503 Foresti of Bergamo, in republishing his Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> introduced an account of the matter at considerable length, but with a yet imperfect knowledge of the whole truth; and it is tolerably manifest that the Portuguese at first limited their aspirations to the Indies, and did not contemplate at least North America, to which there is no reference in several of the contemporary publications down as late as 1514. It is observable that the King of Æthiopia competed with the Portuguese for the good will of his Holiness so late as 1533, when he sent an embassy to Rome on the subject.

In the addition of South America and the West Indies to the map the usually accepted pioneer was Columbus, at present believed to have been born in a village near Madrid. This eminent man, who is not less eminent, even if it be true that he was indebted for suggestions or notes to friends, appears on

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Foresti, *Bergomensis Novissime Historiarum Omnium Repercussiones, que Supplementum Supplementi Cronicarum nuncupantur*; folio, Venetia, 1503. The section on America is headed: "De quattuor pmaximis insulis in India extra orbem nuper inventis."

the scene in 1468 as a buccaneer of the old type, and entered on his career as an explorer, when he had enjoyed some years' experience as a seaman. He had this in common with the two Cabots, that, partly owing to insufficient foresight and promptitude on the part of Venice, he deprived the Signory of the opportunity of being first in the field to take advantage of the latest maritime and commercial development. The time was bound to come, when the creation of channels for traffic between the Old and New Worlds would disturb the balance, and change the centres, of trade. The elder and greater Cabot had resided during a long term of years among the Venetians, and had enjoyed ample opportunities of acquiring information and experience from a State, of which he was a naturalised subject. Efforts were made to win over his son Sebastian; but they were of no avail. Notwithstanding the optimistic view of the situation, the effects of the altered conditions soon became more or less sensible. Old and deeply-rooted systems die hard; but the climax had been reached and passed. The blow and loss to Venice would have been infinitely heavier and more immediate, had the Portuguese possessed any adequate organization at home to meet the new and suddenly enlarged demands of their Eastern trade. It is even apparent from several contemporary pamphlets, issued between 1506 and 1513-14 by Diego Pacecchi and others in the name and behalf of the King of Portugal, that that Government was sensible of the need of pontifical support in establishing itself in Africa and India; and such a state of feeling may help to account for the friendly attitude of the King in 1501 toward the Venetian representative Pasqualigo.

The Portuguese, in fact, found that they had to encounter, in their new colonial acquisitions or mercantile settlements, hostility on every side, from jealous European competitors and from distrustful native chieftains or sovereigns; and in the latter case the danger threatened to be very grave, since in 1500 the attitude of the King of Fez necessitated the equipment of a fleet to reduce him to submission, and in 1503 the Sultan of Egypt is found lending naval assistance to the Indian princes by sending four foists piecemeal on the backs of camels, to be shipped across the desert<sup>1</sup> from Cairo to Tora, a distance of eight miles, thence to their destination. The Venetians,

<sup>1</sup> See a note in Romanin, vii. 528.

while they maintained friendly relations with Portugal, studiously continued to cultivate the goodwill of the Mohammedan princes, and in short to hold the balance between both sides; they were profuse in their declarations of affection and loyalty to Portugal, even when they were providing the Sultan of Egypt with artillery to resist the forces of Emmanuel; and in 1504 and 1512 they renewed at Cairo the old treaties of commerce and amity; they were not displeased at the action of the Sultan in desiring Portugal to forbear sending its caravels to Calicut, and were possibly not guiltless of influencing his Highness: and concurrently they paid the utmost court and deference to the Portuguese monarch at Lisbon and to his representative in London. Giustinian met the latter at Richmond in 1517, and greeted him with boundless cordiality, expatiating on the mutual goodwill subsisting between the two countries, and on the gratitude of the Signory for all the benefits conferred on it by his Portuguese Majesty. At the same time, gradual loss or diminution of the Indian trade reacted in a measure on the English customers of Venice, particularly at Southampton, where in 22 Henry VIII. the inhabitants are found petitioning for a remittance of the tax of 40 marks, professedly on account of the diversion of the yearly business done at Calicut in spices from the Republic to the Portuguese notwithstanding the objection of the Egyptian Government to the new intruders on the Malabar Coast.

In May, 1494, Charles VIII. of France, a young man of four and twenty, had accredited his ambassador to the Doge, to negotiate the provision of supplies for a projected or alleged war against the Turks at a stipulated tariff; but the Senate declined to move in the matter, and when the Neapolitan representative on his initiative approached it, intimated its high regard for the Government of Naples and at the same time its persuasion, that Charles had no money, and was not likely to achieve much. The King, however, having spent the summer at Lyons, crossed the Alps, and on the 9th September, 1494, entered Asti, and dispatched Philip de Commines to renew his overtures to the Republic. The historian tells us that he and certain others were instructed by the King to proceed on this mission, but that Charles having an attack of smallpox, which at one moment threatened to



be dangerous, the departure was postponed a few days. Commynes eventually left his master at Asti convalescent, supposing that he would not advance any farther. It took the deputation six days to reach Venice on mules, for, says he, the road was the best in the world. His apprehensions touching Charles were not realised; the latter marched on Pavia, and thence moved toward Casale, where the Lady Marchioness was well inclined to the French, and consequently hated by the Duke of Milan. Meanwhile, Commynes had found his way to Venice, with which he was immensely pleased, and where he made a long stay, Charles having reached Naples, and fixing himself there to arrange his affairs. On the 3rd October he signified to the Signory that, when his royal employer had taken Naples, he would be in greater need of the Venetians than they of him, and that Charles was under the constant necessity of protecting his kingdom against England and against Burgundy, of the latter of which the strategic value in the eyes of the Signory as an additional diversion from Italy was very considerable. Yet this foolish young man was seeking to add to his troubles and responsibilities by crossing the Alps.

In February 1495, however, he was nominal master of the Two Sicilies. The Holy See, the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and England, and the Duke of Milan, now Lodovico il Moro, formed what was designated a Holy League against him: Venice, which since the commencement of December in the preceding year had been in diplomatic correspondence with Milan,<sup>1</sup> with a view to an Italian nationalist alliance, declared its adhesion to it, and as a matter of fact, Venice and Milan were the only effective members (January 1496), the Powers stipulating to exercise a cautionary lien over the acquisitions till the expenses were refunded.<sup>2</sup>

The Republic also used some exertion to secure the co-operation of Henry VII. of England, who evinced a favourable and friendly feeling toward the Signory. The Venetian negotiators were two merchants resident in London, Pietro Contarini and Luca Valaresso, whom the Diarist Sanudo terms quasi-submandatories. The former was Venetian consul there.

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, v. 50-8, where the conferences between the envoys of the Signory and Ludovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, are cited *in extenso*.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the treaty, dated from Venice, 21 January, 1495-6, is in Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 12-15.



Neither Henry nor Maximilian proved of any actual service to the cause beyond their neutrality.

The Signory was for some time very undecided what attitude to assume toward Germany. In the Council of Pregadi, on the 10th May 1496, there were three alternative propositions: to invite Maximilian to come into Italy under any circumstances; to invite him to do so, in case the French King invaded Northern Italy; to arrange for him to attack France through Burgundy. But nothing was settled, and on the 13th there was a protracted sitting, and a resolution that his Majesty should come for three months, Venice and Milan paying him 10,000 ducats each a month, provided that the King of the Romans brought into the field 2000 horse and 4000 foot, besides a subsidy of 6000 ducats a month each for the hire of Swiss troops.<sup>1</sup> This arrangement was confirmed in the Pregadi on the 17th, and Maximilian "reserisse esser contentissimo," says Sanudo.<sup>2</sup> He was then at Ulm in Bavaria. But a representative of the Signory saw him subsequently at Augsburg, and exhorted his Majesty to come with expedition into Italy.

On the 26th of the month an imperial ambassador passed through Brescia on his way to Milan, and thence to Piedmont. He announced that his master might be expected very shortly in Italy. Two days later the envoy of the French King arrived at Ferrara, where the whole court was dressed in the French mode in his honour, and all Ferrara, writes Sanudo,<sup>3</sup> shouted: *Franza, Franza!* and he proceeded thence to Florence. It seems that Charles VIII. was desirous of negotiating a loan of 50,000 ducats for the pay of his troops—a method of making the Italians buy the rods with which their invaders sought to chastise them.

The Signory certainly found themselves, from a combination of circumstances arising out of multifarious interests in nearly every part of the world, in a political situation which threatened to absorb more than a due share of the national resources. The sole option seemed to be between direct action in the field or at sea, and the treatment of such rulers as Maximilian in operations by land on the same footing as the older mercenary leaders, whom Venice had engaged to serve

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, 164-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 147-9, where the letter of Maximilian to the Doge from Ulm is given.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 184, 187.

her when European affairs were by comparison infinitely more manageable and less costly, and before Turkey and the East constituted a concurrent and chronic element in Venetian policy and calculations.

But in June, 1498, we find Venice engaging in consideration of Henry standing aloof, not to assist France against England,<sup>1</sup> and the Doge authorising the Venetian envoy at Rome to include his Majesty in the League, which in July was accordingly reconstructed.

The practice of accrediting a representative to foreign courts, England included, had not been systematically carried out till 1508; and the committal of the business at the court of England in respect to the Holy League to two unofficial personages in 1496 may argue the scepticism of the Signory as to the practical issue.

The diplomatic management fell exclusively on Venice, whose representatives equally acted for the Duke of Milan, and the negotiations with the European Powers spread without much ultimate fruit over the greater part of three years. The League was to include the Emperor, the Holy See, the Duke of Milan, and the Doge of Venice; and England and Spain were subsequently approached by the Signory. Henry VII. was preoccupied, however, with domestic affairs, and Maximilian was espousing the cause of Perkin Warbeck, and was not likely to have any money. Spain, Milan, and the Holy See were little more than friendly neutrals, and the Government of Ferdinand and Isabella seems to have contributed nothing but the valid suggestion that Maximilian would do well to abandon the so-called Duke of York (Perkin Warbeck), and thus leave England at liberty to attack France, which his Holiness had recommended as an excellent course, in which he was supported, so far as sentiment and words went, by James IV. of Scotland, and which was justified by the secret countenance lent by Charles VIII. to the pretender. A conflicting variety of interests successively impeded the arrival at any definite or conclusive result, and there were the customary game at cross-purposes and under-current of ulterior or private motives on the part of the respective delegates to the courts concerned. The Venetian aspect of the matter seems to be the impressive fact that the Signory was evidently

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian), i. 243.

treated throughout as the capital element and factor, that the Doge and his advisers took the initiative in admitting England into the League under certain conditions, and that in short everything accomplished toward the desired end—the expulsion and exclusion of the French from Italy—was accomplished by the Venetians. Such an ascendancy and such a prestige had their gratifying and advantageous side; but they strengthened the inquietude and impatience not unnaturally produced and fomented by the disproportion between the territorial importance of the Signory and their political pretensions and weight.

On Sunday the 31st July a procession was made in Venice for the publication of the League, which was simultaneously proclaimed by cry there, at Rome, and at Milan; the Patriarch celebrated high mass at St. Mark's; and the bells were rung for three days, and bonfires lighted. The League was pronounced to be for the peace and tranquillity of Italy and the welfare of the Christian commonwealth, for the maintenance of the papal authority, for the preservation of the rights of the Holy Roman Empire, and for the respective security of the territories of the contracting parties. The document was at once printed, with the portraits of the allies, accompanied by verses. Those appropriated to Venice were:—

“Potente in guerra et amica de pace,  
Venetia el ben' comun sempre le piace.”

Sanudo the Diarist, in an entry of December 8, 1496, notes that the Doge had received two letters from Henry VII. dated September 1, about the League and the intended procession at St. Paul's. The Pope had sent him the Sword and Cap of Maintenance, which he had arranged to receive on the same occasion. Henry was still in correspondence with Venice in 1497, when he desired the Signory to resume the visits to England of the Flanders galleys and to accredit some one to confer with him on the political situation. Of course the ambassador selected for the duty was enabled to go “as becomes the dignity of our State.” He was furnished by the Senate with elaborate instructions.

Venice continued to act in concert with Milan. Her ambassador carried contingent credentials to the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, should he meet with them, and to the



Queen of England, Prince Arthur, Cardinal Morton, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Chancellor, and he was charged to enable himself to report on his return anything of interest which fell under his notice.

Commines, who gave it as his opinion in a letter to the Duke of Milan that Venice aimed at nothing beyond self-defence, is reported to have asked the Signory what would happen if his master returned home. He was assured that no one would prevent him. It was no such matter. On the 6th July 1495 was fought the Battle of Fornovo, in which the French only saved the King from capture by the activity of the Cardinal de Bourbon and a desperate charge of cavalry, under cover of which he escaped on his horse *Savoy* and succeeded in crossing the Taro, and eventually in reaching Asti, whence he expected to be able to relieve Novara, invested by the Milanese and Venetian troops. But 2500 French fell; the Bastard of Burgundy fell into the hands of the Marquis of Mantua, Venetian commander; all the baggage and artillery were taken; and Gonzaga would have pursued Charles, whom he had already wounded, and taken him, as the Senate recommended, had not the swollen waters of the river, according to the account, precluded the passage. Possibly the allies were deficient in cavalry.

The intelligence was received at Venice with frantic delight, and the crowd ejaculated *Marco! Marco!* and when it was rumoured that the King was either dead or a prisoner, they shouted *A Ferrara! A Ferrara!* even under the windows of the Ferrarese envoy, thinking to punish the Duke for siding with the French. Eight Savoyards on the Rialto were pelted with eggs and lemon-peel for the same reason; and the authorities had to interfere.

It is absolutely conformable to the ideas of the time that the Venetian general paid, on the conclusion of peace, a visit to the King of France at Vercelli, and received from him a gift of two valuable horses. His grateful employers are said to have made him a present of 10,000 ducats. But he could not foresee what might be his next commission; and it was good to hold both sides in hand.

One article of singular interest among the baggage fell into Venetian hands, and is still to be seen in St. Mark's Treasury. It is a square coffer covered with blue velvet, and



powdered with *lis*, which contained the seals of Louis XI. and of Charles himself, and a miniature portrait of the infant Dauphin. It was on this field that Commynes the historian apprises us that he fought by the side of his sovereign.

The Marquis of Mantua had been engaged on the Venetian side, and a corps of Estradiots from Candia was enlisted, and rendered excellent service. Sanudo informs us that the French were in great fear of them. But both armies suffered considerable losses. The diarist furnishes a detailed account of the progress of the Marquis from Mantua till he reached Rome, where he took part in the celebration of Palm Sunday. In the same month Venice was confronted with the collateral task of affording aid to Pisa against the Florentines, whom, however, in April, the former routed in an engagement, of which a contemporary has transmitted the particulars.<sup>1</sup>

Sanudo<sup>2</sup> preserves an anecdote of the Duke of Milan, who, when he met the envoy from Florence, observed to him with a smile: "I can tell you some news. The Signory has sent 500 Estradiots to gather your harvest all the way to Florence," at which the other, surprised, demanded: "And how will the Venetians protect Pisa?" Quoth the Duke, "I can tell you nothing more."

The rather one-sided alliance with Pisa for the sake of maintaining the balance of power in Italy, and checking the progress of the Ultramontanes, had a longer duration and a costlier record than might have been anticipated. On the 13th August 1496 the Venetian proveditor, Domenico Dolfin, arrived at Pisa, and Sanudo the Diarist<sup>3</sup> speaks of his cordial reception by the Ancients and citizens, and the popular acclamations: *Marco, Marco! Dolfin, Dolfin!* and of his attendance at the Council the next morning, and assurance that the Signory would not desert the Pisans. The Signory continued to lend succour to them during two or three years in men and supplies, while Florence took the unwise course of leaning toward the French, and enlisted Frenchmen in its military service. A letter of the 10th July, 1496, tended to disillusionize the Florentines, for it asserted that the French King had no money, and wanted to borrow 400,000

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, pp. 76-95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 269.

ducats, and might not even then cross the mountains.<sup>1</sup> Matters at Florence were exceptionally disastrous. There had been a bad harvest; plague had broken out; the city was agitated by civil disturbances; and the public mind was distracted by the fulminations of Savonarola.

But Pisa was not the only independent State on the Tuscan side, in the protection of which Venice found itself involved, for in July of this year the Signory judged it expedient to subsidise the Marquis of Fosdinovo and his nephew to the extent of 2000 ducats a month. Seldom in their protracted experience had the Venetians engaged in such close succession in two enterprises less practically advantageous than these operations in Tuscany and Southern Italy; but it was less the direct gain in either case which was probably regarded, than the counteraction of French and even German influence; and a similar motive weighed in the case of intervention in the south, where Venetian interests were not otherwise immediately concerned.

The Venetians at the present juncture appear to have had the eyes of all necessitous and impecunious princes fixed upon them as a more or less sure resort under circumstances of difficulty. Even so great a personage as Ferdinand the Catholic had concluded a treaty with the Signory, January 20–21, 1496, to assist him in expelling the French from his dominions in Southern Italy, his allies supplying 700 men-at-arms and 3000 foot, with the means of transport, and engaging to spend on the enterprise, as a member of the Holy League, the sum of 200,000 ducats, receiving as a security for the money a mortgage on the revenues of three cautionary towns estimated to yield 28,000 ducats a year.

The Venetians took several places on the Apulian coast; and their proveditor with the fleet gave them hope that the Republic might soon reduce the whole littoral to submission, while the French were rendering themselves masters of the towns in the interior, and at Capua and elsewhere committed excesses worthy of the worst barbarians.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the independent princes and other notables approached the Signory, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to guarantee their rights on terms, but nothing was

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 237–8. “Dil re di Franza è andata in fumo la venuta sua.”

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 63–4.

settled. Maximilian in an interview with the Venetian ambassador on the 15th March, 1496, in which he listened to him most attentively and graciously, said to him with his own lips: "The Signory will destroy all the French in the kingdom of Naples, and we likewise will do some good." But he did nothing; and, although his Holiness promised to contribute 2000 ducats a month, after the first instalment no more came.

Maximilian was incessantly begging, borrowing, or bullying. He mortgaged lands to the Fuggers of Augsburg, which still remained unredeemed under Charles V., who pursued the same tactics.

Charles VIII. was a foolish youth, and had either done or sanctioned everything in his power to make the French name ridiculous and contemptible. He recrossed the Alps, and when the question of a resumption of the Italian campaign arose, the French Parliament expressed itself very strongly against such a step, and it was abandoned, in spite of the shortsighted solicitude of Florence in its favour.<sup>1</sup>

Venice and Milan had actually begged Maximilian to hasten to their assistance, under the apprehension that the French might come back in greater force. But on the 30th August, just prior to the actual arrival of Maximilian, the Venetian ambassador at the Vatican had instructions to solicit his Holiness to exert his influence with the Emperor to desist from farther movements in the Peninsula, and to proceed to his coronation, as there was no immediate probability of the French King crossing the Alps. It appeared from advices from Rome and Milan that the Emperor desired the Signory and the Duke of Milan to find him between them the 18,000 ducats already promised, 30,000 by way of pay, and 30,000 by way of loan, and that he had had 4000 from Milan on account. The Signory, however, decided not to make any financial advances in the absence of a more specific undertaking, although the Doge himself favoured the grant of the demand on the imperial word and for the sake of conciliation.

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 198. Antonio Surian, a Venetian gentleman, who happened to be in Paris at this conjuncture, is made by the diarist to state, "Che francesi non vollavano asentir a graveza per questa expedition," which explains the attempt of Charles to borrow money from Florence. A letter of Nicolo Machiavelli to the Florentine commander at the siege of Pisa, 31 March, 1500, amply shews how little Florence was in a position to render financial help, and that the money to pay its own troops was barely forthcoming.



From Pisa and Florence the imperial mendicant had no considerable expectation of extracting money, and he accordingly played the bully, calling on them to lay down their arms, and recognize his suzerainty. But both courageously declared their steadfast adhesion to the League, and refused his demand, and at Florence Savonarola mounted the tribune, and counselled resistance, saying that the French would soon be there, and would protect them against the Germans, whereupon there was a vociferous cry of *Franza ! Franza !*

In fact, on the 11th of the same month Charles VIII. had directed from Amboise an appeal, which must have gained a certain publicity, to the Electors of the Empire, claiming their support not merely against the Signory by reason of the Venetian operations in the Two Sicilies, but against Maximilian himself, whose crown and place he claimed. He proposed to annex the Venetian possessions and the Milanese. The communication has the air of having been drawn up by some one behind the throne, and is little more than a senseless rigmarole, which can have deceived no one.<sup>1</sup>

The prolix, half paternal, half bombastic, counter-manifesto of Maximilian, where he averred that he was coming to Italy for the general good and for the particular welfare of Florence, dwelled at considerable length on the relative pretensions of France and himself to sovereign rights in Italy and the Two Sicilies, and on the broad distinction between his motives and acts and those of his brother of France. There is an amusing insistence on *Cæsarea majestas* throughout, receiving into calculation the scanty extent to which the said *majestas* had signalized itself in any directions or ways, save in hectoring, plundering, and borrowing ; and during a long course of years Venice was the sole barrier, at enormous cost, against France on the one hand and Germany on the other, between Italy and ultramontane absorption.

It is remarkable that the Milanese ambassador, who came to arrange some common action with the Republic on the assumption that a French invasion was imminent, had to be told that while his master had advices that the King was on his way to Italy, the Doge had advices that he was dead.

Charles VIII. had actually died at Amboise, which he had for some time made his headquarters, on the 7th April,

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 283-7.



1498, and the news had been brought to the Duke of Ferrara by a Florentine gentleman riding post from France. On the 13th the Duke wrote to one of his own subjects, by whom the intelligence was communicated to Venice, and subsequently confirmed by letter from Milan.<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Milan did not hear what had happened till the 30th April, the King of Spain till the 21st. News did not travel so fast to Milan as to Venice. Indeed they travelled so slowly in the absence of a special organization, that in 1501 the French Government was unaware, till their King came with his army into Italy, that so conspicuous a personality, and one with whom they had such excellent reason to be familiar, as the Lady of Forli and Imola, sister of the Duke of Milan, was not governing her States as usual—was languishing in the Castle of St. Angelo.

Sanudo the Diarist mentions, under January, 1496, that in these days, without specifying the precise date, the Lady of Forli wrote to the Signory seeking a Venetian protectorate, and placing her State and forces at their disposal.<sup>2</sup> Immediately steps were taken to advise the Venetian legations at Rome and Naples of this arrangement and understanding.

The succession of the Duke of Orleans as Louis XII. was a certain presage of the renewal, after so brief an interval, of the ultramontane pretensions to parts of Italy, for the present sovereign united in his own person the French pretensions to Genoa as well as to Naples and Milan.

The conduct of military and naval operations at a distance, coupled with the imminent probability of a new French invasion, so soon as circumstances permitted, did not dissuade or disable the Signory from aggressive movements in Romagna, where a perplexing fluctuation of fortune and policy demanded incessant vigilance and activity. In 1495 the Venetians gained possession of Castelnovo and acquired the virtual lordship of Faenza, Astorga Manfredi having accepted their protectorate and a subsidy or pension of 8000 ducats a year. Nor did their aims end here, for they were suspected, with some reason, of seizing other possessions lately taken by Forli from the Count of Chiaggiolo, and of making them a stepping-stone to the conquest of Forli and Imola themselves. Concurrently with the threatening and treacherous attitude toward the rulers of Forli, they had furnished, in conjunction with

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 938-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Diarii*, i. 9.

them and Bologna, a contingent to resist Ottaviano Manfredi, the cousin of Astorga, and a pretender to the dominion. The course of events was almost as obscurely visible from one week to another to those who were eye-witnesses and actors in them, as they are to us even with the help of much contemporary light in a literary or political shape. The restless ambition of Venice to extend her boundaries, and to intervene in all current questions and quarrels, not unnaturally provoked resentment and reprisal, and the solidity of her power was instrumental in rendering her an object of general animosity among her Italian neighbours, even before it arrayed against her the greater European Powers. In 1498 her troops were almost at the gates of Forli; but the enemy was desecrated from the campanile; the great bell was tolled; the citizens rose to arms; and the aggressors thought fit to retire. Nevertheless, in the following year, when Forli was preparing for defence against the Borgias, and Caterina deemed it advisable to provide an asylum for her children, it was to the Venetians that she turned, and not in vain, for they promptly consented to receive them, and to treat them with honour.

Lodovico il Moro endeavoured to enlist Venice in his cause in the face of the fresh and worse danger; but the Signory, which had spent a very large sum of money in the recent Italian wars, including subsidies to Maximilian, went over to Louis, whom they calculated on being the stronger, on the condition that they should receive Cremona and all the surrounding territory between the Adda, the Oglio, and the Po. Louis did not immediately make his appearance in Italy; but Milan again fell into the hands of the French in 1499, and the Duke fled to Innsbruck, but afterward, in the expectation of recovering his position, returned, was taken prisoner 10th April, 1500, and was sent to France, where he died after a long captivity at the Château of Loches in Touraine. He is described as a fat man, and his coins exhibit him with long hair in the Italian fashion. He was a great tennis-player, and was also fond of cards, in both of which amusements he was allowed to indulge, after a certain interval, during his confinement. At first he had been consigned to a subterranean dungeon, but was subsequently treated with greater leniency, and was placed under a Scottish military guard.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Michel, *Les Ecossois en France*, 1862, i. 286. Two views of this château are given in Lacroix, *La Vie militaire au moyen âge*, 1873, pp. 6, 38.

Meanwhile the troops of the Republic had entered Cremona on the 10th September under the terms of the treaty, and had at length accomplished the long-cherished desire of crossing the Adda. It now began to be apparent, however, that the allies were in an awkward and false position, for Louis, in order to propitiate Alexander VI., had engaged to restore the Papal States to their integrity, and some of these possessions were at present held by Venice. Then the Republic, as the champion of the French claims, gave offence to Spain and the Emperor, of whom the latter was again wanting to know by what title the Republic held its territories on the *terra firma*. The Duke of Milan was not at present in the reckoning, and Cesare Borgia planned the erection of a new principality for himself out of the Milanese and other lands, some of them belonging to Venice. So, all around her, the latter saw her neighbours and friends plotting and counter-plotting, and so the Republic itself was not proof against the temptation of competing for some of the prizes. Alexander VI. quite suddenly died in 1503; all the schemes of his natural son Cesare Borgia came to an end,<sup>1</sup> and the tiara descended, to the disappointment of the French candidate D'Amboise, to Pius III., who, dying in a few weeks, was succeeded by Julius II. of the house of Da Rovere. The Republic possibly took inaccurate measurement of the new Pontiff, or braved the consequences, when, partly on the ground of a former concession from the Duke of Urbino, and partly on a contention that the Florentines were planning a *coup de main*, it proceeded to occupy Faenza, Cesena and Rimini.<sup>2</sup> Julius at once appealed to the Powers, and a new combination with endless ulterior developments ensued. The vast exertions and outlay<sup>3</sup> incurred by Venice on the side of Naples for considerations, which were not obvious, were shown to be futile by the triumphal entry into that city, on the 14th May, 1503, of the Spaniards under Gonsalvo de Cordova; and this year also brought to a close a series of farther hostilities in the Levant, culminating in the fatal battle of Sapienza or Porto

<sup>1</sup> In 1506 he was a prisoner at Medina del Campo, and his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, paid for his maintenance. The Venetian ambassador saw him amusing himself by watching from a balcony the flight of his falcons.—*Calendar of State Papers*, 1864, i. 326.

<sup>2</sup> See a long dispatch from the Venetian Senate to the Consul of the Signory in London, January 27, 1504.

<sup>3</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 191-5.



Longo,<sup>1</sup> August 25, 1499, between the Turks on one side and the Venetians and French on the other, where the Venetian commander, Antonio Grimani, who had distinguished himself in the Apulian campaign, lost his head, and suffered a total rout. One of the proveditors declared that, had it not been for the failure of Grimani in framing the order of attack and in every other way, the Turks were in their hands, as sure as God was God; and Grimani's chaplain wrote home to a similar effect. Louis XII. of France expressed to the Venetian ambassador the opinion that his countrymen, whatever they might be in their policy and in business, did not know what belonged to war,—which was an indiscreet remark in the face of French shortcomings.

The unfortunate commander was sent home in irons, which one of his sons was permitted to fasten on his legs. The public indignation was intense. A popular pasquinade was current in the streets:

“Antonio Grimani,  
Ruina de' cristiani:  
Rebello de' venitiani,  
Puòstu esser manzà da' canni,  
Da' canni, da canolli,  
Ti e toi fulli”;

and Sanudo the Diarist saw over shops and on walls:

“Antonio Grimani,  
Rebello de' venitiani.”<sup>2</sup>

And the family, dreading a riot and the sack of the premises, secreted all their valuable effects. He was banished to Cherso in Dalmatia. He laid his country under the cruel and bitter necessity of accepting the conditions dictated by the Sultan, with some slight modifications obtained by the tact of the Venetian emissary Gritti, and of losing, while the negotiations were dragging slowly along, many places in the Morea, which had been left with insufficient defences, owing to so many concurrent demands on the public service and purse. But Gonsalvo had rendered a service, on the other hand, to Venice by expelling the Turkish garrisons from Zante and Cephalonia, and restoring these islands to the Signory.

<sup>1</sup> In 1354 the Venetians sustained a severe defeat here in a sea-fight against the Genoese.

<sup>2</sup> *Diarist*, iii. 5.



The trial of Grimani was before his peers in the Great Council, and lasted nine days. He seems to have been ably defended by his counsel, and to have spoken on his own behalf in a manner which favourably impressed and even moved the august assembly. On account of his broken health the Government assigned him three medical attendants. When we compare the relative lenity of the sentence with the ignominious character of the return home, we are disposed to trace in it the obligation of the offender to the tribunal, before which he (most unusually) appeared.

Thus, however, it once more happened that the Republic was released with singular opportuneness from all immediate pressure in the East of Europe, not only after stupendous expenditure and losses, but in the presence of a threatened and chronic shrinkage of commercial prosperity through the recent geographical discoveries. For a crisis, such as the Republic had not yet experienced, amid all the dangers which its rulers had successively overcome, was impending over it, and seemed likely to complete the ruin, which the knowledge of the Cape route and America on the one hand, and the interminable Turkish difficulty on the other, had gone so far to promote. The events, which culminated in the Treaty of Bagnolo in 1484, foreshadowed later and severer complications, and ought to have found Venice prepared at any moment to confront new dangers arising from year to year out of new and manifold forces. Many were fully and painfully sensible of this fact, and Priuli in his Diary about this time points out, how the power and prestige of his country had been built up by commerce and naval ascendancy, and how the loss of the command at sea must prove ultimately ruinous.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

A.D. 1501-1509

Leonardo Loredano, Doge—Formation of an European coalition against Venice—**LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI**—Friendly feeling of Henry VIII. toward the Republic—His diplomatic offices at the Vatican—Offers of help from Scotland and Spain—Henry VIII. and the Venetian Ambassador to the Court of England—Cardinal Wolsey—His interviews with the Venetian envoy.

No change had occurred in the Government since the elevation of Agostino Barbarigo in 1486; but on the 13th September 1501, the Doge, now eighty-two years of age, intimated to the Privy Council his strong desire to abdicate. He even removed the ring from his finger, and handed it to the senior councillor, saying: "I will leave the palace, and go to my own house at San Trovaso, and there end my days, and I pray you to be as good as to accept my resignation." The demand was gently refused, and his Serenity was exhorted to take medical advice, and trust to God to restore him to health. But on the 20th all was over. Barbarigo and his brother, the antecedent holder of the dignity, had been spectators of extraordinarily rapid changes in the political and commercial world, and they probably foresaw, in common with many and many others, greater in store. They were two of the five sons of Francesco Barbarigo the Rich Procurator by his wife, a daughter of Nicolo Morosini. When Agostino was chosen to succeed his relative, a contemporary writer characterized it as an unheard-of occurrence. It was at the time alleged that he had caused his brother's death by an exhibition of violent anger, and, although his contemporary, the Diarist Malipiero, allows that he had gained in office great experience, that writer lets us understand that he was extremely self-opinionated, while Sanudo, a second eye-witness, declares that he died in worse repute than any Doge since Messer Christoforo Moro. The latter writer charges him with arrogance and other faults and vices, even venality; and there evidently

was some basis for this view, as there was a posthumous inquisition on his public life and acts. At any rate the old Doge did not forget his own family. He left 200 ducats a year to each of his married daughters, 20 to each of those who were nuns in a convent at Murano, and a capital sum of 10,000 ducats to complete the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli there; and, in addressing a letter to him in 1496, Ferdinand of Naples uses almost more than Italian effusiveness, where, after signifying the highest opinion of Venetian magnanimity, prudence and power, his Majesty acclaims Barbarigo as "tanquam pater nobis colendissimus."<sup>1</sup>

The departed prince had been applauded as a personage endowed with all the excellent qualities belonging to his station; but on his decease, and previously to the choice of a successor, his public life was more freely canvassed, and it was found that he was chargeable with favouritism, corruption, and other foibles. It had been usual to institute an inquisition, on each vacancy of the crown, into the acts of the deceased; and it was done on the present occasion. The most noteworthy point seems to be, that presentations of female patricians to his Serenity on their marriage were no longer to be made; it was a method of official recognition which here devolved on the Doge, since the Dogressa had no constitutional standing; and its motive was to satisfy society that the bride was a person who might be properly visited and received. The new inquisitors did not supersede the old established Correctors of the Coronation Oath; they represented a fresh refinement more directly aimed at the Doge in his personal relations to the State.

These preliminaries occupied nearly a fortnight, and it was not till the 2nd of October that the decision of the electors was known to be in favour of Leonardo Loredano, already a veteran of sixty-six, in infirm health, and of whom the personal aspect, handed down to us by a contemporary, corresponds with the portrait from the hand of Bellini. He was a tall, spare man, with massive features; very kind-hearted, but passionate; an able public servant, but by no means rich, his fortune being estimated only at 30,000 ducats. Loredano, thus stricken in years, has to accompany us nevertheless through a fairly protracted period yet fuller

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, ii. 64-5.

of dramatic and impressive scenes, and comprehending events unparalleled in gravity and European importance. It is perfectly characteristic of Venetian institutions that his promotion to the dogeship was more or less fortuitous; for while the Forty-one were engaged in deliberating on the question, there was a popular clamour in the streets, calling for the elevation of Filippo Trono, a son of the former Doge Nicolo. He was Loredano's senior by ten years, without a family, and worth, it was said, 80,000 ducats. But he was excessively corpulent, and on the night of the 26th September he succumbed to an apoplectic fit.

Since 1396, when the Genoese gave themselves to Charles VI. of France, there had been repeated occasions in the course of the internecine wars in Italy during the fifteenth century, when the invocation of help from the French or the Germans seemed to be a question almost of weeks; and then, when the marked preponderance of Venice itself, seconded by its natural unwillingness to interfere beyond the promotion or protection of its own interests, awakened a general distrust and jealousy of the Republic, the talk among statesmen took a somewhat different turn, and they began to speculate whether they should not send for the French to co-operate with an Italian league against the Venetians. They appreciated the superior position and resources of the latter, and disliked them accordingly; but they did not look much farther, or they would have come to the conclusion that a strong independent Venice was better for Italy than a ruined or humiliated one, and Machiavelli was of the opinion that it would have been well, if the Republic had permanently allied itself with Milan against France and Germany. So early as 1501, the Republic had some reason to suspect that the Emperor Maximilian and Louis XII. were intriguing together at Botzen in the Tyrol with a view to the partition of the Venetian territories; during a long series of years constant and severe friction had existed between Venice and France in connexion with maritime affairs and the commercial interests of the Signory, but the danger was not supposed to extend farther; the movement was not thought at that date to comprise any Italian State; and the Republic at first experienced no serious difficulties in the Peninsula after the death of Charles VIII., until the time arrived when the succession of Julius II.



to the pontificate, and the not unreasonable umbrage given to that impetuous and resolute personage by the Venetian seizure of a portion of the States of the Church, lent to the already unfavourable feeling toward the Republic, and to the predisposition to unite against it, a new cohesive force. In February, 1504, Julius directed an appeal to England for aid against the Signory in recovering Rimini and Faenza; and Pietro Carmeliano, Latin secretary to Henry VII., through whose hands everything passed, submitted for his Majesty's approval and signature a reply, not naming the two cities, and virtually declining the request, as it was a question of temporal jurisdiction. Nor would Henry accede to the application of Venice for the offices of England in its favour at the Vatican on the same point, as he had important matters to arrange with his Holiness. Carmeliano, when the King asked him why he had not mentioned the places in the Romagna in the letter, replied that, if he had done so, the Curia would have treated it as a promise, and that it was inopportune for Henry to entangle himself in the labyrinth of Italian politics.

The more than uncertain relations with the Emperor explain the successful efforts of the Republic at this precise juncture to draw closer to Hungary and Poland as valuable diversions against Germany and the Porte, and in the account of his diplomatic mission to Buda, extending over two or three years (1500-1503), we perceive that Sebastian Giustinian rendered his country very substantial services, and importantly contributed to maintain its station and title as a leading factor in European politics. Giustinian in these negotiations, in common with his colleagues, who undertook similar functions in Poland and Turkey, coped with all sorts of impediments and dangers, and found it indispensable to distribute generous largesse among those thought likely to be able to promote his objects, or to thwart them.

The complicated and almost bewildering intrigues of the Italians, and the short-sighted, suicidal course in inviting foreign alliances or protectorates as make-weights to readjust the balance of power, proved in the long run one of the two causes, which combined to enfeeble and exhaust Venice. The Republic was no willing party to this transmontane policy; but it was unable to frustrate it. One precaution and

counterpoise it steadfastly kept in view; and that was the maintenance of amicable relations, so far as possible, with the Holy See, which might almost be said to be a traditional policy handed down from the visit of Alexander III. in 1177. Rome was, as it were, neutral ground; and it was, as it proved, of immense value to be in a position to throw the influence and voice of the Papacy at any critical juncture into the scales in its favour. Nor did the Republic fail to do all in its power to secure at least the neutrality of England; Pietro Carmeliano, a native of Brescia and the possessor of extraordinary influence over his employer, used his best exertions to move Henry to refrain from taking any course in support of an aggressive policy toward Venice on the part of the Papacy; sometime prior to the European coalition against Venice, the Council of Ten had been in communication with a Venetian merchant resident in London and with their Consul there, engaging, in return for the good offices of Carmeliano, to obtain preferment for his nephew, a student at Padua;<sup>1</sup> but Henry VII., in a private conversation with the Venetian ambassador, Vincenzo Cappello, in 1501, foreshadowed what was almost bound to happen. Carmeliano really seems to have held a position, and enjoyed a prestige, under the first of the Tudors analogous to that which Wolsey was to do under the second one.

The League of Cambrai, which covered altogether the years 1504–1517, from the date of its clandestine organization to that of the virtual return of the intended victim to the *status quo ante*, may be regarded, apart from its political character, as a diplomatic drama, in which the actors took up different positions, like the figures on a chessboard. Had the original members been united and prompt, they could hardly have failed to crush the Republic. The Allies enjoyed the advantage of numbers and military leadership; but they were jealous and distrustful of each other, and the most nominally powerful, the Emperor, was also the poorest; while it entered into the calculation of the Papacy, that the removal of Venetian influence would endanger the Roman frontier, and England was throwing itself into the scale so far on behalf of the Republic as to exhort the Pope to cross over to that side, and was offering financial assistance. So blind, and

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, i. xv., iii. xxxv.

almost puerile, had been the rancour of the assailants, that Florence, toward which the Venetians had never manifested an unfriendly bias, followed the course previously pursued by the Milanese, and incited the Turks, without the cognizance of the rest of the confederacy, to seize the opportunity of despoiling their arch-enemy, now that Venice was helpless. The Sultan, it is to be surmised, was capable of judging for himself, and valued this silly counsel at what it was worth. The Porte had just now need of rest, and might cite the treaty of 1503.<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII., then just newly come to the throne, a young prince of frank and chivalrous temper, appears to have viewed the coalition with disfavour from the beginning. He not only agreed to lend the Republic money to a considerable amount on adequate security, having recently succeeded to the full coffers of a thrifty father;<sup>2</sup> but professed to be partly induced to attack both France and Scotland by way of creating a diversion and weakening the League; and his representative at the Vatican, Archbishop Bainbridge, who had been Abbot of Abingdon, and who, under his original name of Urswick, had served Henry VII. in a diplomatic and other capacities, strenuously exerted himself, of course under instructions, to detach the Holy See, and draw it and Venice together. The Republic neglected no opportunity of studying the foibles of those whom it was an object to propitiate; and just about this time we find it shipping a magnificent team of eight horses for the acceptance of the King, from a knowledge of his Highness's passion for such objects. It may be questioned, whether Henry was not the most sincere and active of the Republic's allies, and his good offices at Rome were obviously of the utmost utility, as the loss of the moral support of his Holiness was calculated to be a grave blow to the rest of the Powers joined with him. But the Pope scarcely knew what to do or whom to believe, for, after the

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo (*Diarii*, xii. 7-22) furnishes the text of a report to the Doge Leonardo Loredano from the ambassador to the Porte, shortly before the publication of the League of Cambrai, shewing possession of all the details connected with the Turkish Government, which might be serviceable. The Venetians, while their immediate attention was concentrated on European affairs, were kept informed, almost from day to day, of everything which was taking place in the Levant and elsewhere, through their local representatives.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian), i. 261. In 1497 Henry VII. was reported to have over six millions in gold, to be laying by half a million yearly, and to be spending nothing. 6,000,000 ducats of 1497 would represent 18 million sterling of modern English currency. But the statement was merely a report.



death of his father, one of Henry's earliest acts was to renew the peace with France, when Julius II. had hoped to keep the two Powers apart by a variety of stratagems, among which was the choice of Henry as the recipient of the consecrated Golden Rose in 1510. All the parties to the existing internecine European struggle freely vituperated each other. The Pope, seizing the weak point of Maximilian, declared that next time he would beg his breeches. The rapacity of the Venetians was said by their opponents to be the cause of all the discord in Europe. His Holiness was charged with the maintenance of his power by sowing dissension among the other Powers; while a secretary of Wolsey observed: "Our masters here are incessantly plotting confederacies and frauds, but never accomplish any result."

Not only did Bainbridge, prompted and authorised by his sovereign, speak for Venice, but a second voice and head were at hand to assist in lending a favourable turn to the policy of Julius. For Antonio Grimani, disgraced in 1499 for his loss of the Battle of Sapienza, had escaped from his Dalmatian prison, and was doing his best as an unofficial diplomatist at Rome to help his country, and retrieve his position; and he is said to have importantly contributed by his exertions to accomplish the first breach in the coalition. He was an avowed anti-Gallican, and in common with Machiavelli maintained that Venice should have upheld the Milanese alliance.

The entire business was a tissue of reciprocal deception and duplicity. The Venetians were certainly the most excusable, for in their case it was a fight for life, at a juncture when we know, from contemporary testimony, that political and commercial influences had done so much to weaken the Republic, and to impair her defensive capacity. But they soon discerned, that the want of concert among their enemies was to be more efficacious than any direct efforts on their own part.

They did not lack offers to serve them in the field and even at sea. Their representative at Madrid reported, in a letter from Valladolid, February 17, 1509, that Gonsalvo de Cordova, the great captain, was dissatisfied with his present master, who paid him indifferently, and was ready to come over to the Signory. He was sounded; but the proposal was not entertained—probably from a diffidence in Spanish good



faith, or a suspicion that the affair might be a piece of collusion. James IV. of Scotland, whom we find seeking to secure himself against England by drawing as close as possible to France, seemed to have wavered in his policy and allegiance, as he perceived the course of affairs to fluctuate; and accordingly he, perhaps influenced by the manifest bias of the English sovereign, expressed himself prepared, at the head of 10,000 of his countrymen, with 150 vessels for coasting work, to assist the Government of the Doge, and to mask the movement of troops under a plea, that he projected a crusade against the infidels. This doubtless somewhat surprising communication was rejected, presumably on more than one ground, yet in the first place, lest its acceptance might have given offence in London, since the anomalously intimate relations between Scotland and France were a notorious source of jealousy and apprehension to the English Government.

The overtures of Henry VIII. to Venice were attended by an edifying episode. The Venetian envoy, Andrea Badoer, in a dispatch to his Government of December 3, 1510, wrote that the King would lend even twice the amount asked, if proper security in jewels was forthcoming;<sup>1</sup> and he recommended that the Signory should send his wife over with the necessary bonds, and begged them also to remit her, before she started, at least 400 ducats, since he desired her to make several purchases for him. At the same time he sent word to his son-in-law Francesco Gradenigo to procure the command of the galley on which the lady would sail for England. The acquaintance of Badoer with our language promoted perhaps his success in his post; the King and he were friendly; and Henry, falling in with him one day about the court, said:

<sup>1</sup> The second Tudor in these palmy days, when cash was plentiful, was far from averse, it appears, to a transaction which promised a fair turnover. There was something of the Earl of Richmond in him, after all, and he might have succeeded as a pawnbroker, had other vocations failed. But he was just here dealing with folks at least his match, and the countrymen of Shylock and his Highness did not come to terms. In 1510, Henry advanced money on the armour of Charles the Bold to the Duke's granddaughter. It must have been an open secret that the second Tudor lent money to many royal and rich clients during several years (1510-19), Maximilian inclusive; his favourite security was jewels, of which he found that a good store had been hoarded up on the continent; but he also entered into dealings in the City, where he perhaps had his own broker, and he was connected with the Florentine (Frescobaldo) Bank there, which failed—when the report went that his Majesty had lost 150,000 ducats. But his luck fluctuated. The failure occurred at an inopportune moment, when he happened to have 300,000 ducats there.

"Ambassador, there's good news for you; you will have better anon." His Majesty, Badoer tells us, was anxious that the signora his wife should also reside in England. The amount which the King proposed to advance was a million ducats. It does not appear that the negotiation was completed. The English monarch must have begun to grow tired of this class of transaction, for his brother Maximilian came to him too, just as he borrowed troops from Spain, and the Venetian ambassador Giustinian in 1516 candidly told the King that his subsidies to the Emperor principally operated in enabling Maximilian to hold Verona against the Republic. Yet in December, 1515, the Venetian envoy at London was assured by the Lord Chancellor that these remittances did not go to the Emperor, and was informed by the Duke of Norfolk in strict confidence that his sovereign would never think of giving money to the Emperor, since it would be throwing it away, and would injure the Venetians, his Highness's particular friends. These declarations the ambassador subsequently found to be absolutely untrue, and he explained to his own Government how large sums of money were consigned to certain parties for ultimate delivery to Maximilian.<sup>1</sup>

The language of reproof must be read side by side with the communication of Wolsey about the same time (1516), and while Italy and Venice were still labouring under the troubles which the Court of Rome had principally contributed to organize, to the same Giustinian. The Cardinal, through that medium, advised the Venetians to form a general European league against France, which he (the Cardinal) judged to be the most dangerous enemy of Italy, and he flattered the Republic with the expectation that, the French beaten, it might acquire the whole of the Peninsula for itself. But his Eminence could tell Venice very little which it did not already know, and both he and his royal master were usually outwitted in their negotiations with the subtle and reticent Italians. The great and true worth of this expression of opinion on the part of Wolsey for our purpose is, however, its apparent indication of the complete rally in seven years

<sup>1</sup> *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*, edited by Rawdon Brown, i. 148 *et seqq.* Nor was this the whole of the mischief and the falsehood. For an English emissary, Richard Pace, was in Switzerland in 1515 to engage some of the Cantons to support the Germans, and to offer them a subsidy from England.

from the heavy blow sustained through the potent league formed against her. The Cardinal saw no reason in 1516, why a State, supposed to have been all but crushed in 1509, in a conflict with the greatest princes of Europe, supported by the spiritual prestige and active succour of one of the most capable and strenuous of recent pontiffs, should not become mistress of Italy—if it followed his advice. But in fact the Republic in 1511 positively contracted a league of this kind with the Holy See and the Spaniards, and very little came of it, partly owing to the successes of Gaston de Foix, and partly to the pecuniary straits of Venice itself, which may account for the renewal of a proposal to raise a loan from Henry VIII. on the security of certain jewels to be deposited with the English ambassador at the Vatican. But Henry thought that they would not be safe there; and at any rate the negotiation again dropped.

The King personally informed Badoer that in the treaty with France, which gave such umbrage to the Papacy, Louis XII. had engaged at his instance not to molest the Republic in its own territories or in its legitimate commercial relations; but he subsequently complained that Louis or somebody else had tampered with the clauses or had omitted them.

But at the same time Henry and Wolsey were alike frank and brusque enough in their strictures on the rapacious temper of Venice, and the former warned Giustinian, the successor of Badoer, as the Duke of Milan had done in 1467. His Majesty said, among other things (30 September, 1516): "It is really time for you to cease any longer to molest the Emperor about Verona; you will not be easy till you provoke the whole world against you." Giustinian quietly but firmly urged that the Venetians desired merely to regain their own.<sup>1</sup> The King: "If you persist in this opinion, you will spend twice as much as Verona is worth." Giustinian was obliged rather later to be the medium for endeavouring to mollify the Cardinal in respect to certain grievances on the part of his countrymen in England; and he had an appointment to see his Eminence on November 11, 1518, and introduce the complainants, who brought as a present seven Damascus

<sup>1</sup> Verona had belonged since 1406 to Venice, which received formal investiture at Prague from the Emperor Sigismund in 1437, with that and other territories similarly acquired.



carpets. Perhaps there were seven of them, and this was a carpet apiece. At first Wolsey was very irate, and would not even see the deputation, but, becoming calmer, he sent for them, and addressed them graciously. Apart from that immediate matter, the ambassador had a few words to say about the French treaty then in course of negotiation, and objected to a particular clause, roundly intimating that he was a better judge than the Cardinal what Venice wanted; whereupon the other closed the interview abruptly with, "Enough, enough! matters shall rest as they are."

When the arrogance alike of Henry and his minister toward foreign Powers, where their humour or zeal inclined them, is considered, the Republic might have deemed itself fortunate and flattered in being on the whole so amicably received. As a proof that Wolsey did not confine his insolent bearing to what he might have treated as a secondary State, it is shown that in the same year (1516) the dispatches of the French ambassador, who accompanied Giustinian, were, under the plea of infection from the plague, detained and opened at Canterbury, the contents read, and the bearer reprimanded on his arrival in London. The correspondence of Giustinian with his Government and brother, so far as they are available in an English form, shed a most valuable light on contemporary European politics. A few of them, from May 31 to June 12, 1516, owing to the prevalence of the plague in London, were addressed from the village of Putney, whither the writer had retired for the time, and others found him at Westminster and Lambeth.

There is a letter of April 1, 1516, in this truly important and precious series, which embodies an outline of an altercation between Giustinian and certain English lords unnamed, where the latter, or one of them, went so far as to say: *Isti Veneti sunt piscatores*. The envoy had some difficulty in keeping his temper; but he succeeded in doing so, and reminded his hearers that the Christian faith had been founded by fishermen, and that the Venetians had been the fishermen who defended it against the infidel, their boats being galleys and ships, their hooks the treasury of St. Mark, and their bait their life's blood. Then the lords in question contended that they were fishermen in another sense, in taking what belonged to others, as they had plucked something from all



the potentates in the world, adding, that the island of Cyprus was English by right. Giustinian retorted that Cyprus would ere then have been in the hands of Turkey, had the Republic not spent in its protection thrice as much as the island was worth, and that it was no more than the truth that it had been finally surrendered to Venice by a gentlewoman of his country, the sister of the most noble Giorgio Cornaro. The speaker might have added that at any rate the Republic did no more than follow the universal policy of appropriating territory, when circumstances proved favourable, and that the Venetians were not guilty of the Oriental servility toward the throne and the aristocracy observable in England.

So far as the diplomatic relations between Venice and England went, unusual self-command and finesse were rendered essential by the peculiar value attachable at this period to the English alliance. In the relations between Henry and the representative of the Signory we have to realise, not the features and figure made familiar by Holbein, and to some extent by Penni, but the fair-haired young man handed down to us by Bordone, and, besides, a precisely similar attitude was adopted, as we know, toward English officials of the highest rank by Wolsey and his master.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

A.D. 1509-1529

Story of the League of Cambrai—Vigilance and activity of the Republic—Preliminary operations—Defeat of the Venetians at Agnadello—Arrival of the intelligence at Venice—Launch of the Interdict by Julius II.—Profound impression—Accounts of eye-witnesses—Fortitude of the Government—The Doge sends his Plate to the Mint—Attempt to detach the Holy See from the League—Measures for protecting the Provinces—Recovery of Padua (17th July 1509)—And other places—Repulse of the Emperor Maximilian—Defection of Julius II.—His death, and succession of Leo X. (1513)—The Venetians resume the offensive—Reconciliation and Alliance with France—Defeat of French and Venetians at Novara (6th June 1513)—Distress at Venice—The Doge delivers his views—Generous response to a call for pecuniary aid—Louis XII. is succeeded by Francis I. (1515)—The Republic adheres to its French Alliance—Battle of Marignano decided by the Venetians (1515)—Charles V. becomes King of Spain (1516)—Truce with Maximilian (1528)—Charles V. becomes Emperor (1519)—Venice and the Lutherans—Religious troubles of Germany—Battle of Pavia (1525)—Charles V. and the Signory—Italian League against the Emperor (1526)—Difficulties of political parties—Fall and sack of Rome (1527)—Angry feeling in Europe—Treaty of Cognac—Efforts of Venice to relieve Rome—And to assist Milan—Peace of Cambrai (1529)—Obstacles to Italian unity.

THE scheme, the initiative of which was taken at Blois in 1504, if not at Botzen in 1501, had left to the Republic nothing outside the original insular dominion. The dismemberment of the Venetian Empire was to be all but complete. The Pope was to take or resume Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Cesena. Maximilian proposed to appropriate Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Roveredo, Friuli, and Istria. The French share comprised Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, Cremona, and Ghiaradda. Brindisi, Otranto, Gallipoli, and Trani fell to the Spanish dynasty at present seated at Naples. If they gave their adherence to the coalition, the King of Hungary was to be recompensed with Dalmatia and the Duke of Saxony with Cyprus, although the Duke of Savoy was said to be laying claim to it. Candia, the Ionian Islands, the Morea, and the possessions of Venice in many other parts, appear to have been left out of the schedule, either as

too distant or too problematical. As we regard it in retrospect, this movement and scheme offer the tolerably distinct aspect of an arrangement on paper; it was essentially empirical, and its duration was to be discounted. Yet in the meantime the coalition obviously possessed sufficient numerical and material stamina to inflict a horrible amount of damage, and to necessitate a heavy addition to the already oppressive national burdens. It was a league between all the leading Powers of Europe, England, the new King of which, Henry VIII., from the outset pronounced himself the ally of Venice, and the Porte, excepted, against a State peculiarly situated, and incapable of bringing into the field any adequate means of resistance or even protection from blockade on the side of the mainland. The Republic had more than once shown itself more than a match for each and all of them singly; but the new position was beyond measure embarrassing and alarming. For the national resources under such wholly unprecedented circumstances were as inadequate to cope with a combination in the presence of a shrinking trade and a Navy, which had been unwisely suffered to fall below the old standard, as any other European government of that period would have probably been.

The Republic had been no stranger to the rapid course of events. Its couriers, the trustiest and quickest in the world, brought information from day to day from the representatives at the different courts, regardless of expense and of the horses killed under them by overriding. Where special urgency was recognized, seven days were known to have sufficed to convey a dispatch to Venice from a point a hundred miles beyond Paris. The treaty, finally ratified at Cambrai on the 4th December 1508 by the plenipotentiaries, the Duchess of Savoy, Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian, representing her father, purported on its face to be a defensive alliance of the contracting parties against "the insatiable cupidity of the Venetians and their thirst for dominion"; yet ten days after Louis XII. assured the representative of the Signory that, though there was a treaty, it contained nothing detrimental to his employers. Assuredly on the score of ambition his employers might fairly and easily recriminate.

The latter were far better advised; and the Council of Ten in the same month assumed the supreme direction of

affairs, "owing to the rumours," as it was officially set forth, "of evil practices and intentions toward us and our State." Even the Marquis of Mantua, who had been in Venetian pay, and had been splendidly recompensed for his services at Fornovo in 1495, had now crossed over to the other side, and thrown his military talents into the scale against the Republic. He lived to change sides once more, to become acquainted with the interior of a Venetian prison, and to owe his freedom to the intercession of the Grand Signior, whom he had once had it in his power to oblige.

Referring to the apostasy of Mantua and Ferrara, Sanudo tells us that lampoons were posted about the two cities of this tenor:—

"A questa impresa Veniezia spendira,  
Non perliò perdera  
Ma Mantoa e Ferara pagira."

The Council summoned to its assistance a special Giunta to take charge of the finances. But it is remarkable enough that it was not till the end of January, 1509, that Andrea Badoer was sent as resident ambassador to London, the business having been so far conducted by the Venetian Consul there, who used his best efforts to enlist the sympathy of Henry VIII. and Carmeliano, and who was furnished with a new cypher.

The plan of campaign was arranged at home in concert with Count Pitigliano, commissioned as captain-general, and Bartolomeo D'Alviano with the title of Governor-general, assisted by two civil proveditors. It was decided to assume the offensive; and a variety of proposals were laid before the Government as to details. Some one suggested that on crossing the Adda the Venetian troops should unfurl a standard bearing on it *Defensio Italie*, and should adopt a war-cry *Italia e Libertà*. But the latter was not even put to the ballot. The army, meanwhile, was concentrated at Pontevico, about seven leagues from Brescia, and was reported to be in excellent order and spirits. These preparations so far seemed to promise well. But in a letter from the Venetian ambassador at Valladolid to the Chiefs of the Council of Ten, February 17, 1509, Francesco Cornaro states that he had not then heard of war having been declared, but that, according to public report, it was against the Venetians.



In the early part of March, 1509, the Germans were advancing toward Lombardy, and a free passage for his troops was demanded in the name of Maximilian<sup>1</sup> from the Venetian podesta of the Veronese, who, acting under the orders of the Senate, responded that he was placed there as an administrator, and had no power to exceed his instructions, but that if his Majesty approached the Signory in a pacific attitude, it would pay him all due honour. Although Julius II. did not launch his bull till the 27th April, in the middle of the month the French under Trivulzio forestalled the Venetians by crossing the Adda, while the papal forces, without waiting for the interdict, invaded Cervia and Ravenna, and committed the most barbarous outrages, which were aggravated by the circumstance that the term of grace accorded to the Republic did not expire till the 21st May. The Ten would not permit the interdict to be published, and (as on a previous occasion) caused an appeal to a future Council to be attached to St. Peter's. Letters were at the same time addressed separately to the Pope and the Curia, in which they were reminded of the loyal services of the Republic to the Church and Christianity, and of the cession of Rimini and Faenza to it by the Duke of Urbino, vicar-general of the Holy See, while Cervia had long formed part of its territories. Sanudo the Diarist informs us that there was a current rumour that the King of England forbade the publication of the bull there.

Pitigliano was in favour of acting on the defensive; but his colleague, younger and more impulsive, urged an immediate advance. A French detachment was, in fact, repulsed to the cry of *Italia e Libertà*, and the Venetians took and sacked Triviglio, and disarmed the French garrison. But this success made Alviano still more sanguine; and a general engagement took place on the 14th of May, in which he, unsupported by Pitigliano, was routed, with a reported loss of 4000 in slain alone, at Agnadello. There seems good reason to conclude that had the two corps or divisions acted in concert, and time had not been sacrificed by the civil proveditors in waiting for instructions from Venice, the issue might have been different; and Alviano, who subsequently shewed ability, protested that

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian ambassador Quirini, on his return from waiting on the Emperor, made it known that the latter had already granted the descendants of the Scaligers investiture as his lieutenants or vicars of Verona and Vicenza.—Romanin, v. 184.

he should have gained the day, had he been left to his own discretion. On the 16th the Venetian Government wrote to the ambassador in London stating that the army had met with a defeat without much loss of life, and that the troops were rallying to check the farther progress of the enemy, but that it was most important to prevail on England to unite with the Emperor in curbing the French, in which the Signory might be trusted to co-operate.<sup>1</sup>

The immediate result was, however, that all Lombardy, except two or three places, was in the hands or grasp of the French by the 1st June without striking another blow. "All is lost," writes the diarist Sanudo, "without unsheathing the sword. All is lost by treachery and disloyalty." He should have rather made in his diary the entry, that the disaster was due to mismanagement and officialism.<sup>2</sup>

News from the front was anxiously expected at Venice. Sanudo tells us that on the 15th May he was in the Senate House, where the Sages were in consultation, and that he and others had been looking at the map of Italy painted on the walls of the hall, when at ten o'clock at night a courier arrived, bearing dispatches from Sebastian Giustinian, Governor of Brescia, to say that all was lost. The place had yielded to a general panic, and on the 19th, having no adequate garrison, opened its gates to the French at the instance of the prominent Gambara party. The Venetian officials were taken prisoners; but the Brescians, from personal regard to their Bailo, expressly stipulated as a condition of their surrender, that Giustinian should receive a safe-conduct home.

On Trinity Sunday, the 3rd of June, the Bailo presented himself before the College in a black gown and with an unkempt beard, to read his report. He stated that, on his departure, men and women blessed him from their balconies, lamenting their change of masters, and that the population was devoted to St. Mark, and would rise on the first favourable opportunity, although the French party, headed by Gambara, Avogrado, and Martinengo, had momentarily succeeded in gaining the upper hand. The selection of Giustinian to fill the post of Savio of the *terra firma* was in itself sufficient proof that the Government attached no blame to

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (Venetian)*, i. 346.

<sup>2</sup> *Diarii*, viii. 41.

him; and he lived to enjoy the implicit confidence of his countrymen in a series of responsible and anxious employments during a long course of years.

Sanudo admits us behind the scenes to let us see how acute the crisis was, and how the bravest and stoutest hearts quailed before the storm, which had burst upon the city and State from so many directions. On the great festive anniversary, which preceded the national fair of *La Sensa* (Ascension Day), when tens of thousands usually congregated here, the capital was plunged in grief and despair; there were no preparations, no visitors, no company on the Piazza; the Fathers were prostrate with trouble; and the Doge was like a dead man, disconsolate and speechless. All this was rather overdrawn and hyperbolic; and hardly more is predicable of his idea, that it would have been a good plan to ask the Sultan for help. The Diarist, before affairs had much improved, most characteristically notes under 17th July 1509—precisely two months later—how, as he was going home, he met a man, who offered him a fine Hebrew Bible, worth twenty ducats, for a marcello, a coin representing a few pence; and he took it, he says, to place in his library. Cannot we forgive him?—especially when we know, apart from his communications, that there were yet in that emergency many cool and clear heads devising methods of dividing the coalition, and that the plenipotentiary Council of Ten sat day and night, ready to avail itself of every turn, every mistake on the part of the enemy, and every proposal laid on the table. The Decemvirs wept not, but worked and watched, and all able-bodied men hastened to place themselves under arms, and such was the demand, that the prices of all military stores doubled. Sanudo himself in September tried to make himself useful as a *Savio* for the Orders.

Sanudo was not the only one, however, who gave way to his emotions. Paolo Barbo, an ex-procurator and valuable public servant, but superannuated, began, when he heard the news from Agnadello, to shed tears, and said to his wife: "Give me my cloak, for I wish to go to the Pregadi, and say four words, and then die." Luigi da Porto the novelist, Priuli the writer of another coeval and most interesting Diary, and men of business in their correspondence, both before and after the disaster at Agnadello, united in prophesying

the imminent doom of Venice; and a Frenchman, Joachim du Bellay, thought it worth while, fifty years after the event, to print an offensive and silly lampoon against the State, which merely pretended to hold sway over the sea, whereas the Turks were the real masters.

A different sort of pessimist presents himself in a fugitive metrical pamphlet of the times,<sup>1</sup> which purports to be a personal appeal to God, the Virgin, and the Papal Legate by a Venetian for mercy and aid, with an admission that the Signory had incurred general resentment by its ambition and rapacity. The piece appears to have been composed on the eve of the struggle, and counsels submission to the inevitable. In a sort of epilogue the writer says (as it were sarcastically):—

“Venise ainsi sen alloit regretant  
Se complaignant de la guerre future.”

The stanza containing a supplication to the Legate is as follows:—

“O bon legat qui avez charge du cas  
Prenez du catz | et me donnez silence  
Je vous requiers quen faciez le pourchas  
Et que combatz | soient du tout mis en bas  
Auec debatz | sans escu ne sans lance  
Douleur se lance contre moy a oultrance  
Je crains violence | de guerre et ses faitz  
Gens qui ont peur sont a demy deffaitz.”

The composition, which has the air of a French satire, and which perhaps never saw Venice, winds up with the words: *Tout par honneur.*

In a letter to the Government, Badoer, under date of May 18, 1509, intimated to those who had waited on him in the name of Henry VII., who was almost *in extremis*, that the main object of his mission was the hostile attitude of France toward the Signory, and the King conveyed through his representatives his grief and surprise that the French monarch should be unfriendly to a Power which was able to render such valuable help in a war against the infidels. Henry had already written both to Louis XII. and to Maximilian in the

<sup>1</sup> *La cōplâite de Venise* (about 1509), four leaves in small octavo, with a full-length figure apparently intended to represent a Venetian citizen, and the legend: *borgois de Venise doubtiez tētrpse.*



cause of peace, and had called upon the former to respect the stipulation between France and England for the protection of Venetian shipping. He died on the 20th of the same month, but even before that date there was a confident anticipation at Venice, that his successor, a youth of eighteen, would prove even a warmer friend to the Signory and even more disaffected to France.

The Government wrote to the authorities at Brescia and elsewhere to assure them of its determination to strain every nerve to protect and assist them; it directed Pitigliano to cover and, if possible, occupy Verona, and not to move, as he had proposed, toward Vicenza and Padua, to both of which provveditors were at once sent to devise measures of defence (May 25, 1509). Stores of grain were laid up: floating mills to grind corn were improvised on some of the tidal waterways; and all suspected persons were expelled from the capital. Steps were taken to guard the passes of Chioggia, the road by Piove di Sacco, Lizza Fusina, and Malghera, and the mouths of the Silis, over all of which were placed persons of the most trustworthy and capable character. The Doge Loredano publicly announced the danger and the need of taking all possible means to avert it. He sent his own plate to the mint:<sup>1</sup> and we know that he was far from being a rich man. He referred the Council to his sons, who said: "The Doge will do what this land shall desire." Various schemes were suggested, and some were carried out, for reducing the public expenditure. A movement was set on foot to send Loredano to Verona with a picked corps of 500 patricians, to be equipped at their own cost, to encourage the city and help the cause; but nothing was immediately resolved. Rich men, patrons of letters and art, prepared to devote to the national service all their spare funds, and the Aldine Press, which during many years had been busily engaged in producing all the masterpieces of the Greek and Roman writers, did not resume its invaluable labours, till the crisis had practically passed.

The Ten never for a moment, however, relaxed in their labours and vigilance; for they were fully aware of the heavy

<sup>1</sup> Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara, deposited plate and jewels to raise funds for his war with Julius II., and took into use an earthenware service of his own manufacture (Chaffers, 1912, p. 141). Louis XIV. of France made a similar sacrifice in his time.

stake which the country had in the preservation of the *terra firma*, where it had gradually acquired such valuable interests. For amid the perpetual distractions of Italy wealthy Venetian families—the Pisani, the Memi, the Morosini, the Suriani, and others—preferring real estate to trade, had availed themselves of all favourable opportunities of buying landed property on both sides of the Adriatic, and particularly in the districts more or less contiguous to the lagoons, or, as in the Bresciano, more peculiarly loyal to the mother-city; and their preservation and security were immensely important, inasmuch as their owners came forward on all public emergencies to assist the State. Overtures were also addressed to the Pope through the Venetian cardinals, and to Maximilian, offering certain concessions, with a view to breaking the coalition.

Alviano had been wounded in the face, and eventually taken prisoner. He was sent first to Milan and thence to Loches in Touraine, where he was treated, he lets us know, with fair consideration, and from which he was after an interval released. On his liberation he drew up for the information of the Signory an account of the battle; it served what was probably its immediate purpose in reassuring his employers, or at least in persuading them, that he was as eligible as any other just now at their disposal. Nor was Pitigliano, to whom the disaster was certainly in large measure owing, discarded; he had at any rate saved his corps, and his capacity was not called in question. But the two Condottieri were never again associated in the field. That was a fatal blunder superadded to the proveditorial mischief. To the apology (as it were) of Alviano it might have been farther added, that the soldiers before the fight were demoralised by the rich booty which they had secured at Triviglio; and many of them had deserted in order to go into the neighbouring towns and convert their shares into money.

There was an unceasing effort to recover the cities of the *terra firma*, which had every predisposition to meet the Signory. Brescia, Verona, Vicenza,<sup>1</sup> Padua, and Treviso were equally ready to embrace the earliest opportunity of throwing off their foreign yokes, and Padua was to be the first to become once more Venetian. That province had been overrun by the French, Germans, and others, who had been guilty of the most

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1864, i. 339.

atrocious excesses. On the 17th July, the very day on which the diarist Sanudo purchased his Bible in the street, it was retaken by a *coup de main*. Some short time before, two unknown persons had arrived by boat from Lizza Fusina, muffled up in white cloaks, and had been conducted to the Palace, where they remained till a very late hour closeted with the Doge and the Ten, when they returned as they had come. On the night of the 16th there was a busy movement of armed barques in the direction of Fusina from Murano, Chioggia, and other parts of the Dogado, under the command of Nicolo Pasqualigo, Master of the Arsenal; and the proveditor Andrea Gritti, having left a sufficient force to defend Treviso, advanced on that side to co-operate with the troops sent from Venice. An entrance was cleverly effected by sending forward three waggons loaded with corn, for which the drawbridge was lowered, and the gates were thrown open; the last waggon lingered on the bridge long enough to permit the forces of Gritti in the rear to come up and pass into the city shouting *Marco! Marco!*—the Germans were overpowered, and the victory was complete. Among the troops which the Government had sent by way of Fusina were the sons of the Doge and two hundred noble youths who enrolled themselves as volunteers. Intelligence of the recovery of Padua was communicated by Badoer without any delay, through a member of his household, to Henry VIII.

Henry VIII. had been crowned on 25th June 1509. The Venetian ambassador took the earliest opportunity of gaining an audience, and communicating to the King the bad news, at which his Majesty expressed his grief and regret. He said that he was the Signory's good friend, and would confer with his advisers on the subject; and they need not doubt his intentions. Badoer tells us that Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was also a warm friend of Venice.<sup>1</sup> Badoer again saw Henry in the beginning of August, and exerted his utmost efforts to induce the King to mediate with France and Germany, and not to permit a State, which had done so much for the Christian commonwealth, to be ruined, whereas the Powers might have more profitably and fitly combined against the infidels. His Majesty was reminded of the great injury inflicted by this war on trade, and that it deterred the Signory from

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 2.



letting the Flanders galleys incur the risk of performing their annual voyage. The Venetian Government approved what Badoer had done and said, and farther suggested the negotiation of an alliance with England; it ascribed the entire responsibility for the feeling against the Signory to France, and if England and Venice should be united, the Emperor might come over to them, and so France would be isolated. Henry did not disguise his qualified respect for Louis XII., and even treated him with studied indignity. In September, 1509, when the French ambassador left London, the King desired that the stipulated tribute should be sent by his master. The ambassador stated that it had been sent to his father. Henry rejoined: "My father is me, and I am my father; so I choose to have it at any rate." Henry at this time neglected no opportunity of slighting France, and of upholding Venice,<sup>1</sup> and the latter omitted no desirable opportunity of fomenting the estrangement.

Maximilian, meanwhile, in whose favour a Bolognese seer had published at the close of 1507 a prognostication for the ensuing year, in which he was acclaimed as the *Invictissimus Imperator*, but who on March 14, 1509, was reported to have been seen at Brussels, taking his pleasure,<sup>2</sup> had been doing next to nothing. He reached Padua only to discover that it had, under the able and energetic direction of Alvigi Porto of Vicenza, been put into a posture of defence; and he was obliged to retire. Legnago and other positions were successively regained. The defence of Padua was heroic; the army of Maximilian, computed at from 80,000 to 100,000 men, Germans, Spaniards, and French, failed to effect an entrance, even when a breach had been made. It was a disheartening and discreditable defeat of the imperialists and the league, and

<sup>1</sup> See particularly what Sanudo records (*Cal. of State Papers*, ii. 5). The Diarist tells us that Badoer, in dispatches dated 14 November, 1509, reported himself ill with a fever, and that he had been obliged to pawn his plate, because the bills of exchange sent to him could not be cashed.—*Ibid.* 10. This state of things remained unchanged in April 1510. Payments on account were periodically remitted. But in March Sanudo acquaints us that a motion was put in the Senate to reduce his salary from 100 to 70 ducats a month, and that Badoer could only say that he was content with what the Signory chose to give, although he had gone to England, not to please himself, but to serve his country. In 1511 the pecuniary tension subsided, and Badoer was more comfortable. He may have thought, however, that his employers were more generous in their testimony than in their tariff. They may have judged him extravagant. There were more than rumours to that effect.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (1864), i. 339.



the Republic might now breathe a little more freely. It appeared only to be requisite to profit by the natural course of events. The league, loosely knit together without any master-mind to lead it, and with a chronic deficiency of funds, was beginning to betray symptoms of dissolution. Before the year had expired the Pope, whose entrance into the coalition had been largely influenced by the almost habitually contumacious bearing of the Signory toward the Vatican, had virtually seceded, although terms were not settled till the February of 1510. Julius had obtained all that he sought and somewhat more, and he had nothing to gain from helping the others to weaken Venice. He very naturally studied his own temporal interest as an Italian prince.

In the course of November and December the Signory had recovered Vicenza (November 15), which had been taken by the enemy on the 24th May, Feltre, Cividale di Belluno, and La Scala, and had executed reprisals against the Duke of Ferrara for his occupation of the Polesine of Rovigo, Monselice, Este, Montagna, and Castelbaldo, and the destruction of the dykes on the Adige in the Padovano. Maximilian was reported to have retreated toward Trento without having performed anything to his credit or advantage, and Henry sent a letter to the Pope in favour of the Signory, which, some said, made his Holiness ill, as it shewed how absolutely the writer was for Venice, although the latter still lay under the interdict.

Certain newsletters from Rome, calendared by Sanudo the Diarist (April 8-12, 1510), admit us to a knowledge of what was going on within the information of the writers; but Sanudo himself warns us to accept statements with allowance, and in fact some accounts are no sooner received than they are contradicted or modified. The diarist has a passage derived from these advices, to the effect that the Signory had exceptionally permitted 400 men-at-arms to cross Venetian territory on their march from Naples, but had refused the right to 2000 infantry, which argues a sense of Venetian political vitality; that the Spanish ambassador had asked the Pope to send six galleys for the passage of troops to Trieste, and that he (the ambassador) could only meet the Venetian one in private; and that his Holiness was in such alarm at the general state of Italian affairs that he meditated a

flight from Rome, but that the embassies reassured and consoled him.

The Sensa of 1510, according to the diarist Priuli, was observed with all its customary splendour and gaiety, as if nothing had happened or was anticipated out of the ordinary way, and at the marriage of a Foscari and a Veniero the Company of the Stocking gave a magnificent entertainment at which all the ambassadors, including those of Powers just then united in arms against the Republic, were present, and a pantomime, where figures, representing various countries, danced together. It was the branch of the company called the *Eterni*, which found the money for this pageant, and the Executive did not lift a finger. It knew with whom it had to deal. The cost might have disappeared in a less useful manner than in keeping the people quiet; and perhaps these same *Eterni* had funds to spare for more practical purposes.

The defection of the Pope and the languor of the Emperor did not prevent the League from winning successes, or savage cruelties from being perpetrated in its name; a large number of persons who had taken refuge from their French assailants in a disused quarry near Vicenza were deliberately suffocated; and the French soon derived a new advantage from the brilliant talents of Gaston de Foix. The war lasted all through 1510 and the seven succeeding years, with fluctuations of fortune. The Signory had to consider the best available means of dividing their enemies, and of preventing a second European coalition by employing one Power to co-operate with them against the others. But throughout they leant most strongly on England and its sovereign; and on January 5, 1510, we see that Badoer was clothed by his Government with almost plenipotentiary authority to negotiate a league between Henry VIII. and such other States as might be inclined to join. The Venetian Consul at London was qualified to act for Badoer at need. A long correspondence took place between the parties interested without any practical result; but the faith in Badoer was as implicit as it was flattering. On the 6th January came tidings of a successful attack on a Venetian naval force on the Po by the united French, Ferrarese, and Papal squadron, and the Government forthwith advised Badoer of the unfortunate occurrence, and stated that arrangements were in progress for strengthening the Navy, and that

a new Captain-General had been appointed. There were symptoms of revival. On the 4th February, 1510, Badoer dined with the King, who told him that he had written to his Holiness, begging him to remove the interdict, and three weeks later we learn that this had been done. Henry at the same time assured Badoer that it was not his intention to enter into any other European alliance to which the Signory was not a friendly party. Sanudo tells us that this piece of news had been confirmed by advices from Rome. In March there was talk of a league between England, Scotland, the Holy See, and Venice, while in the dispatches a reconciliation with Maximilian through the good offices of England is still mooted, as the Emperor began to distrust French sincerity, and his accession to the Italian cause was undoubtedly of immense value. About this time, Henry VIII., in spite of his willingness to help the Signory, was growing tired of lending money to them or anyone else. Yet on September 5, same year, Badoer announces the King's readiness to advance on his own security 150,000 ducats. The Signory arranged to borrow 100,000.

So far as one can glean even from contemporary witnesses, events succeeded and overlapped each other with absolutely melodramatic rapidity and inconsistency. In February, 1510, Henry VIII. assured Badoer of his unalterable resolution to adhere loyally to Venice, and in April the Signory learns that he has entered into a league with France, which excluded Venice, and which moreover contemplated an approach to Hungary with a view to the seizure of Dalmatia by the latter. The Diarist declares that in some circles at Venice there was alarm almost amounting to consternation. The Venetian ambassador at the Vatican informed his Holiness, however, that he had no knowledge of the present league, and the impossibility of guessing what was going to be the next move provoked the Pontiff into the exclamation: "Vui siete tutti ribaldi." On another occasion Julius II. said, in response to a proposal that he should be a party to hostilities between Venice and Hungary: "My lords, from me they (the league) will have no subsidy, either temporal or spiritual, nor money, nor men." But the scheme did not get beyond the paper stage, and the Signory never judged seriously of it.

In August, 1511, a fresh scene opened, and a confederacy



was concluded between England, France, and Venice. The Doge addressed an amicable and even cordial letter to Henry, and forwarded letters-patent approving and confirming the compact. But in the course of a month Louis crossed the Alps to invade the Milanese without consulting or informing Henry, who at once entered into a league against him. The available evidence seems to point to intelligence of French perfidy having reached England almost simultaneously with the ratification of the August arrangement, for on the 26th July the Venetian ambassador saw Henry in London, when the King said to him: "Ambassador, thou wilt soon hear good news from Rome, and by this time the Signory must know all." The reference can only have been to a league between the Pope, Ferdinand of Arragon, and Venice, for the recovery of Bologna and the protection of the Holy See. It was settled at Rome on the 4th October, 1511, and ratified by Henry VIII. in the ensuing month. Badoer notes, in a dispatch of October 10, that Henry preserved his goodwill toward the Signory, and had written to Maximilian to make terms at least with Venice. Both Henry and the Holy See thought that the Signory would be acting wisely in approaching the King of Hungary, whom France was endeavouring to win. Not only England but Spain was beginning to view France with distrust, and the affairs of the latter were gradually assuming a critical aspect.

We cannot avoid feeling some surprise that, while the official correspondence between England and Venice was so constant, and the friendship of the two Powers was so ostensibly sincere, the Signory should have long neglected to address a personal communication to Henry, seeing, as the King put it, what a good friend he was to them, and it did not satisfy him, when he was respectfully informed that their ambassador was in receipt of instructions to convey an expression of their gratitude and homage.

It had been only on the 25th November previous, that a new alliance was ratified between his Holiness and the Emperor, the Republic being expressly named as not included, or, in other words, the coalition perceived a chance of still accomplishing its views against Venice.<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps at

<sup>1</sup> *Publicatio sanctissimi federis inter Julium Secundum et Maximilianum . . . (Venetis tantum exclusis) . . . 4º. 1512.*



the present conjuncture, that the Pontiff obtained from the Fuggers of Augsburg financial assistance—170,000 ducats, it is said, at eight weeks' notice.

It was so difficult to foresee what was going to happen that after the Battle of Ravenna (April 11, 1512), in which the French gained a costly victory and lost their commander on the field,<sup>1</sup> the Republic approached Louis from the feeling that he was the least formidable opponent; and the treaty of Blois was signed in March 1513. On the 21st of February, 1513, however, an important change took place in the prospect and the relation of political parties by the death of Julius II. and the succession of Giovanni de' Medici as Leo X. The Republic hastened to send its congratulations, not only to his Holiness, but to his brother Giuliano at Florence, where it might not now be undesirable to strengthen and improve relations. "It was hoped that the change at Rome might help the Italian cause; but at the same time the Venetian representative had to make known to Leo the renewal of the French alliance, which, it was stated, was rendered necessary in order to prevent a confederacy in course of formation between France, Spain, and the Emperor against Italy. The French were commanded by Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzio and Louis de la Tremouille; the Venetians took Alviano once more into employment, and he was invested with his marshal's baton at Venice on the 15th May with every mark of ceremonial splendour and flattering confidence.

A special service and mass were held at Saint Mark's, and the Patriarch blessed the standard and baton, before the Doge handed them to the Marshal with the words preserved by Sanudo, possibly an eye- and ear-witness: "Most illustrious Signore, we, continuing in the paternal affection which we have ever borne toward you, and knowing your singular virtue, experience, and inviolate faith, have chosen your lordship to be Captain-General of all our forces, and that all may be aware of the dignity upon you conferred, we consign to you this standard and this staff, both signal emblems of such a rank, supplicating God, with the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the glorious evangelist Saint Mark, that He, as of His goodness and clemency we hope, will put it in our power

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 63. More than a month later, according to Sanudo, the precise facts had not reached Henry VIII.

to recover and preserve our State to the praise and glory of His Divine Majesty, and the repose, comfort, and amplitude of the Christian religion." The brilliant assemblage quitted the church, and Alviano proceeded, followed by a great throng of people, to the Ponte della Paglia, whence he went to his own residence, and presided over a sumptuous entertainment. The dresses worn on this occasion by all the actors in the scene are described by Sanudo as unsurpassed in beauty and costliness.

Thus it is to be augured that the Signory had not lost its trust in Alviano, and accepted his explanation of the circumstances under which Pitigliano and himself were defeated at Agnadello; and the Marshal, in conjunction with the French, speedily regained Cremona and a large portion of the Milanese. The Senate did not cease to inculcate on its general the necessity of prudence, and of avoiding, if possible, an open engagement. The unexpected happened. On the 6th June, 1513, his allies were surprised and utterly defeated at Novara by the united German, Spanish, and Swiss forces, when Alviano was on the point of effecting a junction with them, and when it had been thought that Ugone di Cardona, the general of the League, was too weak to attack. The French retreated across the Alps, and nothing intervened between the conqueror and the lagoon but the Venetian corps, which hesitated to act on the offensive. Cardona advanced, burning Fusina and Mestra, and from Malghera firing defiant shots toward Venice; he then retired by Castelfranco, and defeated Alviano in an attempt to cut off his retreat. The rest of that and the whole of the following year were occupied by desultory and harassing operations both in Lombardy and Friuli. Alviano was obliged to limit himself to the defence of Padua and Treviso, of which he occupied the former, and successfully repulsed an assault on the walls by Cardona.

The anxiety and distress at Venice were naturally intense. In the Senate on the 2nd October (1513) the Doge, mounting the tribune, painted in lurid colours the crisis all around. "There is no one," said Loredano, "who does not know the cause of our taking on ourselves to speak in the presence of so great a peril." His Serenity pointed to the destruction of places so near to the city, and the threat to make little of them, "since," said he, "we are but 2500 flies. Yet I have

to announce that to-day our troops have left Padua in good strength, and what we chiefly want is money; the public treasury is unequal to such expenses. Therefore all debtors to the State are exhorted to pay their arrears, and every one must contribute his fourth. Had it not been for such as the councillor Zaccaria Gabriele, we should have fared still worse. We ought to do as was done when Antonio Contarini contributed 60,000 ducats, and when Federigo Corner, seeing the necessities of the country, sent fifteen bars of silver to the mint. And in this way, mere fishermen as we were, aided by our own people, we have arrived at such a height of greatness and pride that it pleases God to humble us." Loredano urged all to help with their services and purses, to discharge their obligations to the Government, and to curtail their private expenditure. It may be recollected that he had already sent his sons to Padua and his silver plate to the mint, and that Padua and Treviso had been relieved by Alviano after Novara; and Sanudo, as a pessimist and a member of the opposition, must be treated with caution when he expresses such keen sorrow at the immediate omission of his countrymen to respond to the ducal appeal. He tells us that he had a strong inclination to get on his feet and express his own views on the subject, but that he was debarred from so doing, because there was no motion or resolution before the assembly, and also, perhaps, because he was disheartened by finding that his speeches carried little weight.

This notable scene occurred a few days before the defeat of Alviano in his effort to intercept Cardona on his retirement from the precincts of Venice. The Marshal seems to have done his best for his employers, and he was shortly afterward sent to Friuli to co-operate with Savorgnano in arresting the progress of the Germans under Count Frangipani and the Duke of Brunswick, at the same time that Sebastian Giustinian went to Istria as proveditor, prior to taking up his charge in Dalmatia, as the Senate on reconsideration judged the former to be the more urgent business, and Giustinian to be the fittest instrument for disposing of it. Frangipani had been checked in his victorious advance by the stronghold of Asopo; and, the Venetian forces effecting a junction, he commenced his retreat toward Germany. But he was taken prisoner in a furious engagement, which took place on the 10th of



November, 1511, near Capo d'Istria, between his cavalry and the Albanian light horse under the proveditor Andrea Civrano, the two leaders fighting hand to hand. The Count was conducted to Venice, where he was received on landing by a Chief of the Ten and the secretary to the Council. They introduced him to the bureau of the Signori di Notte, and put various questions to him. He is described as a young man of two-and-thirty, of handsome appearance, dressed in the German style and of a haughty and frank demeanour: but as a soldier he was relentless, and had committed the most atrocious barbarities.<sup>1</sup> He was confined in the Torricella prison, where his wife joined him; and both resided there some years in a tolerably comfortable manner, until, by the armistice between the Republic and the Emperor in 1518, the Count at any rate was deported to France, and exchanged a Venetian for a French dungeon. Frangipani had deserved ill enough of the Republic, and he was certainly not too severely punished. The sole benefit which he conferred on his antagonists was to afford the subjects of the Signory in that quarter sufficient experience of other masters to make them too glad, the moment the opportunity arrived, to return under their former domination. Those who had the comparative facts before their eyes were better judges than we can pretend to be of the merits of Venetian rule; but it is safe to assert that it was the only one in the sixteenth century which offered and engaged after a costly war to indemnify the citizen and the farmer for all their losses, and honourably fulfilled its pledges.

The Government does not seem to have elicited from Frangipani much to the purpose. He merely told the Decemvirs that they would get back Marano in a few days, because the place was running short of provisions. But Savorgnano kept his employers well informed of the course of operations in a series of dispatches which have been printed.

While these measures were being taken for the restoration of the Venetian authority in Istria, Sebastian Giustinian,

<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be thought of Venetian institutions, the Republic saw around it everywhere ideas and practices which might have justified it in esteeming itself exceptionally merciful and considerate. See a note in Romanin, v. 185, in regard to the restraint of the troops under Francesco Corner or Cornaro from sacking Trieste in March, 1509, after its recovery from the Germans.



whose manifold and varied experience was proving of such infinite value to his country in its trying and dangerous position, and who had served in different capacities with uniform success, was commissioned to undertake the pacification of Dalmatia. He received his appointment in July, 1511; but he did not enter on his duties till the following May, as it was thought that his exceptional acquaintance with Istria might be advantageously used in settling the disturbances there. He proceeded to his destination, and forthwith acted with stern and exemplary vigour, only tempered with prudence and restraint, where other treatment promised to be unsuccessful. There was the utmost anarchy and discontent everywhere; the lower orders resented the oppression of the gentry; the commissioner paid visits to all the leading points—Zara, Sebenico, Lesina, and others, and he did his best to reduce affairs to order. Perhaps, he displayed too impartial a spirit, sparing no class or individual, and discovered how the jurisdiction of the Signory over the province and the islands was little more than a feudal overlordship, such places as Lesina being the virtual property of three or four chieftains, and at last, with his task very imperfectly accomplished, he returned home at the close of November, 1512, not without some risk of being intercepted at sea by the insurgents. He seems to have carried back with him many prisoners taken in the course of his expedition; and their trials occupied much of his time, till he was unexpectedly chosen, at the opening of 1515, ambassador to the court of England. He had drawn a lamentable picture of the condition of Dalmatia, and flattered himself that he should do something to improve it, before he left. The Illyrians of that day fully answered to the character given of them in Shakespear's *Twelfth Night*. The continuance of Giustinian in employment, and his selection to fill such a peculiarly responsible position as the embassy to London, where he remained four years, satisfies us that his employers viewed him with unabated confidence.

Pietro Bembo, secretary to Leo X., was sent in December to endeavour to wean Venice from the French alliance, and to induce her to join a fresh combination; but the Signory declined. A week or two later Louis died, and was succeeded by the Duke of Angoulême as Francis I., who left no room for doubting his sentiments and intentions by assum-

ing the title of Duke of Milan in his dispatches and on his coins. The new embassy to London, consisting of Giustinian and his colleague Pásqualigo, was overtaken at Lyons by a courier with dispatches, instructing them to wait on Louis, wherever he might be, and express the friendliest wishes and intentions of the Signory, and to distribute the usual condolences and congratulations between his present Majesty, the Queen-mother, and, on his arrival in England, Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon. It was growing hard to divine which way matters might turn, and Venice desired to be prepared for all contingencies. On the first visit of Francis I. to Milan, the Signory accredited to his Majesty, as an unusual honour, four envoys, all of whom were of procuratorial rank, and they had instructions to pay marked deference to the Queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, who had been appointed regent during the minority, and in whom the Venetians discerned a personage likely from her force of character to prove useful to her friends. When the pernicious results of foreign intervention are weighed at this distance of time, it is at once instructive and surprising to find that the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara, referring, in conversation with the Venetian envoy, a fortnight after the death of Louis, to the new King, regarded with satisfaction the readiness of the latter to interfere in Italian affairs; but it is evident that here at all events the Spaniards were viewed with the largest share of dislike.

The Signory on its part was enabled to render substantial service to the new King. Alviano succeeded in holding Cardona in check under Verona, and thus left Milan, which was in possession of the Swiss auxiliaries, open to the French. The battle of Marignano, sometimes called *La Bataille des Géants*, fought on the 13th and 14th September 1515, between the Swiss and the troops of Francis, commanded by Charles de Bourbon,<sup>1</sup> was decided by the opportune arrival of a Venetian detachment brought by Alviano; and in October Milan was once more recovered by the Allies. The victory was sufficiently important to induce the Holy See to come to terms with Francis, and to lead Cardona, who had displayed throughout great military talents, to seek protection under its clauses, and withdraw from the field. On the 24th December, 1515, Sebastian Giustinian wrote to the Council of Ten, that

<sup>1</sup> For his conduct on this occasion he was made Constable of France.

the English ruler had sent Maximilian 100,000 ducats in bills of exchange, and that the transaction created a sensation in the money market, and that interest had risen to 12 per cent. The subvention was attributed to the anger of Henry VIII. at the successes of the French. Maximilian appears in this case to have offered to pledge jewels as security. He found it necessary to go abroad for the means of carrying on his affairs, for many of the German princes were in the same pecuniary plight, and were pawning or selling their property to raise money. The heavy amounts transmitted from England to the Emperor awakened public dissatisfaction there and considerable uneasiness at Venice, so long as Maximilian was of no value as an ally. The Signory was already looking forward to the recovery of Brescia and Verona with their assistance, and at the close of the year a Franco-Venetian force invested the former city, but had to retire before a superior German one, which arrived at the last moment across the mountains.

Events followed each other with striking rapidity; and there was, as Sanudo the Diarist intimates, a good deal of idle talk, but one incident of cardinal importance was the recovery of Brescia in May, 1516, with French assistance, and the entry of the Venetian proveditor into the place on the 21st. In 1516 Charles V. became King of Spain, and as it did not just at present suit him to attack the French, he concluded a treaty at Noyon in August, which was confirmed by the Peace of Brussels in December. To the latter the Republic was made a party. It was obliged to cede Verona,<sup>1</sup> Roveredo, and Friuli to Maximilian. In October, Alviano died after a few days' illness of dysentery, and Trivulzio came over to the Venetian service. He had previously commanded the French troops, and was an efficient officer. Alviano had left a widow and children without provision; the Signory granted them an annuity. When Giustinian waited on Henry VIII. at Greenwich, Feb. 10, 1516, he avoided saying anything more about the subsidies to Maximilian, but asked the King to let the imperial ambassador understand that the Signory disapproved of the occupation by his Majesty of their towns of Brescia and Verona, when Henry retorted that the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor struck on this occasion a commemorative *schauthaler*, bearing on obverse his portrait and MAXIMILIANVS CAESAR, and on the other the enthroned figure of St. Zeno with date 1516 beneath and "*S. Zeno. Protec. Veronae.*" There is a copper *quattrino* of similar type.



on his part complained of the Signory besieging them. The King thought that Venice had fallen into disfavour in England on account of its share in the battle of Marignano. Giustinian informed the French ambassador that he might tell his master that the Signory was held in account by other Powers as well as by his Most Christian Majesty, as an inducement to his Majesty to co-operate in the recovery of the Signory's cities. It impresses us with a feeling of surprise, and renders us here and there distrustful at so long a distance of time of certain statements found even in official documents, when we note that at a date when Venice had her hands so full, and her situation inspired so much anxiety, the English Government did not see why the Signory should not undertake to mediate between England and Scotland, whose differences were disturbing agencies of such wide scope.

A contemporary letter, written by the Venetian proveditor from the field of Marignano, under date of the 14th September, to the Doge, furnishes copious particulars of this historical fight. He testifies before God, that Cæsar never shewed such valour and greatness of soul as Alviano on that occasion. The approach of the Venetians was notified by the cry, heard in the distance, of *Marco! Marco!* Contarini used his best efforts to incite Trivulzio to lose no time in regaining Brescia, held by the Spaniards; and in a dispatch to him of the 19th November the Senate approves of his conduct. But Trivulzio failed in the object which the Venetians had so greatly at heart, although he had the valuable assistance of the great engineer Pietro Navaro; and his success in other directions did not save him from being superseded by his relative Teodoro. It was not a juncture where time was to be lost. But diplomacy achieved more than military operations in the next stage of progress; for the tedious negotiations with Maximilian, with the object of detaching him from the league, at length culminated, partly through the good offices of Francis I., in a truce for five years (31st July 1518), the Emperor surrendering all the Lombard possessions awarded to him under the treaty of partition of 1509, and the Republic consenting to subsidise his Majesty during the term to the extent of 20,000 ducats a year. When Giustinian saw Henry on the 3rd June, 1516, at Greenwich, the latter told him without reserve that he had subsidised the Emperor, and



intended to continue, not to injure the French King, but to requite the kindness which he had received from Maximilian, whereas the Signory had deserted him. Giustinian pleaded necessity, but the King declared it to be folly. He did not object to mediate between Venice and the Emperor, if he was invited to do so. One outcome of this apparently inexhaustible supply of ways and means from England attracted the notice of Leo X., whom we find about a year later endeavouring to find his way to Henry's pocket. The Venetian ambassador at the Vatican wrote home to say that his Holiness was looking for a reply to his suit for money, and as he told him, laughed, and that he (the ambassador) had replied, that his Holiness had done well, as the King was very wealthy, and would, no doubt, oblige him, whereupon the Pope laughed again, saying, "We shall see."<sup>1</sup> But a few days later Henry intimated through Friar Nicholas Schomberg that his assistance must depend on circumstances. The monetary conditions might have been regarded as subsidiary to the material gain. The military strength of Venice, seconded by her diplomatic address, had been, and remained a grave obstacle to the progress and success of the Emperor, who found himself emerging empty-handed from the Cambrai federation and a second more informal effort to crush the Signory, and who had experienced in 1516 under the walls of Milan the readiness of the Venetians to act on the offensive outside their own frontiers. The retreat of Maximilian from Milan was chiefly attributed to the genius of Andrea Gritti, the same who was the first to turn the tide of fortune after Cambrai by the gallant recovery and defence of Padua. In little more than a twelvemonth from the conclusion of the Treaty of Brussels (December, 1517), Verona, about which the Signory had had such altercations with Henry VIII. and Wolsey, who advocated its relinquishment, and which was reluctantly ceded to Maximilian by the treaty in question, was transferred by the Emperor to France, and two days after was definitively surrendered by prearrangement to Venice (February, 1517-1518). Andrea Gritti, the Venetian commissioner, entered the city at the head of his troops and accompanied by the representative of the French King; and this ancient and treasured possession once more passed into the hands of its

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 408, 24th July, 1517.

old masters. A good deal has been said of the insincerity and duplicity of the parties to these great political transactions, but no one incurred such grave discredit as Wolsey,<sup>1</sup> who by his preposterous assumption damaged himself and compromised his country even in the eyes of those about the English court, if not in those of his sovereign. The return of Verona under Venetian rule virtually brought to a close the complications arising out of the League of Cambrai.

In the exchange of prisoners Count Frangipani was especially reserved, and was to be sent into France under guard, possibly to Loches, which appears to have been a favourite destination for important captives. Maximilian, released from other cares for the moment, tried to do the Pope a good turn by publishing a circular message<sup>2</sup> to the Italian Powers, inviting them to join in a crusade promoted by Leo X. against the Porte. But the Italians had their hands and minds full enough of other matters. Assuredly the Republic had; and, Maximilian (the so-termed *Weiss König*) dying on the 27th January, 1519, the contest for the succession between the Kings of Spain and France tended to lend a new direction to affairs, and once more to change the state of parties in the Peninsula. In the summer of this year Giustinian at length quitted the post, which he had so long filled to the equal satisfaction and advantage of his employers and of the court to which he was accredited. His lot was cast in a crisis of unparalleled anxiety, and Henry VIII., in a Latin letter to the Doge, from Horsham, 16th July, signed "Vester Amicus<sup>3</sup> Henricus" and counter-signed and probably written by Petrus Vannes, expresses his regret at parting with a personage, in whose modest and discreet conversation he had taken such delight. The King testified to his fidelity, rare prudence, and address, and the splendour and magnificence of his style, and states that any requital bestowed upon him by the Signory would be most agreeable to him.<sup>4</sup> Henry judged it of sufficient consequence to name the satisfactory result of the negotiation touching the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 344.

<sup>2</sup> This manifesto was printed at Bologna, 4to, 1518.

<sup>3</sup> The plural form signified the Signory.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 550. But comp. p. 521, where Giustinian reminds his Government that he had told them a hundred times how Wolsey practically governed, and that, if it was a question between the King and him, it was better to pass over the former.

repeal of the import duty on the wines of Candia, which had been a pending grievance on the part of Venice. During the last year or so the attitude and tone of Wolsey toward Venice had undergone a change for the better, and this desirable result may well have been due in no small measure to the tact of Giustinian. But throughout these eventful and trying years Venice was admirably served by her sons. Their temper was sorely tried, not so much by the King in the case of England at this time, as by Wolsey, who did not scruple to employ strong language on slight provocation.<sup>1</sup>

There is a very noteworthy communication from Giustinian to the Signory (Sept. 7, 1518), after the five years' truce, in regard to the attitude of France, in case the Emperor should attack Venice, where he reports Wolsey as having said to the Bishop of Paris: "If the Signory of Venice is your friend, she is also ours." The Bishop inquired of Giustinian whether Henry was on good terms with the Signory, and Giustinian answered in the affirmative, but that matters were not improved by the strict alliance between Venice and France.

On the 6th August, 1519, Giustinian crossed from Dover to Calais, and proceeded to Paris, where he was received by the King, Queen Claude, and Louise of Savoy, most graciously. Francis was surprised to learn that Wolsey had been instrumental in making the late peace, saying, "What, was it his doing, the surrender to me of Tournay?" and he laughed. But he was of opinion that Henry suffered a loss of dignity by vesting such vast power in the Cardinal. "By my faith," said he, "the Cardinal must bear his King light good will, for it is not the office of a good servant to filch his master's honour." Madame Louise took Giustinian, and introduced him to Queen Claude, remarking, "This is that Venetian ambassador who did such good service for the King in England." His royal friends insisted on his journey to Blois to see the Dauphin, which occupied four days. He reached Venice on October 6, in a heavy rain. A gold chain valued at 540 gold ducats, which Wolsey had given to him in the name of the King, the Senate decided that he must not keep; but on the afternoon of the day of his arrival he waited on the Doge, touched hands, and delivered Henry's letter, and a place was found for

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, ii. 499.



him on the Council of Ten. On the 10th he delivered in the Senate his Report of his embassy to England.<sup>1</sup>

A rumour had gained currency, two years prior to the decease of the Emperor, that Maximilian proposed to simplify the political problem by marrying the widow of Louis XII. It was either premature or unfounded. Leo X., on it being mentioned to him, is said to have remarked, that he hardly thought so clever a woman would do so foolish a thing. It has even been stated that, to secure the support of England, his Majesty proposed to Henry VIII. to make him his heir, and promote his investiture—a prospect and suggestion which the personage concerned was excessively unlikely to entertain. It is worth noting, as a collateral illustration of the extent to which the late Caesar had not merely impoverished himself, but neglected interests at home in order to pursue visionary schemes of external aggrandizement, that in 1507 we find Frederic, Elector of Saxony, officiating as Lieutenant-General of the Empire. In regard to the proposed participation of Venice in the war against Turkey, her Government was very reserved and undecided, and such was the dread of giving umbrage to the Sultan, that it was made a particular request to the Vatican to refrain, in communications to other Powers, from all mention of the Signory. Henry VIII. did not quite share this scruple, since his interests were not so closely affected, and during the life of Maximilian he had addressed to him an appeal (which was more than once printed) to join in a crusade against the Turks.

The French alliance was thus partly instrumental in securing an interval of repose and tranquillity, and the Republic tried to induce Francis to prevail on the Pontiff to transmit the investiture of Charles in the form of a bull, in order to keep him out of Italy, where his presence could scarcely fail to be mischievous, even if he was not directly aggressive. But when it was seen that Charles resolved to come to Rome, the Signory began to listen to a proposal, that France, the Holy See, and Venice should enter into a new league for mutual protection and also against the King of the Romans. Charles was very soon at Verona, instituting inquiries about frontiers, and renewing the old question of the Venetian title to the possessions of the *terra firma*, which had been actually confirmed by the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 557–63.



imperial diploma and investiture of 1437, and which was independently as solid and infeasible as that of Charles V. himself. The immediate difficulty was parried, after some negotiation and parley, by a renewal at Worms of the five years' truce (3rd May 1521), the Republic ceding Aquileia and other places, and retaining or recovering a large portion of Friuli and Istria.<sup>1</sup> Much of this was, as usual, on paper.

Venice had the new understanding with France, yet it was continually discovering that the French were totally faithless; and the Doge had complained one day to the German envoys that the exertions of his country to observe treaties with the Most Christian King had been its ruin and that of the whole of Italy. Nor was the treachery or untrustworthiness of the French confined to their Italian relations, for we find that, in 1518, the Republic was advised by its diplomatic representative of a Danish mission being in Paris, and of a secret negotiation for a treaty between France and Denmark against England, with a view to the seizure by the first Power of Tournay and Calais. The Venetian ambassador in Spain had elicited part of this information from his French colleague at that court. It is curious that amid the multifarious advice tendered to Giustinian by his English friends was an earnest exhortation by Henry himself to beware of the French monarch. "I marvel," said he, "that your lords should be so bigoted to this King of France, who aims at nothing but your ruin; and I warn you that he always keeps behind the door the staff with which to cudgel you."

So much had Franco-Italian affairs and relations entered into French thought and enterprise, that a manual appeared about 1520 for the express purpose of affording information on the best method of passing from France into the Peninsula, and the compiler, in specifying the celebrated personages, who had at different periods crossed the Alps with such an object, coupled with the name of Francis I. those of Hannibal and Cæsar.<sup>2</sup>

The Pope would have gladly seen both French and German driven out of the Peninsula; and his Holiness did not know to whom he should turn as an ally. The able condottiero

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Calendar of State Papers*, iii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Signot, *La totale et vraye description de tous les Passaiges, lieux et destroitiz par lesquels on peult passer et entrer des Gaules es Ytalie* . . . 4<sup>e</sup>, Paris, no date.

Trivulzio, who had served both the French and the Venetians, and had so far shown an unpatriotic indifference, before his death at Chartres in 1518, expressed his regret that he had ever had anything to do with the French. He was an excellent soldier, and was 77 years of age; of a robust constitution, short stature, and big frame; accomplished and cultured; and in his conversation agreeable and even facetious. He was fond of fortifying his remarks by some classical quotation. His descendants preserved their political importance down to 1767, and struck their own money, as he had done; on one of his own coins he is described as a marshal of France.<sup>1</sup> The sad end of so eminent a man in a foreign land animated Milan with a still stronger distaste for the French yoke. Charles V. was caressing the Venetians, telling them how much he liked them, and praying them to come over to him, and Venice was cherishing the English alliance and keeping Wolsey in good humour. In October 1521 the Signory sent the Cardinal a present of sixty splendid Damascus carpets. The invention of printing, the diffusion of literature, and the development of independent thought, were bringing blessings to mankind; but they were also bringing troubles. Already the writings of Luther, which were directed against certain ritualistic forms rather than against the Catholic faith, and were broadly distinct from the later Protestant doctrines, were proscribed and burned all over Catholic Europe; even the tolerant Republic did its part; and the Council of Ten permitted an agent of the Holy See to seize some book of the great reformer at the place of business of a certain German at San Maurizio. "However," notes the diarist Sanudo with no slight complacency, "I got a copy, and have it in my study." The Lutheran books were destroyed; but a certain Fra Andrea di Ferrara, who had preached from a balcony in the Campo San Stefano against his Holiness and the Curia, sought leave to print a book, which he had written in support of Luther and what became known in England as the New Learning. The Pope complained to the Signory, and asked them to refuse their sanction, which they did. But both then and later he spoke of the Venetian Government as too lenient to heretics, and of the infection which certain German scholars had caught

<sup>1</sup> The family still holds a high social position at Milan, and the Library and Museum contain some valuable books and MSS.

from their Venetian teachers at Padua University. His Holiness was in a state of chronic embarrassment and perturbation as to the best course to be pursued in the face of new religious developments. He spoke, a Venetian dispatch of September 4, 1518, tells us, of sending the Golden Rose as a propitiatory offering to the Elector of Saxony in the hope of securing his support against the German reformers. In 1523 the Sultan of Turkey took occasion to make inquiries of the Venetian envoy about Luther. It was a saying of Charles V. that he (Luther) would perhaps become a "man of worth."<sup>1</sup>

So the religious element arose to embarrass relations, and so the Republic, when all direct peril from the League of Cambrai had ceased, and it had leisure to put its affairs and finances in order, found itself in a fresh kind of difficulty from the competition between the Emperor and France for its friendship and support, while at the same time, as Sanudo the Diarist notes under August, 1521, there was a German bias unfavourable to France due to the peculiarly mixed relations between Charles V. and Henry VIII., or, as the Venetian ambassador puts it, in writing to the Signory from Autun: "in the Emperor's camp the only current coin is the English *Angel*." The notorious impecuniosity of Francis I. must have aggravated his annoyance and even chagrin at the heavy subsidies which reached the Emperor from England. Viewed by the light of modern research and actual documentary evidence, however, Charles hardly possessed those commanding qualities which are identified with his name in the mind of posterity; and the Republic perhaps naturally and prudently hesitated to abandon France, in case it might be necessary to check hereafter the imperial power. The French King soon appeared to justify such caution by once more marching into Italy, to assert his claims to the imperial crown, even while at home the Constable de Bourbon was intriguing with his partisans and with other Powers to dethrone and supersede him. Between 1523 and 1525 the struggle continued; and in the latter year the position of Charles was at once established and embarrassed by the Battle of Pavia (24th February, 1525).

The battle of Pavia, one of those which has been consecrated by its political fruit and its romantic incidence, broke the power of Francis I. in Italy. The King shewed great

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii., xxxiv.



courage and energy in the field, and it was not to any failure on his part to inspire his troops with a good example, that the calamitous issue was to be attributed; but the loss of the day has been usually ascribed to his characteristic impetuosity. Charles had returned to Spain, and thither followed him a letter from Francis, sent through his mother Louise of Savoy, Queen Regent, and a Venetian embassy, to congratulate the victor. The letter, written at Pizzighettone, where the captive monarch was first incarcerated, was to beg his Majesty to decide what he proposed to do in regard to him personally; and the result was that he embarked at Genoa for Spain under strict guard, and was there during some time kept a close prisoner.

A ruler, around whose name a kind of superstitious halo accumulated, might have found at home amply sufficient to engage his attention, amid all sorts of internal distractions, especially the conspiracy of 1523 in favour of the Constable de Bourbon, without crossing the Italian frontier to incur additional discredit. A very graphic account is extant of the reception of the intelligence by Charles V. It reached him at Madrid on the 10th March, and the Venetian ambassador was one of the earliest arrivals at the Alcazar to congratulate him. He found the Emperor pacing a gallery with three or four personages, and after a few more turns he called Contarini to a window where they could converse together. His Majesty was very gracious, and declared that he owed the victory to God alone, nothing to his allies. He remarked ironically, that he had been well served by the whole of Italy excepting Genoa, and that was an accident. Charles was probably conscious, that recent events would stir up against him many enemies in Italy; and he had paid the Republic so much deference as to make no concealment of his solicitude to preserve its friendship. But his Majesty is reported to have expressed distrust of the sincerity of Venetian professions, and to have declared that, if they sent him all their lawyers, they would not be able to convince him that they meant what they said. At any rate, he asked for 80,000 ducats in lieu of the military contingent which the Venetians had omitted to furnish; and he added, laughing: "My necessities swallow up a great deal of money; you are rich, and have no occasion to spend so much; it is therefore only fitting, that you should help me." The successor of Maximilian resembled him in



one respect—the constant dearth of funds. It was in reality this financial weakness, which deprived him of the benefit of his triumph over the French by preventing him from following it up. He possessed the military organization which the Republic lacked, and envied the resources which it was constrained to squander in order to remedy the deficiency, and too often remedy it imperfectly enough. The ambassadors of France and Germany waited on the Doge Gritti in immediate succession to notify the tidings from Pavia, and the vanquished side received condolences, and the conquerors felicitations agreeably (as his Serenity remarked with a smile after the audiences) to the counsel of St. Paul, to rejoice with the glad, and sorrow with the sorrowful, where both were the friends of Venice. This neutral effusiveness and diplomatic cordiality pervaded the whole political atmosphere and coloured the language of audiences, dispatches, and correspondence. In a letter from Francis I. to Henry VIII. the former subscribes himself a brother, cousin, *confrère*, and good ally of the English monarch.

In the autumn of 1525 the Signory was in correspondence with England and the Emperor with a view to the release of Francis I. from his confinement, and at one time the King was said to be so ill, that his recovery was problematical. This was thought to be a feint to excite sympathy, and the Emperor was personally sorry for his fallen fellow-sovereign, who was reported to have an abscess in the head, but who chronically suffered from a different sort of malady. The apparent disposition of England and the Emperor to draw closer to each other was expected to be beneficial to a settlement of the French difficulty. Some months later Wolsey is found impressing on the French ambassador the obligations of his sovereign to the Signory, as well as the fact, *that England had Venice under her protection, and would see no harm come to her*. Francis was ultimately liberated at the end of February, 1525-6, but his two sons were sent as hostages to Bayonne, pending ulterior arrangements with the Emperor.

So far back as March 1525 the Milanese minister had had a confidential interview with the Venetian secretary of legation, and this matured into the so-called Holy League of 1526, professedly framed to secure the liberty and safety of

Italy, between the Republic, Milan, the Holy See, and the Queen Regent of France, with power reserved to Henry VIII. of England, who began to waver in his devotion to his imperial cousin, and at one time probable brother-in-law,<sup>1</sup> to join. A central and essential point in the new coalition was the acknowledgment of Francesco Sforza, and, failing him (as his health was indifferent), his brother Massimiliano, as Duke of Milan, the French King reserving full sovereign rights over Asti and Genoa. For the Signory perhaps correctly discerned in an independent and friendly Milan under an able government a valuable barrier and resource in the not unlikely event of Charles V. developing still more ambitious and dangerous pretensions. The Doge and Senate had forwarded to their ambassador in London full powers under seal to act for the Signory. On the 29th April Henry VIII., after high mass, at which Wolsey officiated, swore to the compact, subsequently gave a dinner, and danced the remainder of the day. Two days later a discovery was made, that certain letters had been intercepted, promising the Duc de Bourbon the dukedom of Milan, and intimating Venetian concurrence, and Francis caused a letter to be written to the Signory on May 1, begging them to capture the rogue (Abbatis), who deserved to be sent to the gallows. After inevitable delays, procrastinations, and discussion of details, the League was published at Venice on the 8th July, and there was a solemn procession round the Piazza of all the religious confraternities.<sup>2</sup> The English protonotary Casal made an illumination at San Giorgio Maggiore with lamps, and burned a boat on the canal. The future Cardinal Pole, who was studying at Padua, came over to witness the pageant.

While, however, the Republic and its confederates were engaged in these negotiations, the successor of Adrian VI., Clement VII.,<sup>3</sup> was, without the cognizance of Venice, concluding an almost simultaneous compact with the Spanish viceroy of Naples, to which Milan was equally a party, and in which Florence and the house of Medici were included, with

<sup>1</sup> Charles, when archduke, was betrothed in 1507 to Mary, the King's sister.

<sup>2</sup> The full particulars are given by Sanudo. See *Calendar of State Papers*, iii. 579-82.

<sup>3</sup> Before his elevation to the papal chair it used to be said that he ruled Leo X. Charles V. termed him a poltroon.

liberty to the Republic to signify its adhesion within twenty days. The intelligence of these collateral and conflicting arrangements, initiated by the Pope more immediately for his own protection, reached Venice just when an emissary from the Queen Regent of France had arrived to enlist the active sympathy of the Government, and to announce that, notwithstanding the enforced absence of the King, all was well and quiet. The Doge condoled with the envoy, and begged him to intimate to his royal mistress that the Government would do all that was possible; while to the Holy See, as regarded the treaty with the Emperor (1st April, 1525), his Serenity explained somewhat in detail, how the Venetian troops had been prevented from operating in concert with his Majesty by the need of defending the frontier of the Republic against attack by the imperial forces. The Doge farther stated that it was impossible to decide anything about the proposed League without seeing the articles, as his country was reluctant to associate itself with any movement hostile to the Ottoman Porte; and, finally, this opportunity seems to have been taken to tell Charles, through his Holiness or the Viceroy, that as a matter of special favour to his Majesty the Signory would consent to pay the 80,000 ducats lately demanded. If it be true that Venice promised Francis, when he should be crowned Emperor, 100,000 ducats for his expenses, the result of the day of Pavia was perhaps a saving of the difference. But in the summer of 1529 the money had not yet changed hands.<sup>1</sup> These financial clauses in early treaties seem to have been to a certain extent on paper, nor were the treaties themselves much more valid or durable. It was believed in well-informed circles that, if Francis had won the late battle, Henry would have gone over to him. During the years 1520-30 a series of arrangements were formulated on paper with variations in the details and in the contracting parties. Venice was rarely out of view; the Signory was not a negligible factor. The Venetians held their own pretty firmly; but more than enough money had to go in all sorts of ways.

The Government found itself in a perpetual dilemma between the two courses of policy open to its adoption: an alliance with Charles against France, and an alliance with the

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, v. 555.



French and certain of the Italian States against the Emperor; and every step was vigilantly watched and freely canvassed in the Senate, to which the representatives of the Signory at the courts and in the field, at an always pernicious and sometimes fatal sacrifice of time, referred for instructions. We have probably before us the most complex and embarrassing juncture which had yet been experienced in Venetian affairs—a tension more prolonged, a greater outlay, a wider area of operations, more frequent changes of sides, than in the League against the Republic some years previously, and an absence of the apology and consolation, that it was a struggle for existence. The financial resources and the diplomatic tact of the Republic were strained to the utmost to make up the shortcomings of the armaments in a struggle where naval power was inoperative, and conducted under a general solely recommended by his papal sympathies and ties. The deliberations of the Senate during this crisis were often stormy; and speakers, who differed from the Executive, delivered their sentiments with freedom and acrimony. In a debate which ensued in January, 1525, before the battle of Pavia, there was a conflict of opinion consequent on the receipt from Charles of an expostulatory communication, in which he reproached the Signory with not actively supporting the Duke of Milan and helping him (the Emperor) to exclude the French from Italy. A senator even charged four members of the College with carrying all the rest with them, to the destruction of the State. He told his hearers that they were between the anvil and the hammer, and that they were by their bad management alienating their friend and confederate Cæsar. He repeated a conversation which had taken place between their orator at Rome and his Holiness, where the latter intimated a similar view. But the arguments for abandoning the French connexion did not prove persuasive; and the Republic doubtless gravely erred, if it was to join any foreign Power in establishing itself in Italy, in not preferring the Emperor, whose dominions were more extensive and scattered, and who was less apt to exercise vexatious interference.

We are here witnesses to a struggle with professedly military States, of which the chief burden practically fell on a State which was professedly not military. Apart from Venice, which had important interests outside the Peninsula



and Western Europe to consider and protect, the Italian States represented an aggregation of incoherent units without centralizing force, and always susceptible of being used one against the other. The duplicity and courtly artificiality of the Italians, the product of local conditions, were sufficient in essaying to help a particular Power to surmount an immediate difficulty, to demoralise and ruin the whole group.

Under the terms of the treaty of 1526 the Republic engaged to supply a third of the estimated force by land and sea judged sufficient to expel Charles from northern Italy and from Naples. The whole consisted of 2500 men-at-arms, 3000 light horse, 30,000 infantry, and a fleet of thirty-four galleys for the conduct of naval operations on the coast of Apulia. The land troops were placed under the command-in-chief of a new captain-general, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. As on so many anterior occasions, the choice proved unfortunate. The Duke was injudicious and irresolute; he made himself master of Lodi; the pontifical contingent advanced toward Piacenza; and the united flotilla of the Holy See, France, and Venice forming a junction, blockaded Genoa. But the combined Venetian and Papal forces sustained losses in an attempt to take the citadel of Milan by assault, and to liberate Sforza from a state of siege. Fresh German reinforcements poured into Italy, and threatened both Tuscany and the Papal States, and Florence strengthened its fortifications at the instance of Machiavelli, under the direction of Michael Angelo Buonarrotti. The enemy reached Arezzo on the 20th April, and on the 5th May were before Rome. No steps had been taken to repair the walls and ramparts; on the 6th at daybreak, the Constable de Bourbon planted the first ladder, and the city was given up to pillage and bloodshed. Clement took refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo. The Constable was among the slain, and Benvenuto Cellini, who was an eye-witness of the indescribable horrors and cruelties, and who speaks of the scene as beheld from the roof of St. Angelo as something frightful, tells us that he and two friends contributed to give him his death-blow, although, if it be so, Cellini does not appear to have been aware till afterward that he had accomplished this feat. Did Falstaff slay Hotspur? The fate of Rome might have been that of Venice in 1509, had it not had in the lagoons a fortification

more impregnable than any ever built by human hands. At the same time, however, it was in 1525 that the engineer Sammichieli was engaged to erect at Lido, of marble procured from Istria, a fortress, to which the name of San Andrea was given, and which occupied a quarter of a century to bring to final completion, for the safeguard of the capital on the Adriatic side. The position was mounted with heavy guns.

Meanwhile, the Allies were following the imperial army with great circumspection, and when the peremptory orders of the Council of Ten reached the Generalissimo to hasten forward to the relief of his Holiness and the city, they found him some days' march from Rome. Even then he hesitated to move, and the Pontiff was obliged to sign a capitulation, subject to the approval of the Emperor, agreeing to pay 400,000 ducats, to surrender himself a prisoner either at Gaeta or Naples, to cede Piacenza, Parma, and Modena, and to receive imperial garrisons at St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita-Castellana, and Civita-Vecchia. These onerous and humiliating conditions were proposed or accepted in a reckless spirit of concession at any cost; but they did not bind any one but his Holiness.

The utmost abhorrence and indignation were manifested against Charles on the receipt of the intelligence from Rome, nor was the resentment allayed by the order of his Majesty to offer public prayers for the deliverance of the Pontiff from his danger and affliction. There was no attempt to arrest the movements of the troops, and the Signory made the most strenuous efforts to save farther excesses and to relieve Clement. The Venetian troops pushed forward within a short distance from the capital, and might have accomplished beneficial results, if there could have been an arrival at unanimity, or if the Signory had not been so unfortunate in their general and in their impecunious and dilatory French allies. At the same time some of the places ceded by Clement, instead of falling into the hands of the imperial troops still quartered at Rome, where malaria was decimating their ranks, had been recovered by Venice or Ferrara, the former assuming possession of Ravenna and Cervia, to take care of them for the Pope; and at Florence the popular party, stimulated by the fall of Clement VII., a member of that family, expelled the Medici and proclaimed a Republic (May 15,

1527). The temporary inaction of the imperial army facilitated communications between Venice and Milan and the arrangement of financial aid in recruiting the forces of the Duke of Urbino.

The Duke had consigned, it appears, to the Government his wife and son as sureties for his loyal discharge of his functions, and, in a rather long dispatch to the Doge, he labours to exculpate himself from responsibility, pleading that he had not been efficiently supported by his employers; and he intimated his readiness to leave his wife and son in their custody, and to surrender his own person, and even his State, if he could be proved guilty of failure of duty.<sup>1</sup>

The ill-founded and audacious claims of foreign rulers to the sovereignty of parts of the Peninsula were thus producing results subversive of welfare and security, and incompatible with the progress of healthy national life; and Venice, although it was no longer the direct object of aggression, found itself drawn into the war without the means of foretelling, even by the employment of the best machinery for acquiring early intelligence of movements and changes, the ultimate issue of a struggle, where the ability to collect and mobilise military forces was on the side of the Emperor, and the French connexion seemed to be of uncertain and equivocal value from the inexperience of successive rulers and their want of money. The deplorable situation of Rome, however, continued to inspire a powerful interest, and France induced Henry VIII. to subsidise a fresh movement, in concert with Venice and Florence, for the protection of the Holy See from sacrilegious despoilers. The Emperor or his lieutenant, the renegade Duc de Bourbon, had introduced the religious element into the question. There was a cry of the Catholic Church having been insulted and polluted by barbarians. A pontiff who had shown himself wholly unworthy of sympathy, as well as of the illustrious name which he bore, became an object of general respect only when he became the victim of brutal oppression.

The unflinching courage and perseverance of the Republic continued to warrant and explain the desire of Charles to gain it as an ally. But unfortunately the vigour and liberality of the Executive at home and the address of diplomatists were

<sup>1</sup> Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, iii., Appendix.



poorly seconded by the army; and the expenditure was very heavy, with the certain prospect, in case of any accommodation with the enemy, of a large pecuniary call. The French and Venetian troops had conjointly taken Lodi and Pavia, at which latter place the provveditor of the Republic was instrumental in rescuing from violence the monasteries and churches, the women and children, as the French, he says in his Report of 19th September, 1528, had no regard for anybody or anything. There was a thought of once more endeavouring to liberate Milan and reinstate the Duke; but it was thought by the Generalissimo, with his habitual timidity and half-heartedness, to be unfeasible; and, again, the Republic contemplated an approximation to Florence and the abandonment of Lombardy as a hopeless enterprise.

The Tuscans, as they had done a hundred years before, when they were attacked by Milan, then at the height of its power under Filippo Maria Visconti, accused Venice, itself so secure in its position, of forgetting and forsaking them, now that this new great danger impended; and they begged the Republic to consider that, if the Emperor became master of Florence, its position would not be a very safe one. The Republic advised the Florentines to be prepared to defend themselves, and promised to help them if it became necessary, which put them in better heart. But the hands of the Signory were rather full. It was solicited by France to provide troops and money to assist it in vindicating its Italian claims against Charles. The Emperor invited it to do the same for him in maintaining his ground against the French. Florence and Milan sought protection and succour against both the intruders; while the resources of the common object of appeal were growing inadequate even for the simultaneous safeguard of its own interests in Lombardy and the Levant. There is therefore no cause to wonder that the ablest men at the command of the Venetian Government were just now unceasingly occupied in Europe and Asia in endeavouring to neutralise or weaken these political combinations, the gravest feature of which was the frequent and incalculable changes of relationships, and there was the virtual collapse of the Holy League of 1526, which cost the Signory a million and a half of ducats.

So passed the winter and spring (1528-9), the troops con-



tinually wanting and receiving their pay, for which a new currency of gold *scudi*, now struck for the first time, and of a somewhat lower standard than the old ducat, was made to serve. There were indications that diplomacy was going to have its turn; both sides were sensible of the drain on their finances; and it soon appeared that secret negotiations were proceeding at Cambrai under the auspices of the Queen-Regent Louise and the aunt of the Emperor, Margaret of Austria, for the conclusion of peace between France and Charles V. These ladies sent their representative, the Bishop of Tarbes, to notify the circumstances and the conditions on which the Republic might become a party (29th July, 1529). Charles had already (29th June) come to a settlement with the Holy See on a basis which made Francis additionally desirous of a reconciliation at any cost, and which left Venice to enter on the cession of the Apulian ports to Charles, and Cervia and Ravenna to Clement, and the payment of an indemnity. This pacification, however, had its favourable aspects in the eyes of Venice, inasmuch as it restored the Medici at Florence in the person of Alessandro, natural son of Lorenzo, and (by secret clauses) assigned a fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues to the conduct of operations against Turkey.

The Signory declined the propositions submitted by the lady-plenipotentiaries at Cambrai, and tried to obtain a modification; but while they were parleying, the articles were signed on the 5th August, and the Republic was left outside. This was of no substantial consequence, especially as in the treaty of Barcelona in June with the Holy See, Charles, who made his entry into Bologna on the 5th of November,<sup>1</sup> had indicated with tolerable clearness the lines to which he expected Venice to agree. The usual power was reserved, however, to the Republic, Florence, and Ferrara, to adhere within four months. This provisional conclusion of Italian troubles, which the French by a loyal union with Venice might have rendered at once more favourable and more lasting, and which should have taught the Republic at an earlier stage the inexpediency of the alliance, was succeeded by the

<sup>1</sup> A series of engravings, illustrating the event, was published at Venice in 1530. The Venetian ambassador, Gasparo Contarini, afterward Cardinal, was among those who came to meet Charles. The latter received him very graciously, and would not permit him to dismount.

Peace of Bologna on 23rd December, 1529, by which the Signory retained the frontier of the Adda, made restitution to the Pope of Cervia and Ravenna on certain conditions, and of the Apulian or Neapolitan possessions or claims to the Emperor, and engaged to pay the balance of the 200,000 ducats stipulated under the treaty of Worms (1523) by instalments. An independent treaty followed between the Emperor, the Republic, the King of Hungary, and the Duke of Milan, to which the republics of Genoa, Siena, and Lucca, the Duke of Savoy, the Marquises of Monteferrato and Mantua, and, again, the Duke of Milan were made parties.

The restoration of Sforza, if not that of the Medici, was largely due to the peremptory insistence of the Signory, which treated Milanese independence as a *sine qua non*; and it also appears that the sovereignty of the Gulf was tacitly recognized. It was described as a title which "our Republic had won with the blood and money of our forefathers." A good deal of difficulty had been experienced in bringing over Clement VII., when his immediate danger was removed, to the conditional cession of the ecclesiastical dominion held by Venice. When Gasparo Contarini, ambassador of the Signory, opened the conference by speaking of Ravenna, Clement said: "This is not a good beginning toward peace. The Signory took these cities when I was under treaty with them, and was prisoner in Castle St. Angelo; and there was a promise to restore them, as soon as I was out of the hands of my enemies. Now they refuse to surrender the lands of the Church." Contarini pleaded in vain that his country had in fact owned Ravenna a long time, and adduced as a parallel case the desire of the Medici to regain Florence, because it had belonged to their ancestors. He admitted that the troops had taken possession of these places to save them from falling into the hands of others; but, he added, this plea was advanced without the authority of the Senate. *The Pope*: "How many years have you had Ravenna and Cervia?" *Contarini*: "Perhaps a hundred or rather less." *Pope*: "From whom and where did you get them?" *Contarini*: "From the Polenta." *Pope*: "The Polenta?"<sup>1</sup> Whence did they get them? Did they not owe them to the Apostolic See?"

<sup>1</sup> In February 1441. See ch. 30. But Venice had taken Ravenna under its protection in 1425. See ch. 29.

*Contarini*: "Beatissimo padre, if the property of States was to be traced back to its beginning, no one would find himself truly entitled to what he has." *Pope*: "Come now, my lord orator, this is not the way to make peace. You may rest assured that it is our intention to recover Ravenna and Cervia for the Church." Contarini<sup>1</sup> smiled, and said he should not like to take back to his Government such an unkind message; and he was eventually dismissed, he tells us, "con parole amorevoli." This edifying episode sheds a serviceable light on the question, so often mooted by the Emperor, of the fundamental title of the Signory to its continental possessions in Italy. They had come to the Venetians by the right of conquest, and remained theirs, so long as they were strong enough to hold them.

In the negotiations, first with the ministers of the Emperor and finally with Charles himself, Contarini met with considerable opposition on some points, especially in regard to the reinstatement of Sforza and the admittance of the Duke of Urbino as a contracting party. Charles allowed that the Venetians were quite justified in consulting their own interests first of all, and next, said he, "you have ever loved the person of the Emperor." Referring to the Duke of Milan, he wanted to know why they could not be satisfied with having an Italian friendly to them in that State and not my brother?<sup>2</sup> He proceeded—"I do not seek a foot of land in Italy save such as belongs to me, and I wish all the world to know that I have no desire to establish a monarchy, as some try to defame me by reporting; but perhaps there are others [this was a thrust at Venice] who do aspire to such a thing." Then he reverted to Milan, and expressed the opinion that Alessandro de' Medici would be a better man than Francesco Sforza for that position. Contarini ventured to combat this view, and declared his confidence that such a change would not be conducive to the tranquillity which his Majesty had so much at heart. Charles was eventually persuaded to grant a safe-conduct for Sforza to come and see him. He received him well, and proceeded to consider the question farther.

A few points in the course of these rather intricate and

<sup>1</sup> See, for some account of this eminent man, *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian series), iii., xiv.-xvii.

<sup>2</sup> "Perchè non si contenterebbero i Veneziani che in quello Stato vi posse un Italiano loro amico e non mio fratello?"—Romanin, v. 468.



mysterious transactions during the momentous years 1523–29 command attention. The value of the independence of Milan has obtained recognition by both sides as a factor in preserving the balance of power; and on the other hand the Marquis of Pescara, imperial commander in the battle of Pavia, who contracted a peculiar antipathy to Venice, openly declared that he should wish to devise means of diverting the water from the lagoons, and reaching the city on causeways. It was a threat which had never yet been made, nor was the experiment tried; but that it was far from being an impossibility with improved mechanical powers, cannot be doubted. The sentiments of the Marquis might be so far interpreted as a compliment to the Republic, since they seem to reflect an opinion on the part of Charles and his advisers or instruments, that the presence of the Venetians formed the most serious obstacle to the new imperial policy—an obstacle which the Emperor finally met by a liberal compromise. How far the contributions stipulated at Worms in 1523, and at Barcelona and Bologna in 1529, were actually paid, is uncertain. But whatever the terms might be, they were less severe than those with which the French Regency had to comply, mainly through the inability or unwillingness of France to uphold the Venetian alliance with sincerity and energy. The part played by Henry VIII. was never a prominent one, nor did the King lend himself to the cause so energetically and usefully as he had done in befriending Venice in its extremity during 1509, although we still find him preserving his regard and friendship for the Signory; and in 1533, at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, the French and Venetian ambassadors received the compliment of being invited exclusively to join the procession from the Tower to Westminster, and to accompany the King, where he witnessed the ceremonial from a private box or balcony in the Abbey.<sup>1</sup> Venice, Florence, and Milan, even without external co-operation, were strong enough together, through their local advantages, to resist the Emperor and the Most Christian King; but they were all jealous and distrustful of each other; and all were injured, if not ruined, by the constitutional and moral

<sup>1</sup> In the procession from the Tower to Westminster, prior to the coronation of Edward VI., the Venetian ambassador was allotted a place of honour. The young King wore on that occasion a cloak slashed with Venetian silver brocade.

obliquity which, in spite of splendid personal and intellectual gifts, was in the end to reduce Italy to a political cypher.

The most eminent men united, as we ascertain from contemporary and valid evidences, in regarding Venice in the most critical conjunction throughout her entire passed history as the impersonation of Italian dignity, and inquired, Where besides had any lustre remained in unhappy Italy? Even a French diplomatist could not forbear to testify to the courage and strength, and organizing genius, which offered an armed resistance, single-handed under unfavourable auspices, to four of the greatest Powers of Europe.

Poets and painters, its subjects and its guests from all parts of the *terra firma*, agreed in eulogising and admiring the richest, the most liberal, and relatively most contented and happy of Italian communities, of which only those jealous of its unique greatness disparaged its character and policy. Scarcely any Power in Europe had omitted at some time or other to appeal to it for counsel or active support. The saying arose: *Eamus ad bonos Venetos*. Paolo Giovio, in a letter to a friend in 1544, described the Lion of St. Mark as the standard of Italian liberty.

The diffusion of inaccurate or false intelligence must strike the peruser even of official papers and correspondence; statements in one diplomatic dispatch are not unfrequently contradicted or modified in a subsequent one; and the comparative slowness of communications rendered it difficult to arrive at the truth. Diplomacy, again, had become one of the fine arts, and proved occasionally valuable in staving off war; and no State excelled in it the Venetians, with whom it became at an early date a training and an official department. It was a line of conduct enforced by the universal vogue of intrigue, duplicity, and deceit, accompanied by normal suspicion and distrust, and a callous disregard of human life.

## CHAPTER XXXV

A.D. 1521-1573

Death of Leonardo Loredano (1521)—Interregnum—Splendid funeral of Loredano—Cereemonious inauguration of his successor—Brief reign of the latter—Unsuccessful popular movement in favour of Antonio Trono—Andrea Gritti, Doge (1523-38)—Turkey and Egypt—Reception of the Venetian envoy by the Sultan of Egypt at Cairo—Absorption of Egypt by the Porte—The Porte and the Signory—Aggrandizement of the Turks—Venetian political difficulties increase—Italian and Eastern affairs—Germany still occupied by Religious Wars—Domestic troubles at Venice—Plague and Famine—Convalescent Homes—Popular discontent—Threatening notices attached to public and private buildings—Death of Gritti (1538)—Some account of him and his private life—His servant Marta—His scheme of Architectural Improvement—Invasion of France by England and Germany (1544)—Council of Trento—Protestantism and Elizabeth of England—Apprehended rupture with Turkey—Explosion of the Venetian Powder-Magazine at the Arsenal (1569)—Loss of Cyprus (1570)—Battle of Lepanto (1571)—Rejoicings at Venice—Peace with Turkey (1573).

THROUGHOUT these years of trial and change the Doge Leonardo Loredano had remained at the head of affairs, and had acquitted himself of his functions to the general satisfaction and approval. Arrived at his eighty-fourth year, the Doge had lived to see his country pass, without such severe sacrifices as might have been anticipated, through the worst crisis in its entire history, and he had seen this result accomplished by the errors of its enemies, the sympathy of its subjects, and its own alternate action and inactivity, always seconded by its situation. There had scarcely been a blow exchanged on the water; to its commanders in the field it owed little; but the Council of Ten is probably entitled to the honour of having most largely contributed to extricate the Republic from the formidable combination against it with the least possible surrender of dignity and dominion. The death of the Doge occurred between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the 22nd June, 1521, and the obsequies were celebrated with unparalleled magnificence. A full description is left to us by



the diarist Sanudo,<sup>1</sup> who was probably present; and it sheds light on certain aspects of contemporary life and feeling.

The Signory was summoned to assemble, and at two o'clock in the afternoon the bells of Saint Mark's gave out nine peals, followed by all the other churches. The signet-ring of the departed was removed from his finger, and broken, agreeably to usage; the senior privy councillor, Battista Erizzo, was nominated Vice-Doge; a seal cast in wax with his family arms was delivered to him for temporary use; and, with the rest of the Privy Council and the Chiefs of the Forty, he installed himself at the palace during the interregnum. A detachment of marines from the Arsenal having arrived, sentinels were stationed at all the entrances, and letters were dispatched to the representatives and governors of the *terra firma* and colonies, apprising them of the occurrence. The embalmed remains of Loredano lay in state in the Sala del Piovego, guarded by two-and-twenty gentlemen in scarlet, indicative of the death of the Doge, not of the Signory. Letters notifying the sad event were sent under the seal of Andrea Magno, senior privy councillor, to all officially concerned, including such as were absent from home, and were qualified to vote for the new Doge. There is a singular circumstance attendant on this and the succeeding dogeship, and it is that, with Loredano and his successor Vettore Morosini of San Polo was on such peculiarly intimate and confidential terms, that he used to visit both early every morning, and remain in the College till they dismissed him—perhaps,<sup>2</sup> if any secret deliberation impended, as he had no official standing.

The members of the Great Council assembled, and were soon joined by the Vice-Doge and other high officials, and by several of the diplomatic corps, while in the church of SS. Filippo e Giacomo the relatives and friends of the family were gathering to accompany the two sons of his Serenity to the palace. The procession ascended the wooden stairs, and on reaching the door of the Hall of Pregadi, the eldest son, Lorenzo Loredano, his head draped in black, took his place by the side of the Patriarch and the Vice-Doge; and all proceeded

<sup>1</sup> The Diarist furnishes particulars of his relative's family and its connexions, and informs us that Loredano's two grandchildren after his death left the palace to take up quarters elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, iii. 293.

to the Piovego to hear the *Vigilia Mortuorum*. There they found deposited on a bier the coffin covered with a splendid pall, the ducal berretta laid on a cushion, the spurs at the feet, and the gilt sword on the left hand. Round the bier were burning lights, and eight-and-twenty patricians in violet sat on benches close by. On the conclusion of the service the procession began to move toward the cathedral, preceded by all the schools and religious fraternities, bearing banners and lights, including the Scuola della Misericordia, to which the Doge himself belonged, and which came last in order, and bore staffs with the arms of Loredano; next marched representatives of the municipal government and fifty seamen, each carrying a flaming torch; then came the bier, carried by mariners beneath the umbrella of the Misericordia, supported by silver batons; and a large number of patricians, doctors, and others, both officials and private persons, brought up the rear. All places of business were closed. Andrea Navagiero the historian preached the funeral sermon at Saint Mark's. Of the waxen tapers employed, some were black, others gilt in gilt holders; and some of the torches were fixed in gilt candelabra.

The formalities attendant on the installation of the new Doge, Antonio Grimani, who was chosen by twenty-seven votes out of forty-one on the 4th July, were less sumptuous and imposing, but perhaps even yet more prolonged, than the payment of the last honours to Loredano. When the bell rang to signify that the electors had arrived at a decision, the ducal gastaldi, who were in waiting at the door of the chamber, appeared to clear the tables, on which the conclave had dined, and gave notice to the hands, who had to remove the mattresses and chests forming the beds on which they had passed the night, pending the close of the deliberations. The Chiefs of the Forty shortly presented themselves, and touched hands with his Serenity, who wore a crimson damask robe and a satin cap of the same hue. Grimani then repaired with the Electors, the Privy Council, the Chiefs of the Ten, and others to the Great Council Chamber. The great bell of Saint Mark's rang joyous peals, and was followed by all the other churches. It was estimated that 50,000 persons were on the Piazza and its precincts. The bells and bonfires were ordered to continue for three days. Letters, announcing the choice of

the Signory, were dispatched to Rome, Naples, Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, Florence, France, England, the Emperor, Hungary, and all other Powers with which the Republic had diplomatic relations.<sup>1</sup>

At half-past nine in the evening the Doge set out again with his relatives and the Forty-one, and entered Saint Mark's, where the senior senator, from the first step of the pulpit, delivered the following manifesto: "Our most serene prince, Leonardo Loredano, having deceased, and our Signory desiring to provide opportunely a successor, it has with the Senate elected as our prince the most serene and excellent Antonio Grimani, here present, whose virtues and worthy conditions, through the mediation of the Divine grace, are such as to give great hope for the welfare and preservation of the State, and the public and private commodity of all; whose assumption of authority is hereby signified, that you may acknowledge him as your prince and chief." The Doge himself then mounted the steps, and said that, since it had pleased the Divine Majesty to place him in that dignity, he promised abundance and justice, and the maintenance of peace, and if there should be war, to conduct it vigorously and in person. There was hereupon a general acclamation, and his Serenity, descending, went in procession to the great altar, where he kissed the senior canon, and swore on the missal to preserve the State and the honour of Saint Mark, receiving into his hands the red standard, which he transmitted to the Admiral of the Arsenal. He now proceeded to the steps of the choir, where he seated himself in a chair, and was carried round the Piazza by mariners, scattering the money, newly coined with his name, among the crowd as he went. At the foot of the stone stairs of the palace he alighted, and was invested by Antonio Giustiniani with a robe of lawn and by the late Vice-Doge with the ducal berretta brought from the treasury of Saint Mark. He next retired with the Signory only to the Hall of Piovego, where he took his seat as Doge, while his two nephews distributed largesse among the people. The Fruiterers of Venice, Pellestrina, Malamocco, Chioggia, Lido, and other places attended by their delegates, and to the

<sup>1</sup> This formality became a customary observance on each change in the dogeship, and the communication was officially acknowledged, and compliments exchanged.



number of 130 offered lemons, which the Doge graciously accepted, and afterward sent as complimentary presents to the councillors and magistrates. The Doge, leaving his own house at Santa Maria Formosa, directed that all his provisions, wine, and fuel laid up in store, should be given to the poor. On the following day after breakfast and mass he went to the Great Council; and as he approached the throne, he sank on his knees, and, removing the berretta, prayed to God that it might be so, that he had been promoted happily to that place, which caused great emotion, and then, rising to his feet, he repeated what he had said of his loyal desire to promote the general good. The coins appropriated to largesse, of which the present appears to be the first authentic example, were struck at the public expense, and consisted of pieces of 16, 8, and 4 *soldi*, and of a special issue of 500 ducats; but Grimani himself issued for presentation a silver *osella* commemorative of his accession, with his kneeling figure on one side before the Saviour.

These details have their interesting side in enabling us to compare the views and the forms of the sixteenth century, and of the highest point of Venetian grandeur, with those more primitive scenes, which belong to the older annals. In the selection of Grimani, a kinsman of the diarist Sanudo, a singularly long and varied career reached its crowning point. He was a man who had filled in turn the highest offices of the State, and had acquitted himself honourably and successfully of his functions, till in 1499 he met with a reverse at sea, and was imprisoned. He escaped from confinement, rendered signal services to his country in the Cambrai crisis, was forgiven and recalled, and became a procurator of Saint Mark. At present he was eighty-seven. Of two sons, one was the Cardinal Domenigo, an eminent book-collector and owner of the Grimani Breviary, of which the execution is usually ascribed to Memling, and of a *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul*, illuminated by Giulio Clovio, the latter now in the Soane Museum in London. Three reproductions of the paintings in the former may be seen in Lacroix.<sup>1</sup> But his Eminence also possessed pictures, of which he bequeathed to the State fourteen on panel of Flemish execution, and

<sup>1</sup> *La Vie militaire au moyen âge*, 1873, pp. 16, 366; *Mœurs et Usages*, 1872, frontispiece. The original is preserved in St. Mark's Library, Venice.

known at Venice as *Ponentini*. A nephew of the Doge was Patriarch of Aquileia; and the family was altogether in the front rank.<sup>1</sup>

But the patriarchal age of Grimani afforded slight expectation of his long enjoyment of the dogeship. He in fact held the office scarcely two years, dying on the 7th May 1523. He is said by Sanudo to have lost some of his popularity by reason of his advanced years and the disadvantages attendant on natural infirmities. He had desired to resign; but his sons dissuaded him, because the step was inimical to their interests, and they tried, after his decease, to obtain pensions of 2000 ducats each and a funeral for their father at the public expense. The above-mentioned authority introduces *apropos* of their pecuniary keenness, his favourite elegiac formula: *E cossi va le nostre cosse*. The popular candidate was Antonio Tron or Trono, probably a grandson of the former Doge of the same name, and a son of the nobleman who was a competitor for the office in 1501. But on the 20th of the month, Andrea, son of Francesco, Gritti, who had distinguished himself as proveditor-general of the forces in the war of Cambrai, was elected to fill the vacancy. He endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the majority by the distribution of largesse, and by directing the sale to the poor of a large stock of flour at the lowest possible price; yet there was a cry of *Um! Um! Trum! Trum!*<sup>2</sup> among the throng, which assembled to witness the inaugurative ceremony. Gritti, however, tried to conquer those prejudices, and to win general esteem. He was a man who had enjoyed opportunities of gaining varied experience, and who had a strong relish for life and its pleasures. He took an early opportunity of addressing a letter to Henry VIII. (July 30), to thank him for his friendly offices with the Emperor.

During several years subsequent to the treaty with Turkey in 1503, there had been no disturbance of amicable relations between Venice and the Porte. Solyman the Magnificent, a young man of five-and-twenty, had ascended the throne in 1520, and his foreign policy, while it threatened to be more aggressive and acquisitive than that of his predecessor Bajazet, did not immediately affect the Republic, until the Sultan

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, 1905-8, ii. 255, 448.

<sup>2</sup> Venetian patois for *Trono*.

made himself master of Rhodes in 1522. The Signory, meanwhile, watching the course of events, continued to maintain their advantageous commercial relations with Egypt; and the treaty of 1504, under which the Signory had rendered assistance to the Sultan against the Portuguese, had been renewed in 1512.<sup>1</sup> The Venetian ambassador has left an interesting account, written by his son, of his journey from Alexandria to "God-guarded"<sup>2</sup> Cairo by road and river with his retinue, and of their reception by the Sultan. The latter assigned to his visitors a house adjoining his own, with a floor of variegated marbles, like those, the narrator says, at Saint Mark's, only superior. The splendour and wealth everywhere manifest in the City of Cities and Wonder of the World,<sup>3</sup> powerfully impressed even the Venetians, accustomed to the lavish display of courts, and to luxury and magnificence at home. We are told how Trevisano, complying with Oriental usage, doffed his velvet bonnet on entering the presence, and performed lowly obeisance, and how he took from a breast-pocket his credentials written in letters of gold secured with a gold seal, and kissing them, and raising them above his head, handed them to the turcoman, who delivered them to his sovereign. The latter asked for a penknife, and cut open the letter, which was read to him; he then gave the seal to the turcoman, and the ambassador spoke a few sentences of congratulation and compliment in the name of the Signory. The Sultan rejoined by demanding news of the health of the Doge and the Government, and of the sort of journey which Trevisano and his party had had. The diplomatist assured his Highness that it could not but be well with him, since God had conferred on him the supreme happiness of beholding his Highness's countenance, which was to those of the other lords of the earth as the sun is to the stars. When these words were interpreted to him, the Sultan waved his hand graciously; and, the public audience concluded, Trevisano retired. The private and practical interview took place in a garden resembling, it is related, an earthly paradise, with its

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Philip de Commines thought that Venice itself, from the abundance of its churches, must be under the special protection of the Almighty.

<sup>3</sup> Alaeddin and two other Eastern stories translated from the Arabic by John Payne, 1889, p. 32. Sir Richard Burton apprises us that the air of Cairo, owing to modern changes, is no longer what it was, and that you find the former conditions at Thebes.



fountains, singing birds, and other delights. But the scene between Trevisano and the Sultan was less agreeable. For his Highness, harassed by increasing political difficulties, and by nature of a choleric temper, complained with great vehemence of certain proceedings on the part of the Venetian consul at Damascus, Pietro Zeno, unfriendly to him and detrimental to his power. Trevisano had to palliate the behaviour of his countryman as best he could, and even ascribe it to ignorance, while he emphasized the sincere affection of the Signory for his Highness. He undertook to conduct Zeno back, and cause an investigation into his conduct to be made. His Highness insisted that he should see his head cut off, or that he should die in prison, or at least be banished for life; but Trevisano explained that it would be necessary to look into the case. The Sultan, at first in a paroxysm of fury, was gradually tranquillised; but he kept Trevisano on his feet, cap in hand, three hours, and he had to assent to receive a chain, which he himself was to put round the neck of Zeno, and so take him home. At two later interviews the envoy succeeded in mollifying the Eastern potentate, who dismissed him with a complimentary speech. "Thou art," he told him through an interpreter, "a messenger of truth and a most wise man; thou art one of those who govern the State; see that thy Signory ever remains of this good mind toward me, and God will give it every prosperity and every blessing: otherwise He will avenge me." There was a final conference with the ministers; a treaty was arranged on a satisfactory basis; and Trevisano returned home, accompanied by Zeno.<sup>1</sup>

Egypt was, shortly after this remarkable episode, absorbed by the Turks, and the Republic directed its efforts to the maintenance, in the face of such engrossing affairs in the Peninsula, of pacific relations with the Power which seemed to be gradually reducing the whole of Eastern Europe to its irresistible and paralysing arms, and against which a new

<sup>1</sup> In a letter adressed to the Signory by the Egyptian Governor of Alexandria in 1496, the writer describes the prospective recipient in terms of florid exuberance, according to Sanudo: "Honorado, magnifico, potente, terribile, forte lion, religioxo, sapiente, consolatione de le zente cristiane, gloria de la nation de la fede de Cristo, honor de i fioli batizati; cortese a cavalieri, honor de li veri cristiani, destrubuitor de Signorie, utele ne le sue provintie, justo nel suo stado infra el suo populo, fidel a re e soldati, adornamento e splendor de' cristiani."—*Diarii*, i. 133-4.



Crusade was publicly proposed in the winter of 1517, in which all the States of Christendom were invited to co-operate. The movement seems to have proved resultless. The Venetians themselves had had repeated opportunities of testing the costly futility of such combinations, and arrived at the conclusion, that independent action was simpler and cheaper. It is characteristic of subtle Italian methods that when in 1521 an envoy was sent to Constantinople to felicitate Solyman on his accession, and solicit new guarantees, and it was found, on arrival at the Porte, that the Sultan was at the head of his troops in Hungary, instructions were forwarded to his Excellency, Marco Minio, to plead indisposition and temporise in every possible way, till the result of the operations was known. The loss of the special privileges long enjoyed in Egyptian ports, followed by the fall of Rhodes, were not merely serious blows to the welfare and prestige of Venice, but presented the aspect of portents of greater calamities to come.

Wolsey had engaged to speak a favourable word at the Porte on behalf of the Signory. The Venetian ambassador saw the Cardinal on the 28th November 1520, when the latter observed: "Solyman . . . has good judgment; it is feared he will act like his father."<sup>1</sup>

The Turks offered to consideration in modern history the earliest instance in which military and naval preponderance seemed likely to be combined; and although the Republic would not have shrunk from meeting the forces of the Sultan on that element which was so peculiarly its own, the simultaneous resistance on land, while military operations throughout Italy were demanding such constant attention and such vast outlay, was a perplexing problem for the Venetians, ever labouring under the chronic drawback of a feeble economic system. The recent geographical discoveries and the unsuccessful efforts of the Government to counteract them by enlisting the services of Sebastian Cabot, and other expedients, which similarly failed, tended to demonstrate that the course and bias of events all over the world were adverse to the principles under which Venice had risen and prospered. There were many statesmen who discerned the drift of their beloved country downward, and felt an uncertainty how long after their time it would keep its independence.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, iii. 96.

Contarini in the course of 1522 found a constant demand for his tact, courage, and forbearance. In April he had an interview at Brussels with the Bishop of Palencia in Old Castile, and when he assured him of the loyalty of the Republic to the Emperor, the prelate rejoined: "You are deceived, for I likewise have been an ambassador, and noticed that, when one Power meant to break with another, the first person imposed upon is the minister resident with the prince whose friendship is about to be renounced. Thus did King Ferdinand the Catholic, when he made the truce with France, for the first person he deceived was his own ambassador resident with the King of England. . . . Remember that you drew Maximilian into the League of Cambrai by the hair of his head." When the envoy subsequently saw the Emperor, and asked for a renewal of the safe-conducts for Venetian shipping within his jurisdiction, Charles said that the old ones had still some time to run, and that he would wait and see how the Signory proceeded. It was not possible for them at one and the same time to content France and him. If the Signory were going against him, he should give no safe-conducts; if they were his friends, they would not need them. Contarini tried to assure Charles of the Signory's devotion to him, and he retorted that he looked at their acts, which toward him were very sorry, and he withdrew into his apartments. A few days later, the ambassador Spinelli publicly charged Contarini in the presence of Sir Robert Wingfield and the Papal Nuncio with having been in collusion with the Turks, who had invested a place (Postoina) belonging to Charles in Carniola with a force of 10,000 men without inflicting any damage on their passage through Venetian Friuli. The Bishop of Palencia, when Contarini mentioned this report to him, stigmatised Spinelli as a scurrilous fool, and derided the idea that Venice had had any hand in the matter. "Yet," he added, "are you the cause of this mischief through the assistance given by you to the French in the affairs of Italy."

When Charles, however, paid his visit to England in May-June 1522, the diplomatic representative of the Signory was prominent among those who occupied themselves with discussing the existing European position, and in seeking to organize a new league, to which Venice was to be a party, and which was in large measure directed against France, which Wolsey

declared, if peace was to be established in Christendom, must be exterminated. The Cardinal was immensely to the front, knew everything, was prepared to settle everything. A foreign bishop described him to the Venetian ambassador at the English court as really a wonderful man: "he chooses to interfere in everything, and to do all himself." The ambassador (Gasparo Contarini) took on himself, in the absence of instructions from the Signory, to draw up the articles to which his Government would be willing to subscribe.<sup>1</sup> The actual outcome seems to have been a declaration of war by England against France, which was proclaimed at Lyons on the 28th May, 1522, by Clarenieux in the name of Henry, and in which the Signory did not actively participate. On the 7th June, however, Henry saw Surian, Contarini's colleague, and, laughing, said to him: "To-morrow we must hold a conference with you, and see whether you choose to persevere in the league with France or rather to join ours." On the next day the two ambassadors dined with Wolsey, when the Cardinal spoke in the most severe and abusive terms of France, and said, on the contrary, that England had always borne a singular affection toward the Republic, and that although the Signory held Cyprus, *which belonged to his Majesty*, he (Henry) had never failed being the friend of Venice and had included her in the Treaty of London (September 1518).<sup>2</sup> But so far as that of 1522 was concerned, the Signory discovered that they were expected at any rate to lend the Flanders galleys, to be specially manned by Venetian seamen and a Venetian patrician, under the banner of Saint Mark, for a raid on the French coast under threat of an embargo, the wages of the crews to be defrayed by England. Apart from this particular episode, which reflects the Cardinal's blustering mood, such homage or courtship might practically and immediately signify little; but it imported a recognition of the worth of Venice in assisting to maintain the balance of power in Italy and Western Europe and of the belligerent strength of France in relation to England at this juncture. The trouble about the Flanders galleys lasted several months, and Henry VIII. declined to release the galleys till the Signory had made peace with the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 235.

<sup>2</sup> The letters-patent to the Doge, Senate, and Signory of Venice are dated, however, June 9, 1522. *Cal. of State Papers*, iii. 241.



Emperor, the King volunteering to mediate. The Doge and Senate appointed accordingly as their proctor and syndic the Venetian ambassador in London, Antonio Surian, while Henry delegated on his part Richard Pace, whom we find signalized as being, next to Wolsey, the most influential man in England. The papers relative to the treaty were forwarded by the Council of Ten to Surian, who, in conjunction with Contarini, ambassador to the Emperor, was empowered to conclude the agreement. The Decemvirs approved of the articles drawn up by Contarini, except that the words, "that we may be enabled to attend to the right holy expedition against the Infidels, especially in these times," were to be cancelled, if an opportunity offered. At the end of September a settlement was as remote as ever, and Henry insisted on the Signory declaring war against France, failing certain concessions on the part of Francis I. Wolsey began to use toward the Venetians the most contumelious language, terming them *infimi di tutti i principi*, and vowed that, if they did not comply, the Emperor and Henry would make war on them. The Signory remained immovable. On the 10th October Contarini saw the Emperor, and congratulated him on his safe arrival in Spain. Charles returned thanks, and added, "Well, Lord Ambassador, have you nothing more than this to tell me? The Signory still persists in not coming to a decision." The ambassador pleaded that a delay was caused by Pace, who would not arrive at Venice till the 21st. Charles made no reply, merely turning to indifferent topics. The whole business was a tissue of propositions and counterpropositions, of which in retrospection the main point seems to be that Henry and Wolsey on their side, and Charles V. on his, sought to bully or coax the Signory into taking a course, to which they had no mind. At the end of October the Holy See intervened, and sent briefs to the King and Cardinal for the release of the galleys. The proceedings lingered through the rest of 1522 and the earlier months of 1523. In November the King had so far relaxed his prohibitory attitude, that he suffered the Venetians to export their goods. But toward the end of March, Pace at last brought the matter to a conclusion, and, Henry having mentioned his great desire to have six of their bronze guns belonging to the galleys, it was agreed to present two of them, if they could be accommodated with the loan of others for the



return voyage. Such is a sample of the methods habitually pursued in public transactions, even where delay and demurrage meant grave loss to one of the parties, and it is hardly surprising that the Signory should have had recourse to stratagem to outmanœuvre the English by shipping cargoes under other colours. The result in one case at all events was strangely unfortunate, since out of six vessels four were lost, one returned to Southampton, and the remaining one was detained on reaching the coast of Brittany, but was restored on the earnest representation of the Government by order of Francis.

Pace, who figures in some of the dispatches as "my Lord," carried his head tolerably high during his temporary sojourn at Venice. On Christmas Eve, 1522, he had sent his secretary to request a visit from one of the Savii of the Council, who, after consultation with his colleagues, appointed the secretary of the Council of Ten to wait on *my lord*. Pace dismissed him, and, on learning what had happened, the Government begged a particular friend of Pace, Daniele Renier, a supplementary member of the Ten, to go and ascertain what Pace had to say. At a meeting of the Ten (with the Giunta) on January 19, 1523, it was proposed that, if Pace managed to carry out the business with his usual address, he should have a fee of 4000 ducats in two instalments; but the motion was lost.

During the next few years, by an Italian policy as nearly approaching neutrality as possible, the Signory was able to hold the Sultan in check, and even to obtain some substantial advantages at sea without the assistance of the Imperial squadron, nominally acting in friendly concert, but of no practical service, and collaterally and independently the brilliant naval career of Andrea Doria, and the repeated Genoese triumphs under his leadership over the Turks between 1519 and 1560, proved valuable and opportune. The French, not satisfied with their disloyalty to Venice in Italy, had entered on a new method of displaying their political obliquity and fatuity, and had formed an alliance with the Porte, which was tantamount to a declaration of war against their best ally in their Italian schemes; and this suicidal step really gave the death-blow to the influence and prospects of France in the Peninsula, for Venice at last discerned the hollowness of the

connexion, and went over to Charles, in honour of whose coronation it sent to Bologna a splendid embassy and sumptuous presents. If the friendship of the Emperor was of slight substantial value, his friendly neutrality was worth much.

The aggrandizement of the Porte was everywhere manifest in the overbearing demeanour of the Sultan and his ministers, and the necessity, which Hungary, Austria, and Transylvania, no less than Venice, experienced of adopting toward the master of Constantinople an attitude more or less deferential. The Republic itself just now profited by the influence at court of Luigi Gritti, an illegitimate son of the Doge by a Greek lady; he had been employed in a diplomatic capacity at Constantinople, and was directly instrumental in shielding both the Hungarians and Austrians from a worse fate than would have awaited them; for the Grand Vizier explicitly told the emissary of the Waiwode of Transylvania, that had it not been for the good offices of the Doge and his son, both States would have been swallowed up, but, at the instance of the Venetians, his sovereign had stayed his hand. This goodwill continued more or less down to 1529, when on his return from the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, the Sultan, to dissipate the ill-humour of his soldiers and his own, prepared to celebrate with extraordinary pomp the circumcision of his two sons, and invited to the solemnity the Doge himself, who sent in due course a representative loaded with gifts, and in the meantime congratulated Solyman on his victories in the field, and thanked the Grand Vizier for his condescending goodness.

To hold the balance between the conflicting forces in Italy, and between East and West, formed no light task; and the Republic found that diplomacy alone was inadequate to the necessities of its arduous position. From 1529 to 1540 there was a series of hostilities, in which the Turks gained no decisive advantages, and the Venetian fleet behaved with all its old intrepidity. But the expenditure was ruinous without any result, and at length Luigi Badoer was commissioned to negotiate a peace on the conditions dictated by the Sultan, except that he was to avoid, if possible, the cession of Nauplia and Malvasia. This alternative reservation was of course to be kept strictly secret; but it was divulged by certain members of the Government to the Bishop of Montpellier, French ambassador at Venice, who communicated it to the Porte; and

the Turkish terms were reluctantly accepted. They safeguarded life and property, and afforded mutual pledges and guarantees, so far as such engagements were worth anything; and they comprised a payment to the Porte by instalments of 300,000 ducats as satisfaction for damages real or alleged. The other Western Powers, the Germany of Charles V. inclusive, were immersed in their own internal troubles and commotions, political and religious, and were unable or unwilling to lend any solid assistance to Venice in stemming the torrent of Turkish conquest, which some, again, considered to affect in principal measure the Venetians themselves; the Signory in vain recommended the Emperor to refrain from involving himself in the polemical discussions and schisms of the Fatherland, while he was enabling the Sultan to demolish all obstacles between the Turkish and German frontiers, and was preparing the way for his own downfall; the Holy See and the Italian States turned a deaf ear to appeals for succour; and we must not blame the Republic if it not only concluded the Turkish war on such a basis as it could arrange, but if it perceived with complacency the triumph of the Crescent, where no direct loss accrued to itself.

Domestic affairs during the administration of Andrea Gritti might have been said to preserve a tolerably even tenor, had it not happened that in 1527 and 1529 Venice was visited by plague and famine, in spite of all the sanitary precautions adopted to meet the constant danger in regard to the former of infection from the East. The distress among the poor seems to have prevailed in May, for the Doge, paying his yearly visit to one of the churches, was met by groups of men, women, and children crying, *Abundantia! abundantia!* and some died of hunger and cold under the very portico of the palace. The Fair of the Sensa had been suspended; but the richer people held masquerades and balls in their houses, while so many were starving in the streets. Want of food and shelter assisted in bringing a pestilence, which swept away nearly 4000 persons out of an estimated population of less than 200,000, although every exertion was used to provide for the sick and convalescent, and to check the spread of infection. Funds were raised to supply necessities to the inmates of the houses set apart for those who recovered—about 1000. The churches were closed, and service was celebrated in the street



amid the bustle of affairs, and even by torchlight. Every one was directed to give immediate notice of cases, that the dwellings might be isolated, and the patients might be removed to the lazaretto. The Board of Health woke from a lethargy, and began to look into the state of the thoroughfares and poorer dwellings, and the sale of unwholesome provisions. These facts and revelations shew the distance at all times between institutions on paper and in practice. It was the case of a city ostensibly in advance of its contemporaries in hygienic principles, yet at the same time necessarily so to a great extent from its perpetual liability to contact with Oriental life; and now in the sixteenth century the plague evidently finds it unprepared, and the masses exposed to its grip by the neglect of the authorities, the dearth of necessaries, and the malaria proceeding from fetid dwellings and filthy kennels. Two years later the lesson was so imperfectly learned, perhaps in the presence of foreign distractions, that we hear from Sanudo of a return of the scarcity with even graver symptoms, for threatening notices were placed on the walls of mansions and of the palace itself—an incident most unusual, if not unprecedented, at Venice. It consequently appears that it was not only in the fiscal system that the constitution failed, but in so ordinary and essential a point as the regular supply to the city of common victuals adequate to the support of the main body of the people. Whenever a crisis arrived the Government and benevolent individuals came forward and met it; and then affairs relapsed into their former condition. The theory and the sentiment were there; but the official machinery was, after all, an Italian one, and an Italian one, moreover, not far removed from the mediæval type. These periodical experiences betray faulty methods of agricultural production, accompanied by an imperfect distributing agency.

The Doge Gritti left behind him, when he died on the 17th December, 1538, many striking and varied personal recollections. He was an old public servant, a man of the most charming and affable address, unless he was put out of humour, a generous friend to the poor, whom he regularly relieved from his own purse once a week, and a lover of good living and magnificent display. In his relations with the members of the Government he was self-opinionated and imperious; he disregarded the constitutional restraints placed



on his authority; and when the privy councillors were not present, or had not arrived, he at critical junctures opened dispatches without waiting for them, and had his views ready. He was very far indeed from being that *Testa di Legno*, which Howell, in a letter of 1621, mentions as a bye-name for the Doge at that time. What the head of the State was, depended not a little on himself. Gritti was a great and even greedy eater, and rather too fond of articles of diet, including garlic and onions, which did not, as his family told him, suit his advanced years. But he paid no heed to any one except an old female domestic, named Marta, whom he suffered to take away any dish which she thought that her master ought not to taste, when he was supping in his own apartments. He lived, however, to be eighty-four, and to preserve to the last traces of that handsome and graceful figure which had once recommended him to the fair sex and gained general admiration, notwithstanding his inattention to his health and his voluptuousness of temperament; and, judged by the testimonies of his contemporaries, he was a personage of undoubted eminence and patriotism. In the funeral discourse upon the Doge, the orator held up his example to the Venetian youth; and while we listen to anecdotes of his amours and gourmandise, we must not forget his highly valuable services to his country. He spent so freely on objects of public utility that he impoverished his estate, and his last thought and project were the amplification and embellishment of the ducal palace by acquiring all the land and property between the Rio di Palazzo and the Calle dalle Rasse, a portion of which he proposed to lay out as an ornamental garden; and he was actually in treaty with the owners, possibly without consulting his ministers, when death overtook him. It was a revival under a varied form of a project mooted after the Fire of 1479. His portrait in the Sala de' Pregadi justifies the assurance which has reached us, that he was the handsomest man of his day; but it stands alone in representing two remarkable incidents in the career of the Doge—his imprisonment in Constantinople and in France, on both of which occasions he was intrusted with important diplomatic duties by his country. On one side of the painting are fetters and the crescent, and on the other fleurs-de-lis and gyves. His was a reputation which could afford to treat

those passages of a prolonged, honourable, and illustrious life as historical landmarks.

Here comes to the surface once again an illustration of the irrepressible force of individual character, more particularly in the case of one who carried considerable military experience to the throne, and whose very frailties had proved of such signal service in the management of the Turkish business. His successor, Pietro Lando, a distinguished naval commander and a nobleman of cultivated understanding, who as podesta of Padua had conferred great benefits on that university, was not elected till the 19th January 1539. The intervening month was probably occupied in deliberating on the question of precluding a repetition of the arbitrary proceedings of the last reign, and with the almost habitual result; and in fact the choice of Lando was hardly that of the Forty-one, for the majority of suffrages were in favour of Francesco Donato, who gave way to him. One of the sons of Gritti by the Greek lady was still employed at Constantinople in turning to account his maternal influence. The curiosity awakened by the unexpected aggrandizement of the Porte and its apparent stability and permanence as an European State is demonstrated by the literary efforts to throw light on its administrative methods and internal affairs; and in England the work of Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, giving an account of the Turkish Court, of the military system, of the victorious career of the masters of Constantinople, and of their religious tenets, met with an English translator in 1542.<sup>1</sup>

During the next few years the Republic is not found actively interfering in Italian or European affairs. Its Government at home and representatives abroad are carefully watching the progress of courts and the continual changes of scene; the friendly approach of Francis I. and Charles V., and the visit of the latter to his royal brother at Paris; the renewal of the war between Turkey and Hungary, its duration for seven years, and the consequent political embarrassments of Austria; the estrangement of France and Germany over the old Milanese question; friction between France and Spain by reason of the tragical death of the French envoy on his way

<sup>1</sup> He is not named, and the version is a very poor one. The original had appeared in 1539 and 1541, and was included in the volume of *Voyages*, printed at Venice in 1543 and 1545.

to Constantinople under circumstances pointing to Spanish instigation; independent amicable overtures by France and Germany to Venice; the deplorable expedition of Charles V. to Algiers in 1541; the alliance between France and the Porte; and the invasion of France by Germany and England in 1544. The Venetians used the most strenuous efforts to observe neutrality in the face of these transactions, by which other Powers seemed to be exhausting their strength, and impairing their reputation. A representative of the Signory on board one of the vessels, which conveyed the forces of Charles to Barbary, wrote to his Government (10th Nov. 1541), giving an account of the defeat and imprudence of the Emperor, of the disembarkation of the troops without provisions and artillery, and of the disgraceful and signal retreat from Algiers. The losses of the Germans in men, ships, and material must have been enormous. The step appears to have been a mere piece of foolhardihood or infatuation, and unquestionably enfeebled Charles. A writer of the time has left us an account of the business, and assures us that "it was able to move a stony heart to bewail the same, and to pray to God for His aid and succour."<sup>1</sup>

An episode, which owed much of its importance to its indirect bearing on the sovereignty of the Gulf, was the proposal by an Udinese, Beltrame Sachia, to recover, nominally for himself, but really for the Republic, Marano on the Adriatic, a small place, which had been acquired in 1420, and subsequently ceded to the Empire. Sachia made himself master of the position; but the Signory did not find it convenient at the moment to unmask themselves, and their agent eventually surrendered his acquisition to one of the King of France. Hereupon the Imperialists invested Marano by sea and land; the French directed attention to the infringement of Venetian rights in the presence of a foreign flotilla in those waters, even while they sent naval aid from Naples across the Gulf to the relief of the place; the Republic called upon the German commander to withdraw his force: the Neapolitan contingent was stopped by order of the Senate; and 2000 French were shipped in Venetian bottoms to defend the town.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas Vyllagon, *Lamentable and Piteous Treatise*, 1542. Originally written in Latin. The author appears to have been a Spanish priest.

<sup>2</sup> An official intimation of this step reached the French Government on the 31st October 1542.



Emperor himself began to appreciate the insignificance of the point involved, and consented to waive his pretensions on payment of 35,000 ducats, subsequently increased by 75,000, payable under the Treaty of Bologna on the restitution of the Friulan territory. Pecuniary settlements proceeded in these excellent days at a very leisurely pace; and it is perfectly possible that the whole of that sum never reached its destination. That treaty was fourteen years old.

The simultaneous invasion of France by England and Germany in 1544 was principally distinguished by the ruthless plunder of the country by the troops of Charles on their line of march through Lorraine, spreading the same horror and detestation of the Emperor and his methods as his instruments had already done in Italy. The Republic might have viewed these internecine and improvident wars with complacency, had it not been that they disabled the two Western Powers from assisting to keep the Porte in check; and Venetian diplomacy was set at work to procure the peace of Crépy (1544), of which the most ominous feature was the stipulation that Milan should be a marriage-portion in a contingent alliance between the houses of Germany and France. The event, however, was regarded with some inquietude at Constantinople, since it left the imperial army disposable for service on the Hungarian frontier. But the Imperialists themselves, continually harassed by the internal divisions of the Fatherland, took the initiative in approaching the Sultan, and after protracted negotiation concluded a truce for five years, in 1547, on payment by Francis and Charles of 30,000 ducats a year to the Porte. The Venetians had been solicitous of entering into the arrangement, when it was in its incipient stage, and instructed their resident at Constantinople accordingly, feeling that if France and Germany were at peace with each other, they might operate in some direction against the Republic; and the Venetian representative was advised to use his influence with Vizier Rustem to exclude, at all events, any clauses calculated to disturb Italian tranquillity, or to augment the imperial power. An intelligent French writer,<sup>1</sup> in a view of the political condition of Italy a few years later, shews how the Peninsula was virtually divided between Venice,

<sup>1</sup> *A Discourse upon the Present State of France*, 1588 (translated from the French), p. 58.



the Papacy, and Spain, the minor States reckoning as next to nothing.

While the soldier was becoming the curse of the Continent on land, and the corsair in the pay of various nationalities and states—the Holy See not excepted—was the scourge of commerce, notwithstanding all the efforts of Venice during centuries to extinguish the evil, religion was kindling in Germany passions more destructive to happiness and life than either, and the Emperor and his relatives were beginning to find that in the new opinions on matters of faith and doctrine they were face to face with an enemy, which was proof against the sword and the cannon. The intrusion of a Mohammedan Empire on European soil might be, and was, a grave disturbing influence; yet that was to make a less durable impression on the Western world than the revolt from Romanism, which was just at present perplexing the Spanish dynasty in Germany more than all its other cares.

The severity of the religious crisis, which soon spread beyond the German borders, and the odium in which the Protestant name was held by all true Catholics, even in Italy, rendered the Venetian ecclesiastical policy still more obnoxious than it had been before. The pontifical scheme for holding a council at Vicenza in the territories of the Republic was opposed on the ground that the Porte might misconstrue the step; the meeting was transferred to Trento, where it required nearly twenty years to come to any definite conclusions; and a second incident occurred which made the resolute purpose of Venice to hold her own course in Church affairs additionally clear. The Protestants refused to send their delegates to Trento and adhered to the League of Schmalkalden, which was under Saxon protection, and even struck its own coins; Charles V. and the Holy See collected troops to enforce their submission, and the Republic was invited to co-operate. It returned a negative answer on stated grounds, and when the other side made advances in their turn, they were met in a similar manner. The religious indulgence of Venice had been somewhat over-estimated, when the Lutherans preferred such an application. Sanudo the Diarist, under December 25, 1520, had already noted the presence of one Andrea of Ferrara, who preached a sermon in which he abused the Pope and the Curia from a balcony on the Campo San Stefano

apparently without interference. It was more than twenty years later that a second visit was paid (October, 1546), by an Englishman named Balthazar Archer,<sup>1</sup> who brought letters for the Senate, and demanded leave to stay as Resident on behalf of his own country. It appeared, on his dispatches being read, that he was a Lutheran acting for the League, and that he came to obtain assistance and money for the Protestants. There were naturally various opinions. Some did not think that it was becoming to allow a Lutheran to serve in a public capacity at Venice, "*citta religiosissima*," where he might, moreover, disseminate his views, and distribute heretical literature. Others held that it was purely a political question. In the end Archer failed to procure the help solicited; but he remained in some secretarial capacity to represent, not the League, but his Court, and when the Holy See remonstrated, the Senate tendered explanations, with an assurance of unalterable devotion.

Pius IV., between whom and the Republic there had been a short time since one of those momentary ruptures to which the stiff-necked attitude of the latter in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction gave a periodicity, manifested his appreciation of the acceptance of the principles embodied in the Trentine bull in an unequivocal manner. He presented to the Signory the Palace of Saint Mark at Rome, in a letter which exalted the religious piety and the distinguished offices of the Venetians toward the Apostolic See. Nowhere was the power of the Republic more palpably demonstrated than in the willingness of the Papacy to entertain friendly relations with it on its own rather exacting terms. A papal medal of 1565, issued by Pius, exhibits on the reverse the palace given to the Signory, with a legend commemorating the foundation or erection of the building, and on the obverse the name and title of the Venetian Pope Paul II.

The bitter religious discord between Catholicism and the Protestant secessionists was reducing Germany and the rest of Europe to misery and poverty. The insatiable ambition of Charles V. and the ceaseless longing of the French for their lost Italian possessions seemed to postpone indefinitely the

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 214, calls him "*certo Baldassare Archiew inglese*." It is curious that in a dispatch of Sept. 4, 1518, the Venetian ambassador Minio refers to Luther as a Dominican, instead of an Augustinian or Austin, friar.

hope of rest and the possibility of progress, while the depredations of the Uscocchi and other pirates on Italian waters were growing so troublesome and costly, that the Venetian trading houses began to turn their thoughts to securer investments even at a lower rate of profit, and to withdraw from maritime adventure. A comparatively brief term brought to its climax, however, the long and dramatic, but selfish and unprofitable, career of Charles V., who abdicated in 1555, and apportioned his vast dominions between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip; and in 1559 Venetian mediation facilitated the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, near Cambrai, between France, Spain, and Savoy. At the close of the preceding year the accession of Elizabeth Tudor to the throne of England lent a sensible impulse to the Reformed faith, which from its original settlement in certain details at the hands of Luther was constantly to receive fresh developments, before it answered to the postulates of modern Protestantism; but the Signory, which had experienced a fair share of trouble through the movement in its initial stages, did not concern itself with Calvin and the school of Geneva. The English espousal of Protestantism within certain limits eventually stimulated the Low Countries to revolt against the Spanish yoke; and from all parts, even from Spain, Venice continued to admit refugees and their families, and permit them to make a home either in the city or on the *terra firma*.

The anxiety of the Republic to obtain neutrality and to husband its resources became more and more intelligible. In 1562 the Turks recommenced desultory naval operations, in which the Venetians secured some advantages. In one engagement off Capo Maria, in the Ionian Sea, they won the day, but their commander fell. His son, a youth of twenty, who stood by him, covered his father's body with his shield, on which he received a cloud of arrows; the last words of the dying man to the boy were an exhortation to study virtuous conduct, and devote his life, when the call arrived, to his country. The Republic treated the young hero, on whom it bestowed the command of a galley, and the bereaved family, with profuse generosity, and paid the remains splendid funeral homage; but it is highly characteristic that the order of 1470, that naval commanders should not be accompanied by their sons or brothers, was reaffirmed. It was certainly wise under



existing contingencies to afford every encouragement to meritorious members of the service; and in 1564 an extraordinary commission or board of twelve officials was constituted to hold a hundred galleys with full equipments ready to take the sea at the shortest notice. In the early part of 1568 the Porte concluded peace for eight years with Maximilian II., his brothers, and his allies, and thus left itself at liberty to turn its attention elsewhere. The Sultan ostensibly possessed boundless resources alike in men and material. On the other hand, Philip II. of Spain, alone among European sovereigns, issued a circular summons, dated January 16, 1566-7, from Madrid, for co-operation against Turkey.<sup>1</sup>

There had been during some time only too good reason to surmise that the Porte designed an attack on Cyprus. In February, 1567-68, a runaway slave gave information to the Government that there was a plot to betray the island into Turkish hands; and immediate instructions were transmitted to institute a searching investigation, to arrest any suspicious characters, to strengthen the defences, and take in ample supplies. The authorities at Famagusta were unable to gain any clue to the alleged conspiracy, and thought that the rumour originated in certain merchants, who had removed from Constantinople thither; and the Senate hesitated how to proceed, from an apprehension of displeasing and alarming the Porte by an appearance of distrust. The Sultan was just at present engaged in a war against the Arabs, and nothing so far occurred to confirm the suspicion, or to influence the prospect, till the autumn of 1569. On the 13th September at midnight the city was suddenly thrown into the greatest consternation by the outbreak of a fire at the Arsenal and the explosion of the powder magazine, shooting into the air the leaden turreted roof and the watchmen, forcing open and breaking all the windows in the vicinity, and causing a vibration through the whole city. The shock was felt in the adjoining places on the mainland, and the flames were visible at Verona. An eye-witness,<sup>2</sup> Francesco Molin, who resided near the spot, and was lying in bed with a slow fever, has recorded his impressions and experiences and his narrow

<sup>1</sup> Original document, with seal, in German, signed *Phillipus*; but it was probably issued in several languages.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vi. 267-69.

escape from being buried under the ruins; but he proceeds to tell us, that when crowds went at daybreak to view the scene, it was found that it had pleased God by the very violence of the shock to save the shipping; and the damage and loss appear to have been comparatively limited. Exaggerated reports reached Constantinople of the disastrous and crippling effects, and the Sultan approached the Republic with a demand for the redress of sundry grievances and the cession of Cyprus, which would otherwise be taken from its present possessors by force. The claim was met by a declaration that the Signory preferred war to dishonour.

The idea that the disaster, which was repaired with the least possible delay, was imputable to Turkish agency, seems to have no other basis than the prevailing sentiment of dislike and dread toward the Porte. But affairs were steadily drifting at Constantinople in a warlike direction, and might have reached such an issue even sooner, had not the Grand Vizier opposed the policy. A Portuguese Jew, named Joseph Nassi or Manasses, otherwise Joam Miquez, who governed the Sultan Selim by gratifying the passions of a sensualist and a sot, was an advocate for immediate hostilities, for which pretexts were constantly arising, and for which none was too slender. This adventurer depicted to his master the rich and luscious vintages of Cyprus and all the commercial advantages likely to arise from an acquisition of the island; he was already Duke of Naxos, and Selim promised to confer on him, when he had won the prize, the crown of the Lusignans and the Cornari, to which Henry VIII. of England and the Duke of Savoy were collateral claimants.<sup>1</sup> Under the date of January 31, 1570, the Bailo at Constantinople wrote home to let his Government understand how things were going; and among other points he mentions that the Sultan had been recently inquiring how far Cyprus was from Venice. He was told it was about 2000 miles.<sup>2</sup> Then his Majesty desired to know why the Signory should covet a place so far away, and the cause of so much trouble to them. He was reminded of the vast benefit which his empire derived from the Venetian trade in the way of duties and otherwise; but it was more

<sup>1</sup> The former as heir of Richard Cœur de Lion, who had sold it to Gui de Lusignan for 100,000 besants.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Italian miles.

and more evident that war was a foregone conclusion; and the Government made its preparations. There was such a solicitude to consume no time in secondary matters that, the Doge dying on 5th May, the Great Council dispensed with all preliminary formalities, and four days later chose as his successor Luigi Mocenigo. The best men whom the Republic had at its command were dispatched to various stations to play their part in the approaching struggle. There was a public muster of 2000 volunteers on the Piazza, brave and noble youths, who had enrolled themselves for the expedition to Famagusta. An appeal for financial assistance experienced a generous response.

In a war, which by their own admission, in former instances concerned all Christian Powers in common with Venice, the latter should have been able to rely on a certain share of substantial support in its new effort to stem the tide of Mohammedan conquest and invasion; but Spain was almost the sole exception to a general chorus of refusal or excuse; and by a treaty concluded at Rome by Cardinal Granvella between Spain, Venice, and the Holy See, Philip II., whom we have found as far back as the beginning of 1567 memorialising Europe on the subject, very hesitatingly consented to furnish a contingent of fifty galleys. This aid, again, was so tardy and so perfunctory, that the Venetians successively lost Nicosia and Famagusta after the most heroic resistance, the work, according to a contemporary, "not of men, but of giants," partly because the fleet was waiting first at Zara, and subsequently at Messina, for the Spanish and a few Pontifical ships to effect a junction, and when the allied squadron was at last concentrated, time was lost in debating what course to pursue. The Turks had taken Nicosia by assault, 9th September, 1570, and Famagusta capitulated, after nearly a year's siege, under the pressure of famine, on the understanding that it was to be spared the horrors which might have attended a storm; but the commandant Bragadino, the garrison, and inhabitants were treated with the grossest treachery and brutality.<sup>1</sup> The defenders numbered scarcely 8000, and the

<sup>1</sup> Gascoigne the poet was present, and was taken prisoner and made a slave, but recovered his liberty after Lepanto. He describes the horrors which he witnessed. Works by Hazlitt, i. 82. See Rider Haggard, *Winter Pilgrimage*, 1901, p. 162, where he says that the heroic Bragadino's skin was afterward purchased at a great price, and finally buried in a marble urn in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice. Bragadino, at the time of his death, was only forty-six.



assailants had 50,000, which, through the failure of the fleet to intercept reinforcements, were capable of being indefinitely recruited. It was another instance, and one of the most serious nature and import, of the futility of dependence on other countries to second the Republic in enterprises where, from the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, there was always an undercurrent of jealousy and suspicion as to Venetian motives and ulterior intentions. The Signory was credited with the ruling instinct of self-advancement, even when it sought to aim at nothing more than self-protection; but the action of its contemporaries toward it at any rate evinced a flattering sense of the survival at this point of time of a considerable share of the old vital energy.

Although Famagusta had fallen on the 3rd August, the arrival of the intelligence at Venice was strangely retarded; for on the 17th October orders were being given on the assumption that the place still held out. This delay may be attributed to the difficulty of running the blockade, so long as the Turks commanded all outlets; and the deplorable news did not reach even the fleet till the 3rd of the month. The united fleets were still at Messina; and it was decided to bring the Turkish squadron to an engagement, when at length all the preparations were completed. The enemy was in the Gulf of Lepanto, and on the morning of the 7th October 1571, the day of St. Giustina, the Allies found themselves at sunrise off the group in the bay consisting of Curzola, Lesina, and other islands, and known as the Curzolari. The battle did not begin till the forenoon was far advanced; the six Venetian galleasses, carrying heavy guns, were ranged in front; and the whole allied line extended over nearly four miles. Don John of Austria, who commanded the Spanish forces, behaved with the greatest coolness and intrepidity, considering his youth; but he was overbearing and headstrong; and the Venetian Admiral, Sebastiano Veniero, tells us that the troops under the prince were so insubordinate before going into action that he trembled for the result, while the relations between Don John and himself became strained almost to the point of rupture. The victory was largely due to the execution done by the artillery on board the galleasses in the van; and it was a signal one, nor can there be any question that the Venetians displayed admirable courage and devotion. The

losses on the side of the Allies were not inconsiderable; but those of the Turks were enormous. Among the combatants in the Spanish service was a volunteer who fought with great bravery, and lost the use of his left hand; but his life was spared, and he returned home to meditate on *The History of Don Quichote*,<sup>1</sup> where we detect traces of his political observations and preferences. It is said that the first person to board the Turkish galleys was Alessandro Farnese, then a youth of eighteen,<sup>2</sup> who subsequently attained great military distinction. In an extant portrait of Don John he is represented by the artist with his boarding hatchet as a reminiscence of the battle rather than as a record of a fact. Among the archives of Simancas is preserved a plan of the fight, said to have been drawn up by his own hand. It is accompanied by small drawings of some of the ships engaged on the Spanish side, and its authorship may be considered problematical.<sup>3</sup> Don John was the illegitimate son of Charles V., by Barbara Blomberg of Ratisbon. He was born in 1547.

It was on the 18th October, 1571, at six o'clock in the morning, when the Republic was plunged in grief and despair by the news from Famagusta, that the galley of Giuffredo Giustiniani reached the city with intelligence of a very different character, having made the voyage in ten days.<sup>4</sup> The vessel was seen to approach with the Turkish colours trailing behind it in the water; and the auspicious event and opportune consolation were more than surmised, before the bearer of the precious tidings could set his foot on land; for a salute was fired, and the spectators could distinguish the cry of *Vittoria! vittoria!* The multitude shouted *Libertà! libertà!* and ran to the prisons to release the inmates; but only those confined for debt were allowed to go at large. The shops were closed, and notices set up "per la morte de'

<sup>1</sup> It is curious how widely diffused military ardour was among the Spaniards and Portuguese at this time. Camoens lost an eye in a naval engagement with the Moors, and Calderon at a later date was recalled from his service with the army to compose dramas for Philip IV. Cervantes himself had almost reached middle life, before he diverted his attention from arms to letters.

<sup>2</sup> Duke of Parma, 1586-92. See Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, ed. 1688, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Lacroix, *La Vie militaire*, 1873, pp. 101, 141, where the portrait and plan are reproduced.

<sup>4</sup> An abnormally rapid passage. In an *abaco* of 1525 or thereabout eighteen days are allowed for a foist to reach Venice from Candia with forty oars. When the victory was assured, Don John and the Venetian commander, who had had high words together more than once, fell on each other's necks, and ere long had more high words.

Turchi." The effervescence of delight was such, that men ran up to each other in the streets and exchanged kisses.<sup>1</sup> A *Te Deum* and a funeral service for the dead were celebrated; and it was with difficulty that a path could be cleared for the Doge, when he went to Saint Mark's to attend the ceremony. An anti-Semitic agitation, originating in a notion that the Jews were responsible for the Cypriot war, went so far as to produce a decree of expulsion which was never carried out. The day of the victory of Lepanto was declared to be for ever sacred to St. Giustina; and coins were struck to commemorate the association. A hundred poetasters committed to the press effusions more remarkable for their loyalty than their genius, and a special *osella* was struck in more than one metal and variety to celebrate the occasion. During four days, in Venice and throughout the Dominion, religious processions paraded the streets, playing music and chanting hymns; and at night there were illuminations, masquerades, and other rejoicings. The Fondaco de' Tedeschi was so splendidly decorated and lighted that it resembled an enchanted palace. The Turkish residents prudently kept their own quarters till the popular excitement had subsided. Gratitude for the triumph of the Christian cause manifested itself at the Vatican in a coin of the reigning pontiff Pius V. with his Holiness kneeling before the Cross, and the legend: "ABSIT. NISI. IN. TE. GLORIARI. ROMA"; and a second exhibited on the reverse a view of the battle and the legend: "A. DOMINO. FACTUM. EST. ISTUD. 1571." But the Supreme Pontiff at the same time was prodigal of eulogy to the "man sent from God called John"—Don John of Austria, who would have fared ill without Venetian support. His Holiness also instituted the Commemoration of Santa Maria di Vittoria, which was subsequently changed by Gregory XIII. to the Feast of the Rosary. At least two accounts of the event were transmitted to France, and immediately printed there, and translated into English from copies sent to London.<sup>2</sup>

But these demonstrations had not affected the prompt and

<sup>1</sup> Montaigne (*Essais*, Livre I., ch. 49) seems to have thought that this practice was habitual.

<sup>2</sup> Gascoigne (Works, by Hazlitt, i. 77) introduces in his *Montacute Masque* an account of the fall of Cyprus, the tragical end of Bragadino, and the battle of Lepanto; and he also caused some of the performers to be attired in the Venetian style, partly perhaps from information obtained in Italy respecting the Montacute pedigree. The details of the battle have been repeatedly printed, and there is the composite painting by Andrea Vicentino.



vigorous attempt of the Government to induce its allies to prosecute the war and complete the salutary work commenced at Lepanto by thoroughly crippling the Porte. The most flattering and complimentary messages were sent to the commandant of the fleet, Veniero; and the Spaniards were urged to preclude the enemy from gaining time to repair his losses and replace his shattered navy. But in fact Philip II. viewed with jealousy the leading share of the Signory in the operations and the victory, and could not be persuaded to improve the advantage. The Turks, ignorant of the resources and views of the victors, were at first dismayed by the blow; and it is said that during three days the Sultan refused to take food, and humbled himself before God, praying him to shew compassion to his people. But his Majesty took the Koran in his hand, and derived from that holy volume consolation and courage. Don John, however, to the infinite displeasure and chagrin of the Venetians, retired into winter quarters, Philip II. having no desire that his allies should win any farther laurels, and being more intent on the operations in the Low Countries, which were to render his name even more infamous than it would otherwise have been. On his son Don Carlos the King could not rely for sympathy in that direction, as the prince was inclined to favour the unfortunate people whom his father made the special victims of his sanguinary bigotry. The heretics within the Christian pale appeared to Philip II. to be worthier objects of attention than the common enemy of all Christians; and that prince henceforth devoted much of his time and thought to the project of stamping out the reformed faith in Holland and England, and thus unconsciously preparing the way for the ruin of his own country. It is perhaps supererogatory to speculate on the ulterior consequences, if the Turks had won the day and Venice had been left alone to bear the strain of a descent on the city from so inconsiderable a distance. There would have been all the bloody ferocity of triumphant fanaticism.

Deserted by Spain, and seeing its appeals to other States to be ineffectual, while Turkey was indefatigably engaged in preparing for a renewal of hostilities at sea, the Republic came to the determination to conclude peace on the best obtainable terms; and those terms were not, on the whole, extravagant. They were framed in the sight of the victorious Venetian fleet,

and with the vivid remembrance of the conspicuous part which it had played in the battle. The comparative moderation of the Sultan was the best homagè to the efficiency and gallantry of Veniero and his forces. On the 7th March, 1573, the Bailo of Constantinople, Antonio Barbaro, concluded a treaty, by which the Signory surrendered only the fortress of Sopoto, retaining all its other possessions, and paid 300,000 ducats in three years, besides a supplementary annual tribute of 1000 ducats for Zante. But the 8000 ducats a year on account of Cyprus were of course discontinued. These arrangements awakened both at home and among certain of the European Powers, especially the Holy See, a strong feeling of dissatisfaction. The Government had afforded ample time and opportunity for concerted action both before and after Lepanto; and its exertions and advice had been spurned. The fleet might even single-handed have pushed forward to the Dardanelles, while the Porte was prostrated by the recent crushing defeat; but it would have been a stupendous risk, looking at the arduous task which it proved to take the city nearly 400 years since, even while it was in the feeble hands of the Greeks; and the Venetians themselves were brought to the conclusion, that the peace of 1573 was a wise step, as it enabled them to pay to their internal affairs the attention which these so greatly required. They so little repented the step, that they crowned it by sending an embassy to the Sultan to congratulate his Majesty on so happy a consummation.

It is useless to speculate on the possibility of a different issue, had Venice started alone and made commensurate arrangements. Some at home thought that that course would have been preferable. One of the naval officers, Giacomo Foscarini, who was at Lepanto, bitterly complained of having been hindered by allies who only injured his country; and he laid down some military maxims for future application, which were unquestionably of the soundest character: a prompt seizure of opportunities, an abstinence from co-operation with princes to whose views you have to defer, a distrust of the strength of your confederates, and the choice of a commander-in-chief amenable to court-martial. He argued in general that, if you cannot destroy the enemy, you had better leave him alone, and that if you commence

operations, you should attack, rather than defend. If Venice was partly by policy, partly by taste, a spendthrift, its arch-enemy the Porte surpassed it in the extravagance of its sacrifice of life and treasure, as well as in its undefined, wild system of conquest; and unless its resources were miraculous and inexhaustible, it seemed to be burning itself out like a volcano. Yet we find a contemporary saying that the wealth and power of Turkey were such, that, if it had been needful, anchors might have been made of silver, cables of silk, and sails of satin, and its military discipline and efficiency were commended just about the present time by Montaigne to the emulation of his own countrymen. There was a saying of the time, which was long remembered, that while the loss of Cyprus to Venice was like the cutting off of a limb, which would never grow again, the defeat at Lepanto was in the eyes of the Sultan no more than the shaving of his beard or the paring of his nails.<sup>1</sup> But it is to be for ever recollected that the day of Lepanto was mainly won by Venice in concert with Spain, before the latter Power had begun to decline, and when its resources were larger than in the time of the naval Armada against England seventeen years later. On the contrary, with the exception of a few minor troubles, the Republic, during the next fifty or sixty years, was fortunate enough to preserve a pacific and neutral attitude, and to stand aside, while other Powers wasted their strength in dynastic and religious struggles.

The acquisition of Cyprus by the Porte was a severe misfortune to that island and its inhabitants. Under the Lusignan dynasty, and still more under the Venetian rule, this ancient Greek site preserved much of its original character and aspect; and the Republic bestowed great attention on the fortifications of Famagusta, Nicosia, Limasol, and Kyrenia; but wherever the savage and fanatical Turk set his foot, neglect and destruction followed; and, as was the case when the Republic abandoned the Illyric provinces, the condition of Cyprus from 1571 to the present day has been steadily retrogressive, although even now enough of its obligations to Venice remains to convince us how much the Signory did to improve and protect it; and indeed the enormous difficulty experienced by

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ*, ed. Jacobs: Letter to Sir James Crofts from Venice, August, 1621.



the Turks in 1570 in gaining possession of Famagusta with an overwhelming force and the help afforded them by the failure of supplies, speaks for itself. Venice exerted itself to recover Candia, Negropont, and the Morea; but the idea or hope of returning to Cyprus does not appear to have been openly entertained. Unless the hand of the spoiler is promptly arrested, a once flourishing kingdom under a succession of dynasts and a prosperous colony in the hands of Venice will become a heap of desolate and shapeless ruins and the home of the beggar and the locust.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Antiquary* for 1900 for an extract from the *Egyptian Gazette*. The state of affairs in 1911 under British auspices does not seem to be much more satisfactory.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

A.D. 1545–1607

Sequence of Doges (1545–77)—Henry III. of France at Venice (1574)—His magnificent Reception—Plague of 1576 and Death of Titian—The Pope sends the Doge Veniero the Golden Rose (1577)—Personal Account of Veniero—Garibaldi's Impression of his Portrait—Great Fire of 1577—Loss of Treasures—Disagreement with Austria—Settlement—Symptoms of a Spanish movement against Venice—Neutrality of the Republic under the Expectation of Home Troubles—Henry IV. of France desires to borrow Money of Venice—Story of Bianca Cappello—She receives as Grand Duchess of Tuscany the Golden Rose from his Holiness—Foreign Relations—State of Parties in Europe—Quarrel with Pope Paul V. (1605–7)—His Holiness the Tool of the Spanish Party in Rome—The Signory appoints Fra Paolo Sarpi its Canonist and Ritualistic Adviser (1606)—European Sympathy with Venice—Launch of an Interdict and its withdrawal—Triumph of the Republic over the Curia—James I. of Great Britain and his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* (1607)—Unsuccessful Plot of the Spanish party at Rome to Assassinate Sarpi (1607).

THE personal contribution of the Doge to the progress and direction of events and to the development of history is to grow, on the whole, distinctly feebler, as we proceed. Pietro Lando had been succeeded in 1545 by Francesco Donato, who was at length persuaded to accept a distinction already more than once refused. His administration was favourably distinguished by the absence of hostilities and by the leisure afforded to the promotion of arts and architecture, while Europe was still torn by the military operations, of which Charles V. was still the central initiative, and by a variety of religious feuds equally productive of bloodshed and misery. Donato, who was a patron of literature and art, occupied the ducal chair eight years, and was succeeded at short intervals by Marcantonio Trevisano (1553), Francesco Veniero (1554), Lorenzo Priuli (1556)<sup>1</sup> and his brother Girolamo (1559), Pietro Loredano (1567), and Luigi Mocenigo, of whom the last witnessed some political reverses and public sorrows and some imposing triumphs during the interval between his election

<sup>1</sup> His consort Zilia, daughter of Marco Dandolo, received the honour of coronation.

in 1570 and his death in 1577. He saw Cyprus pass into the hands of the Porte, and he saw Lepanto. He was a party to the Treaty of 1573, and in the next year he welcomed Henry III. of France to Venice, when he came there on his way to mount the vacant throne. He shared the anxiety and anguish attendant on the calamitous fire at the Ducal Palace in 1574<sup>1</sup> and the terrible visitation of the Plague in 1575; he did not forsake the post of duty and danger, and beheld the members of his order and Government struck down on all sides by the epidemic; and we should like to believe, that he was one of those who successfully insisted that, all the dictates of prudence notwithstanding, the remains of the most illustrious victim of all those fifty and more thousands who perished should be exempt from the common lot, and that he, Tiziano Vecellio, so closely nearing his centenary, and surviving all his early friends, should, after lying in state, have a public funeral. Not till July 1577 was the city officially declared free from the scourge. A fourth of the population had disappeared; and whereas in 1555 the city counted 159,869 inhabitants, in 1593 the numbers were only 134,871; it is rather remarkable that at an early stage the Paduan physicians were discarded, and Venetian specialists substituted for them. There is a slight personal trait associated with the memory of Mocenigo, and it is, that when the ducal ring was broken in the customary manner, the fragments were given to the family.

Titian died on the same bed as his eldest son, who shortly followed him to the grave. A second son, Pomponio, a canon at Milan, hastened to Venice, as soon as he was assured that all danger was passed, and quickly dissipated the fortune, which the painter had accumulated by the labours of a long life. The canon did nothing to honour the memory of his parent even in a monumental inscription; it was the hand of a stranger which placed over the remains at the Frari the stone bearing the immortal name. Several attempts were made to do fitting homage to one of the greatest glories of Venice; and as late as 1791 a subscription was opened, and Canova offered his gratuitous services: but the French

<sup>1</sup> An account of it in French was sent in a letter from J. du Lac to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and published at Paris the same year. The writer (or printer) speaks of the Doge as *Messire Loys de Dausanique*. The fire broke out on Tuesday, August 18, 1574.



Revolution arrived before anything was accomplished. At the same time the consideration is forced upon us, that the genius of this great master was appraised by sitters, who viewed the financial side of the matter with different eyes from ours, and we find even that most impecunious of monarchs, Charles V. of Germany, granting Titian a pension, and in 1548 raising it, arguably on the artist's appeal, to 200 *scudi*.<sup>1</sup>

The Doge Mocenigo displayed the most heroic courage and self-denial throughout. He personally superintended the precautions taken to arrest the disease, and assist those who were on the way to recovery. He addressed words of comfort in Saint Mark's Church to those assembled, and exhorted them to put trust in the Omnipotent; and he promised, as a thank-offering, when men could return to their employments, a new church—the origin of that of the Redentore, built by Andrea Palladio at the Giudecca; the first stone was laid in the presence of the Doge and the Patriarch of Venice, 3rd May, 1577. Before it was erected, a temporary building was raised on the site, to which the Doge went in procession, passing across the canal to the island on a bridge of boats, and attending the thanksgiving service, where hymns were sung, set to music by Giuseppe Zarlino of Chioggia.

Henry III., called to succeed Charles IX. of France in 1574, travelled from Poland to Vienna, and through Austria and Italy, avoiding northern Germany, where he feared the Protestants. At the Venetian frontier a complimentary escort of four leading senators was in waiting to accompany him and his large retinue through Friuli and the Trevisano, fêtes having been prearranged along the whole route; and the party was met by the Doge Mocenigo at Lido<sup>2</sup> on the 17th July with an imposing retinue of sixty senators in gondolas draped in velvet, and conducted to the palace of Bartolommeo Cappello at Murano, which at that season was particularly charming from its gardens and its palaces, and their gay and joyous occupants. The Cappello mansion had been specially furnished and decorated, and must have astonished the King. On the following day, being Sunday, he embarked after mass on a

<sup>1</sup> Original document on vellum, signed by the Emperor, sold at Sotheby's, June 12, 1911, No. 42.

<sup>2</sup> A picture of the reception, from the hand of Andrea Vicentino, was placed in the Sala delle Quattro Porte in the Ducal Palace.

magnificent galley manned by 400 Slavs attired in yellow and turquoise blue, with an escort of fourteen other galleys and a number of sumptuously decorated vessels of various kinds chiefly furnished by the municipal Gilds and Arts, among which we here find the Weavers, the Mercers, the Drapers, the Apothecaries, the Cotton-spinners, the Swordsmiths, the *Sensali*, and the Muranese Glassmakers. The genius of Palladio, Veronese, and Tintoretto was enlisted in supplying the triumphal arches and the pictorial representations of passages in the distinguished career of a prince of three-and-twenty. The royal visitor, who wore purple velvet in compliment to his deceased predecessor, was accommodated at the Casa Foscari, which, to afford the necessary space for his attendants, was connected by a bridge with the adjoining Casa Giustiniani. This costly and dazzling pageant interposed itself between the painful treaty of 1573 and the dreadful visitation of 1575; and the triad of occurrences tested and illustrated the curiously composite character of the Venetians as a people: their phlegmatic resignation and hypochondria, their mercurial vivacity, and their prompt obliviousness even of grave and recent misfortunes. It was doubtless Henry, who ascended the Campanile on horseback, as Evelyn mentions in his *Diary* under 1645 without specifying the name. It has been said that among the diversions created to amuse him was a dance of the same character as that known to more modern times as the polka, and which might be supposed to be a compliment to his Polish associations.<sup>1</sup>

The dramatic entertainment given to his Majesty on this occasion sufficiently impressed him to lead to his engagement of a company to come to France to perform before the États about to assemble at Blois. The travellers having been stopped by Huguenots on their way, Henry ransomed them, and they duly carried out their programme in 1577 in a hall attached to the Parliament-house. The price of admission was a *demi-teston*. The company did not immediately return, but proceeded to Paris, where they resumed their performances in the Rue des Poulies at the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon equally under royal protection.

To Luigi Mocenigo, who died after a short but honourable reign of seven years, on the 30th May, 1577, succeeded a

<sup>1</sup> A. Robida, *Les Vieilles Villes d'Italie*, 1878, p. 167.

personage yet more illustrious, the veteran Sebastiano Veniero, the hero of Lepanto, to whom Gregory XIII. appropriately and deservedly sent the Golden Rose. It was the first instance in which such an honour had been conferred on the Republic in the person of the chief magistrate; and it was more usually offered to female sovereigns or the consorts of rulers.<sup>1</sup> We hear that Veniero was such an universal favourite, that even several of the Turks resident at Venice came at his election to kiss his feet.<sup>2</sup>

The normal character of the Venetian proveditorial and consular service was unquestionably far above the standard of the Continent. The solicitude of many cities, and even of those, who acknowledged the sovereignty of a Carrara, a Visconti, or a La Scala, to obtain a podesta at the hands of the Republic, proves the admirable training which these officers had acquired, and numerous instances might be cited, in which the Lombard cities looked back with fond regret on some magistrate whose term had expired, and who had been recalled home. Veniero had won the affections of the Brescians under such circumstances to so great an extent, in spite of his severe exaction of discipline and his irritability of temper, that, when he was subsequently appointed to a high post in the Government, they sent a formal message expressive of their reverence for their former chief, and a desire that this was only a stepping-stone to higher honours—even (in their own words) “al supremo grado di quel santissimo Dominio”; and in the same year, on the marriage of his daughter, they sent him a present of wine and other things, “in token of the devotion and infinite love which all in that city bore toward him.” The same cordial regard had been evinced in 1509 toward Sebastian Giustinian when he held the post of Bailo of Brescia under infinitely more arduous circumstances.

There is a very graphic scene, where the bearer of this oblation arrives at the Casa Veniero, sees the Signora, who tells him that her husband is upstairs in his study, and that she much fears he will not accept what has come, but she will go up and inquire. The lady returns, invites the messenger to ascend, and he is gently informed by Veniero

<sup>1</sup> Venice was altogether the recipient of this high compliment five times, and of the five Roses four were lost in the troubles of 1797. Romanin, vi. 352, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Venetian Campaign*, 1687, 4<sup>o</sup>, 1688, *To the Reader*.



that he does not feel justified in retaining anything but a few objects of the most trifling value. This was the man who, after Lepanto, told the Doge that others had, he thought, done very well in the direction of booty, but that for himself his whole gain was 255 ducats, 2 lire, 6 soldi, a string of coral, a few other odds and ends, and two negroes scarcely fit to take an oar in a galley; and "all these," said he, "I will, if your Serenity pleases, hand over to you."<sup>1</sup> Fortunately for him, Veniero had a devoted daughter (*obedientissima et amorevole*), who, one may be sure, welcomed with profoundest gratitude and joy her father's safe and glorious return from Lepanto, a wealthy son-in-law, whose house was ever open to him, and economical habits.<sup>2</sup> Marcantonio Barbaro and himself were perhaps the most disinterested and illustrious figures in Venetian affairs during the second moiety of the sixteenth century, and we have to strain our eyes over a long distance, before we are able to discern any one worthy to make the third. Yet the general average was certainly a high one. Barbaro, of whom we shall hear more, had been enrolled on the register of the Great Council as a special privilege, but without a vote, in 1538, in his twentieth year, and in 1544 he was admitted to full rights.<sup>3</sup>

The brief tenure of office by Veniero, which had been distinguished by the well-merited honour of the Golden Rose, was unhappily still more remarkable on account of the most disastrous fire which ever visited the city in the later period, where so many treasures of art, so many noble examples of architecture, and such a countless abundance of precious archives, had slowly accumulated at the palace and in the various public departments. Only three years before, through some carelessness in the kitchen offices, while a banquet was in preparation, a similar accident had occurred on a less

<sup>1</sup> Similarly to some extent, at a much later date, in English colonial annals, a daughter of a West Indian Governor is said to have had as her dowry under her father's will, on marriage, £1500 and four negroes.—Jeaffreson's *Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century*, 1878, i. 115.

<sup>2</sup> When Garibaldi visited Venice, and saw the *Battle of Lepanto* by Vicentino, he stopped short, and drew the attention of his companions to the likeness between the features of Veniero and his own; and they all agreed that it was so.

<sup>3</sup> Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien de Venise*, 1874, Appendix. We here obtain fuller particulars of Barbaro's illustrious career. Queen Elizabeth is said to have awarded to him the addition to his arms of two roses, as Henry VII. had in 1506 similarly honoured a member of the Cappello family when he dined with him at Sheen.

serious scale. On the evening of the 20th December, 1577, owing to the ignition of the flue of a chimney in a room contiguous to the Great Council Chamber, a fire broke out at the palace, and in half an hour, with the help of a strong east wind and the storage of a quantity of timber and workmen's ladders in some of the saloons, spread with terrible rapidity, so as to create an apprehension that the entire block of buildings and their contents would perish. Every article of value which could be removed to a place of safety was seized and carried off, some never to be seen again; and, in fact, of a collection of weapons and armour, kept in the decemviral saloon upstairs, a portion, amid the hurry and excitement, was thrown into the Rio di Palazzo. The painful and tragical scene was intensified by the suspicion that the calamity was the result of incendiarism, although no clues were ever obtained, and by the darkness, which shortly supervened. But the militia was called out; the thoroughfares were cleared; one of the Advocates of the Commune and his coadjutors dislodged from the burning pile certain persons suspected of being engaged in plundering; and a strong detachment of marines shortly arrived from the Arsenal, and eventually succeeded in extinguishing the flames, when awful havoc had been effected, and some of the prisoners had been liberated by the mob from their places of confinement, or had escaped in the prevailing confusion. A sensible proportion of the salvage had been taken to the Basilica and the Mint, and a good deal was deposited in private dwellings.

The damage was incalculable, and speculative reports were soon spread over Europe of the amount of the losses. Philip II. of Spain transmitted his hearty condolence; and when the Venetian ambassador Badoer wrote to his Majesty, who was absent from the capital, that accounts had been exaggerated, he declared how very glad this reassurance made him. The Government, anxious to prevent its enemies from knowing the full truth, lest they might take advantage of the presumed loss of important documents, desired its representatives everywhere to paint the catastrophe in subdued colours; and all persons were commanded by proclamation to restore, under the heaviest penalties, whatever had fallen into their hands. At the same time, to the men at the Arsenal, who had done signal service in reducing and stopping the mischief, the Doge

was authorised to offer a bounty of 500 gold ducats, which was refused, even when, at his Serenity's request, these noble fellows carefully reconsidered their decision in conference among themselves; for they said that they deemed not only their labour but their lives to be at the service of their lords.

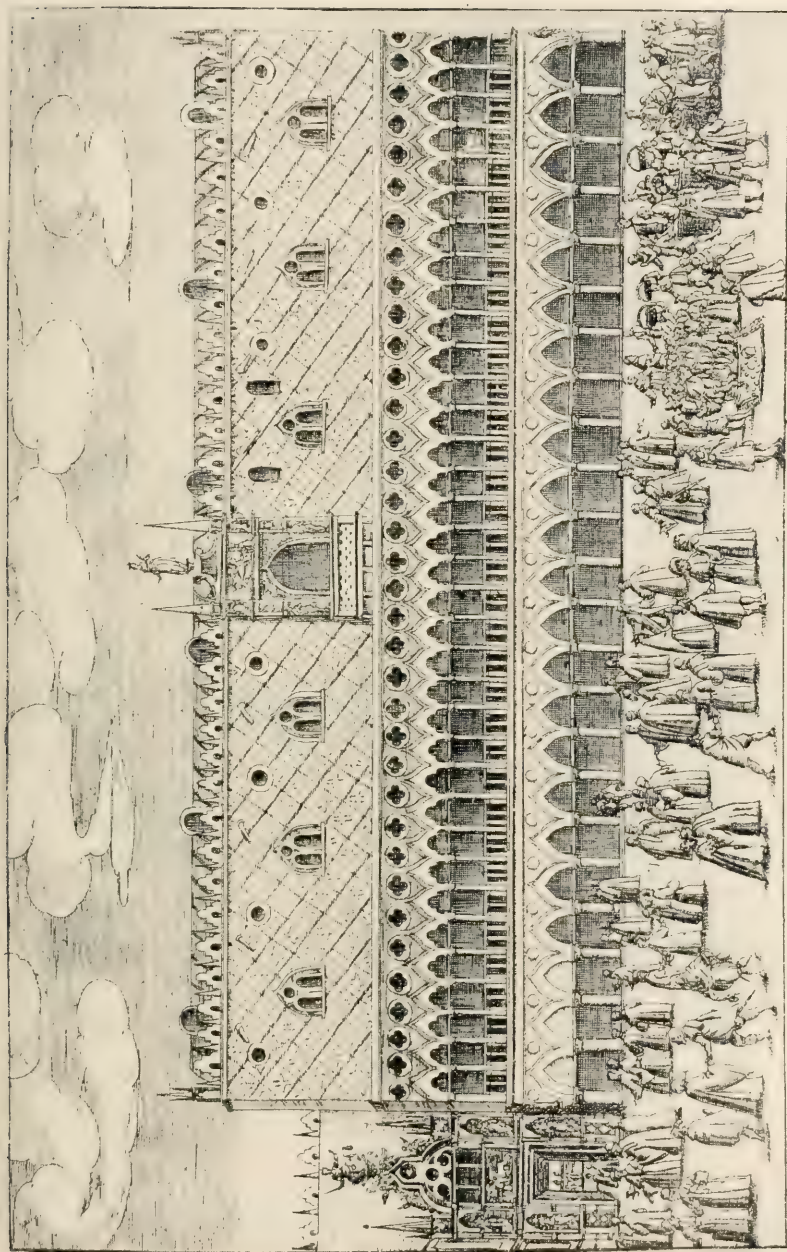
The loss was an European one. The full extent of it was never ascertained, but that it was immense there is slight doubt. The *Battle of Cadore* by Titian and the *Paradiso* of Guariente were among the missing pictures; there were other masterpieces by the three Bellini, Tintoretto, and Pordenone; and it was the works of art and the notarial muniments which were accounted most irreparable. The immediate restoration, for which the plans and estimate of Antonio da Ponte were accepted out of fifteen competitors, occupied eight months, and cost 80,000 ducats; and the Great Council temporarily met in the Sala dei Remi at the Arsenal, which was guarded by sentinels.

The sad and horrible catastrophe accelerated the death of the octogenarian Doge (3rd March, 1578), who was replaced by a personage older than himself, Nicolo da Ponte, a member of the Senate as far back as 1522, and a lecturer in philosophy at that date; he enjoyed also some repute as a theologian, and had on that account been chosen to represent his country at the Council of Trento a generation ago. He is described as a highly meritorious and admirable public servant, reserved in offering his own opinions, and willing to defer to those of others—perhaps winning by pliancy. His portrait by Tintoretto at Vienna has been engraved by Heiss. His remaining years of life, although exempt from any serious disturbance of repose, were destined to witness certain public incidents of a more than usually interesting and picturesque complexion. Veniero had left testamentary directions that, wherever he should die, his remains were to be laid in the family vault at Santa Maria de' Anzoli at Murano, to which he bequeathed the sum of 25 ducats. But this pious function remained undischarged till 1907, when Veniero was reinterred under a memorial commemorative of his services and deserts.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the reputation of Veniero long survived him, and in his *Habiti D'Huomeni et Donne* (1614), Giacomo Franco has

<sup>1</sup> A namesake of the illustrious Doge married in 1905 a cousin of my distinguished acquaintance Count Nicolò Papadopoli.





*Quella è il Palazzo del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Principe dove (sua or. in. di. l. u. r. si) Maggistrati, ne quali sono ajellate e decise la  
 cause forensi di tutto il Dominio  
 France for no corporation*

EARLY VIEW OF THE DUCAL PALACE

[Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London]



preserved for us, in giving the costume of the Captain-General of the Fleet, what is doubtless a trustworthy portrait of this eminent man, as he appeared on the day of Lepanto or the Curzolari, with a bird's-eye view of the historical battle in the background. It is related<sup>1</sup> that a Spanish nobleman who had served in the fleet under Don John of Austria at Lepanto, proceeding by way of Venice to assume the Viceroyalty of Naples, and being asked, after his arrival, what was the most remarkable object in his opinion to be seen in the former city?—whether he most admired the churches, the Piazza of Saint Mark, the paintings, the Murano glass-works, or other admirable things? replied, “Nothing of the kind struck my fancy, the unique wonder in my eyes was to see Sebastiano Veniero under the Procuratorie-Nuove preferring a suit, and how a base Greek, who had served in the armament at Lepanto, passed him without even raising his cap.” The speaker had had opportunities of observing Veniero, and seems to have been even in personal contact with him, while he was Captain-General.

The relations with Austria were affected about this time by two circumstances, one a temporary difficulty occasioned by the Triestines, who closed the bed of the river Rosanda for the construction of salterns. A small Venetian naval force, when a fruitless attempt had been made at negotiation, destroyed the new works, and prepared the way for a revival of the buccaneering grievance, the Adriatic and other seas being infested at this time by pirates of several nationalities, notwithstanding the efforts of the Gulf Squadron to repress and chastise them. These freebooters were Dalmatians, Austrians, Maltese, Moors, and even subjects of the Papal States, who levied heavy toll on the maritime traffic of the Republic itself and its neighbours and allies, and who succeeded in eluding pursuit by the possession of swift vessels and inaccessible fastnesses. The Emperor Rodolph II. made it a serious ground of complaint and dissatisfaction, that Venice, claiming the sovereignty of the Gulf, did not effectually protect other flags within those limits; but the Signory

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, viii. 128. “Niente de tutto cio (soggiunse lo Spagnuolo) mi ha ferito la fantasia: l' unica maraviglia per me fu quella di osservare Sebastiano Veniero sotto le procuratie nuove in atto di supplicante; e come un vil greco che al tempo della guerra avea servito all' armata, gli sia passato davanti senza ne pur levarsi il cappello.”



replied, that they not only did their utmost, but proved that Austrian officials were in league with the Corsairs. A long and rather angry correspondence took place, and extended over years; and in fact the evil was one which time tended to aggravate rather than to lessen, as the power of the Republic to impose a check on it diminished. In 1593, however, we find the latter under the necessity of contesting the possession of the fortress of Palma Nuova in Udine, erected during the reign of the Doge Nicolo da Ponte, and there is an *osella* commemorating the circumstance with the legend: *Fori-Ivlii. Italice. Et. Chris. Fidei. Propugnaculum*. In the field, *In Hoc Signo Tota*, a cross, and below: *Palma*. On the reverse or other side are the names and titles of the Doge Pasquale Cicogna and the date 1593, and in the field the winged and radiated lion. From the terms of the inscription it is augurable, that the attack on Palma was one in which the Turks, or at any rate the Corsairs, had a share. But in 1600 the Venetians and Austrians were still exchanging notes and remonstrances, and the Signory then frankly informed the court of Vienna, that if it did not put a stop to the collusion between its subjects and the offenders, they would take the matter into their own hands. That the Signory did their part in repressing piracy we have the testimony of the Turkish Government in 1602-3, where the Grand Vizier officially thanks them for their operations against the Uscocchi,<sup>1</sup> and at the same time for not taking part with Austria. Hostilities in fact ensued, and extended over some years, the Venetian troops gaining many signal advantages under their successive leaders Pompeo Giustiniani, called *Braccio di ferro* from his artificial arm, and Giovanni de' Medici, a bastard son of Cosmo I., Duke of Tuscany. The area eventually lost sight of the original theatre and source of trouble, and the war resolved itself into one between Venice and Austria. It was not concluded till 1617, when the Republic emerged from it on honourable terms, and Spain and Savoy simultaneously composed their differences. One of the most important points in the rupture with the Archduke Ferdinand was the letter of Philip III. of Spain to his ambassador at Venice, the Marquis of Bedmar, instructing him to arrange with the Governor of Milan to support the Austrians

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 82.

to the utmost of his power; and similar orders appear to have been transmitted to the Viceroy of Naples.

A ghastly incident distinguished this protracted course of irregular warfare. In 1613, a few days only after the discomfiture of the Uscocchi at Lesina by the Venetian proveditor Pasqualigo, the Corsairs surprised a galley commanded by Cristoforo Veniero, killed the entire crew, took Veniero to Morlacca, near Segna, where they decapitated him, tore out his heart, which they divided among them and ate, smearing their bread with the blood; for it was a widely prevalent superstition that by such means they inherited the courage of the victim. An effort was made to set against these troublesome sea-robbers a famous bandit of the day, Marco Sciarra; and this measure provoked the displeasure of the Pope, whose own subjects, no less than those of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Malta, and of St. Stephen at Florence,<sup>1</sup> were more than suspected of similar practices. These occurrences painfully illustrated the growing impotence of Venice to maintain her pretensions in respect to the Adriatic; they equally shewed the general deficiency on the part of other European States of an adequate executive force, and the extensive survival of feudal conditions and imperfect central control. Nevertheless during a lengthened period the maritime supremacy on that sea was sedulously asserted even against the Spaniards and the English.

The advised and persistent neutrality of the Republic, however, after so many unproductive foreign wars, and the baneful operation on its trade of new commercial routes and of new commercial rivals, had the effect of communicating to the seventy years' record, from the peace of 1573 to the outbreak of fresh troubles with Turkey, an almost exclusively internal or domestic tenor. But within that limit of time certain events closely succeeded each other, unparalleled in their historical importance and dark criminality. The Government had amply sufficient business to occupy its attention, and resisted all solicitations to take an active part in any political combination or to suffer itself to be involved in any immaterial contention. It politely refused co-operation with

<sup>1</sup> A Knight of San Stefano is depicted on the walls of the National Gallery in London, and scarcely conveys the impression of being a member of a body addicted to such practices.

Persia and Russia. It declined to assist the provisional executive at Lisbon in preventing the annexation of Portugal to Spain in 1580, which might, had it proved permanent, have materially prolonged the naval ascendancy of the latter Power by giving it a commanding seaport; and it compromised on the footing of mutual concession a fiscal dispute with England two years later, where, the ministers of Elizabeth representing the onerous duties levied on grapes exported from Zante, the Doge pointed to the high rates charged (in the way of reprisal) on Venetian goods at the English Custom-house. It witnessed the death of Mary Queen of Scots, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which was not more welcome at Venice than in England,<sup>1</sup> and the successive assassination in France of the last of the House of Valois and the first of the House of Bourbon. It did not disdain to avail itself of the influence of a daughter of the Governor of Corfu in the harem at Constantinople to renew the treaty of 1573 in 1595 on reasonable terms; in 1603 costly presents for the Doge and the Church of St. Mark were brought to Venice; and in 1605 it arrived at an even more satisfactory settlement with the Sultan Ahmed I., who had been gratified by the Venetian policy toward the Uscocchi. To nurse their finances, and set their affairs at home in order, appeared to the Venetians the primary consideration at this juncture; and nothing could have been more auspicious and welcome than the long cessation of hostilities in every direction in the last quarter of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century.

There is a rather entertaining account of an attempt on the part of Henry IV. of France in 1596 to wheedle money out of the Republic, by way of a loan, on the ground that, whatever its necessities or straits might be, they were as nothing to his, and that whereas it had assisted his royal predecessors, there was not one of them who stood in such pressing need as himself. He averred to the Venetian representative that his country had never had so true a friend to it as he was and would be, and, added Henry, "When I see a Venetian in this kingdom, I think I see a Frenchman—

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian ambassador at Madrid informed the Government in 1587 that there was a Spanish plot at that time for poisoning Queen Elizabeth and burning the shipping in the Thames. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1864, i., xvi.



there is truly no difference." But the Signory was inflexible. Venice had not raised her voice of late years in any questions lying outside her immediate sphere of interest. Even at a time, when her resources were far ampler, she had exhibited the strongest reluctance to interfere in the affairs even of other Italian States, and had seen, without lifting a hand, Pisa occupied by the Duke of Milan and Siena labouring under successive political adversities. The party in the councils, which advocated and carried an abstention from unnecessary wars, was entitled to the gratitude of all real patriots.

The capital is just said to have been during this term the scene and centre of many events of powerful and tragical interest: the extraordinary case of Bianca Cappello, the quarrel on paper with Paul V., the heroic patriotism and self-sacrifice of Fra Sarpi, the Spanish conspiracy of 1618, the Foscarini judicial murder of 1622, and the striking and chivalrous revolt of the patrician Zeno in 1624 against the Oligarchy—a four years' gallant fight and a victory more specious than substantial.

Bianca, sole child and heiress of Bartolommeo Cappello, a noble Venetian, was born in 1548, and had at a tender age lost her mother, Pellegrina Morosini. The want of maternal care and a flighty and susceptible temperament led to this young lady yielding to the advances of Pietro Bonaventura, a young Florentine of good but poor family, employed as a book-keeper at the Salviati bank, who resided in a house near the Casa Cappello at S. Apollinare, adjoining the Ponte Storto. Love-letters were exchanged; and Bonaventura, allured by the beauty of the girl and her probable fortune, as she had 6000 ducats independent of her father, persuaded her to elope with him on the night of the 28th November 1563. The fugitives had engaged the services of a gondolier named Girolamo, and had taken into their confidence the uncle of Bonaventura and three or four others, whose silence or aid they deemed imperative. Their plans were so well arranged that they crossed the frontier, and reached Florence in safety. Bianca carried with her all her jewellery.

The amazing news was spread over the city the next morning. The Council of Ten and the Avogadors took immediate proceedings; prices were set on the heads of the

principals; and their confederates were arrested. The afflicted parent added a reward of 6000 lire to that of the Government for the recovery of his misguided child, who was only sixteen years of age at this time. Meanwhile, the lovers were married, and were living under the roof of the father and mother of Bonaventura on the Piazza San Marco at Florence; it was a household in reduced circumstances; and when Bianca arrived, her mother-in-law discharged their servant, and made the daughter of one of the highest families in Venice perform the duties of a menial. Her personal attractions brought her under the notice of Francesco Maria de' Medici, son and heir of the Grand-duke Cosmo I., a young man of licentious disposition, married to the Archduchess Johanna of Austria, a lady by no means deficient in physical charms, but religious and cold. The Grand-duke himself was scandalised by the reports, which soon reached his ears, of the intrigue between his son and the Venetian, and there is a letter, dated the 25th February, 1565, in which he reproves Francesco for his behaviour, and points out the discredit attendant on his nocturnal assignations, unaccompanied by any escort, with the wife of Bonaventura. The expostulation was unavailing; he gave Bonaventura a place in his household; through the Papal Nuncio and the Florentine resident at Venice he obtained a reversal of the criminal proceedings and a reconciliation between Bianca and her family; in 1572 Bonaventura was assassinated at his instigation; and on his succession in 1574 he established Bianca in a palace adjacent to his own, and paid to the mistress the honours due to the wife. By the latter he had no male issue; Bianca had had a natural daughter, who married a Bentivoglio of Bologna, and was murdered by him for incontinence; in 1576 his Venetian mistress was enabled by drugs and philtres to feign herself once more in an interesting state; and an attempt was made to affiliate on the Grand-duke the child of one Giovanna Conti, a confidential servant of Bianca, who was forthwith transported on horseback to Bologna, and soon afterward put out of the way, making before her death a full confession of the fraud. The Archduchess died in childbed in 1578; and the widower, after taking counsel with a learned theologian, to whom he denied his complicity in the homicide of Bonaventura, and who

dissuaded him from taking the present step, was privately married to Bianca on the 5th June, not two months subsequently to the decease of his first wife. His Highness, possibly sensible of the soundness of the advice tendered to him, had at least made a pretence of avoiding his tempter, and had left Florence for the Pistoian hills. But she plied him with letter upon letter, and message after message, and at last went in person to fetch him home. The period of mourning expired; the event was publicly notified; magnificent festivities were held to celebrate the occasion, and to assist, perhaps, in committing the scandal to oblivion;<sup>1</sup> and the Grand-duke lost very little time in approaching the Signory. He entered into negotiations with members of the Government through his agents at Venice, who kept him punctually informed of all that passed in the Councils; and Bianca wrote personally to the Doge (10th June 1579) from Pratolino, announcing her union, declaring her desire and hope, that it would draw the two States closer to each other, and adding that she should use every means to prove herself a true and not unworthy daughter of her country. On the 16th of the same month the Senate passed the following resolution:—

“It having pleased the Grand-duke of Tuscany to choose as his wife the Signora Bianca Cappello, a lady of a most noble house in this city, adorned by those conspicuous and singular qualities, which have rendered her worthy of every good fortune, and being bound to demonstrate in a suitable manner the extreme satisfaction which our Republic has derived from this event, and our reciprocity of the esteem manifested by the Grand-duke toward us in this his important and most judicious resolution, the motion passes that the above-named most illustrious and most excellent Signora Bianca Cappello, Grand-duchess of Tuscany, shall by the authority of this Senate be created and declared true and particular daughter of the Republic.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Feste nelle Nozze del Serenissimo Don Francesco Medici gran Duca di Toscana et della Serenissima sua Consorte la Sig. Bianca Cappello.* 4<sup>o</sup>, Fiorenza, 1579. Ten plates after Gualterotti. The copy which I have seen was *nuovamente ristampato*; the engravings are of a curiously classical character, and are much worn, as if they had served to illustrate some other book.

<sup>2</sup> On this very day the Florentine representative informed the Doge in confidence that the Grand-duchess had a natural son, three years of age, whom his Highness loved, as if he had been his own.



The Doge afterward summoned the Florentine envoy to his presence, and delivered a long address couched in similar terms; Bartolommeo Cappello and his son Vettore were made Cavalieri; and all their relations, even in the tenth degree, who had not previously exhibited such strong affection, were indefatigable in their offers of service and professions of regard. The brother of the Grand-duke, the Cardinal de' Medici, and the Pope were equally shocked at first by what had taken place; but both came round to the conclusion that it might be a wise political measure, and might contribute to Italian tranquillity by the expectation which it offered of more intimate relations between Venice and Tuscany. Both the father and brother of the Grand-duchess approved of the marriage, and deemed it an honour to their house; and the interests of the latter (Vettore Cappello) were affectionately studied by his sister, who gave him the use of the palace at Venice, acquired by her in 1577. But the object of her affectionate offices proved ungrateful, and became obnoxious to his Highness; and a very brief period sufficed to loosen the intimate tie which had seemed at the moment so auspicious and so firm. Some passing differences between the two Powers did not interfere, however, with the continued ascendancy of Bianca, who gathered round her all the beauty, and influence, and genius of the day, and patronised Tasso;<sup>1</sup> and in 1586 the Grand-duchess was the recipient from the successor of St. Peter of the Golden Rose.

When Montaigne was at Florence in 1580, he was very graciously received by the Duke, and mentions that he dined with him, when Bianca was present. He describes her as beautiful in the Italian style, with an agreeable and imperious face, a powerful bust, and a well-developed bosom. The Essayist also notes that, when the wine was handed round, the Duke put more water into his than his wife.

Yet the great lady was far from being happy or at her ease. She knew that her father had compromised his position at Venice by his recognition of her conduct, and that she had many enemies in Florence, especially the supporters of the Cardinal Ferdinando and of Piero de' Medici. The want of a direct heir to the title was another and even severer cause of worry, and while she prayed to God to answer her wishes

<sup>1</sup> She presented the poet with a silver cup.

and vows, she resorted to all kinds of empirical devices recommended to her by a Venetian patrician named Basadonna. In the beginning of 1586 she again declared herself *enceinte*, and unsuccessfully endeavoured to introduce into the palace her married daughter Bentivoglio, who was about to become a mother, with a view to palming the offspring on the Grand-duke as her own. She wrote letters<sup>1</sup> to her brother-in-law the Cardinal, referring to her pregnancy, and assuring him that it was an undoubted fact. His Eminence, however, was incredulous, and the Grand-duke strictly closed all the approaches to his wife's apartments, and kept the keys. The deception being fruitless, Bianca desisted from any farther attempt, and was ostensibly reconciled to the Cardinal, who shortly came on a visit to his relatives at their country seat at Poggio à Caiano, and thus had the consolation and privilege of seeing them, before they were almost simultaneously<sup>2</sup> snatched from him by death under disputed circumstances. The Grand-duke called his brother to his bed-side, and commended to his care the Grand-duchess, his son, and his people. Bianca instructed those about her to write to her father, and conjure him to believe that her sole concern in leaving the world was the grief which she was conscious of having caused to him, and the regret that she was unable to receive his last kisses and benediction. The Grand-duchess had written to his Holiness, while it was still uncertain whether she or her husband would survive, to say that in case she was left a widow, she should not regard her life as safe; and the Pontiff responded that in such event he would be glad to receive her at Rome. The rumours of foul play toward Bianca herself appear to have been sufficiently rife to induce the heir to offer to open the remains in the presence of impartial witnesses. The Republic, on hearing the news, at first interdicted the payment of any funeral honours; but, the new Grand-duke evincing an amicable and conciliatory spirit, messages of condolence and congratulation were sent to Florence. In the country of her adoption no steps were neglected to bury the episode and the name of the heroine of it in oblivion; and her kinsman even caused her body to

<sup>1</sup> Three of them are printed by Romanin, vi. 534-37.

<sup>2</sup> The Grand-duke died on the 19th October 1587, his consort on the 20th. His successor seems to have had coins with his title, and his robes and hat as a Cardinal, in readiness for publication. Hazlitt's *Coin Collector*, 1896, Plate VIII.

be thrown into the common pit allotted to the unchronicled poor with a heartless barbarity worthy of the worst days of Roman despotism, when the fallen favourite so soon from a god became a carcase.

Such was the story of Bianca Cappello, of a career, where the folly and sorrow and crime outweigh and overshadow the romance and the lustre. It is in its moral and political costume thoroughly Italian. A Venetian lady of the highest rank, who does not live to see her fortieth year, is during nearly a quarter of a century the central object of attention and regard to her own people, to those among whom she comes to settle, and to the Supreme Pontiff, who pays her the highest honour which it is in his power to bestow. These distinctions follow the common knowledge of her falsehood and guilt; the Republic hails as its true daughter a harlot and an adulteress; and the Holy See lays at her feet the Golden Rose. Then, when the scene closes in gloom and disgrace, there seems to be no misgiving, no self-reproach on the part of those whom we must judge to have stultified themselves. It is simply *maneggiamento*. Yet the likeness of the unhappy lady at the Uffizi at Florence does not impress us as very prepossessing or seductive.<sup>1</sup>

The political speculation, which proved resultless, was far from being unintelligible. The Venetians had every desire to strengthen themselves on the side of Tuscany; if Bianca and her consort had died natural deaths without issue, there might have been a ground for intervention; and in any case the alliance promised more than it actually fulfilled. The Cardinal, whether or not he was cognizant of the impending tragedy, shattered the cobweb. Certain concurrent evidences point to his innocence of the charge of having poisoned the obstacles to his ambition; but his callous brutality toward his brother's wife appears to admit no palliation.

The foreign relations of Venice never ceased to be diplomatically active, and the Government watched with interest, and sometimes not without inquietude, the movements of the French, Spaniards, and Savoyards. The Porte had ceased for some time, after the last pacification, to be a source of serious trouble or anxiety; the throne of Turkey had been occupied in succession by two weak sovereigns; and the main difficulty

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, ii. 519.



lay about this time in a quarter where no direct consequences of a belligerent nature were to be apprehended. The Republic, owing to its traditional and unbending resistance to the intervention of the Holy See in the management of the Church and ecclesiastical property, and its claim to certain territory, alleged to belong to the Papal States, was periodically involved in controversies, which could not always be settled without an appeal to arms; and the Supreme Pontiff was led to join the League of Cambrai, because Venice insisted on keeping some of his possessions, and to secede from it when Venice yielded the point under temporary pressure. European politics, however, had since that time undergone a remarkable change. Charles V. was no more. Spain was not the State which it had been even under Philip II., and the Spanish viceroyalty of Naples had begun from the very dawn of the seventeenth century to inspire the Signory, and not the Signory alone, with distrust and uneasiness, since the nominal lieutenant of the King of Spain gradually assumed, with or without authority, an almost autonomous jurisdiction. France had no Louis XII. or Francis I. to pour troops into Italy under the advice of ministers more able and more ambitious than themselves. In Germany, whatever the faults and weaknesses of Maximilian had been, the Emperor had ceased to be a constituent element in all calculations and schemes for the partition of the Peninsula. The Spaniards, it is true, occupied Milan and Naples; but they ceased to afford the source of danger which they had been to the Signory in the earlier part of the century. Savoy under its dukes was beginning to enter the arena as a member of the European confederacy, and as a sensible balancing factor in every European combination; the Republic lent it substantial assistance in its struggle with Austria, as Spain succoured Austria in its struggle with the Republic in the first quarter of the seventeenth century; and in the West two Powers, England and the Netherlands, were steadily acquiring increased prominence, and while they became rivals in trade and at sea with Venice and with each other, they were bound together by the common ties of Protestantism and religious toleration. In England the Stuarts were soon to replace the extinct house of Tudor, of which the two last representatives, Mary and Elizabeth, had abandoned to a large extent the

aggressive continental policy of their father; and one of the earliest cares of James I. was to accredit capable representatives to the courts of France and Spain, and to Venice. Sir Henry Wotton was allowed to choose which of the three he preferred, and his selection fell on the Signory. It is thus to be noted, that the policy of Henry VIII. and even of Elizabeth, in courting Venice, was followed by the first ruler under the new dynasty.

There was during a lengthened course of years, from the accession of Gregory XIII. to the pontificate of Paul V. (1585–1621) an intermittent feud and correspondence between the Signory and the Curia on the subject of appointments to benefices, treatment of heresy, the law of Mortmain, visitation of monasteries and nunneries, and a point of external jurisdiction in the disputed title to the Papal authority at Ceneda. The Senate might not have objected to acquiesce in a certain amount of spiritual intervention in the last case; but as it would not yield the temporalities, the negotiation halted. This was in 1603, and on the 9th May in that year the Venetian podesta and captain of Treviso prohibited any one under severe penalties, from proclaiming or publishing any declaration traversing the rights of the Republic. Four months earlier (10th January 1603) the latter had shown its inflexible temper by renewing ordinances of 1515–36–61 against the erection of any kind of religious establishment without the sanction of the Executive, and by comprising in the operation of the law the whole Venetian Dominion. Clement VIII. tried to prevail on the Signory to be more pliant, citing the then recent submission of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, who had appropriated the goods of the Church to public secular objects, and had made humble and pious restitution on demand. The reply of the Doge was:—"We do not know what the Grand-duke of Tuscany does, nor are we governed by the acts of other princes. The Republic is subject to its own laws, and it is reasonable that, if the clergy enjoys protection, it ought to contribute toward its own security." The Papal nuncio wrote to the authorities at Brescia, and the Senate instructed its representative at Rome to complain to the Curia of such an impropriety, it being altogether at variance with the Venetian system of government. The Pontiff Clement died March 3, 1605; his successor, Leo XI.,

lived only three or four weeks; and on his decease the College elected Paul V. (Camillo Borghese), a personage not destitute of virtues and accomplishments, but led by the unexpected and unsolicited exaltation to St. Peter's chair to imagine that he was a special object and instrument of the divine grace. The Venetian ambassador, in a dispatch of the 21st May, shortly after his appointment, describes his Holiness as of kindly nature, placid and phlegmatic: hesitating and irresolute, and, like Clement VIII., slow in shewing favour: reserved and thoughtful, but sincere and frank, and inclined to a quiet way of living and to parsimony: a great scholar and lawyer. A gentleman attached to the household of Cardinal Aldobrandini, writing to the Doge a little later, said that the new Pontiff was easily led, and would, he thought, fall under Spanish influence. Altogether the Signory laboured under an almost incessant inquietude in regard to the plans and possible movements of the Spaniards in Southern Italy and their allies at Rome; and we gain a clue to the anxiety on the Venetian side to harass and weaken the enemy, and as an alternative to provide for not unlikely contingencies, in the subsidies of arms and ammunition sent to the celebrated brigand chief, Marco Schiarra, and even in the temporary enlistment of that common foe of Spain in the service of Venice at a point of time when the aspect of affairs took a more than usually threatening turn. Schiarra was engaged, but not actually employed. The crisis was for the present deferred, and he did not live to see it. He was one of those mixed characters, of whom there have been comparatively modern examples both in Europe and Asia, nay, throughout the world, where the dividing line between the robber and the soldier of fortune was almost imperceptible.

The choice of Paul V., although it might have been a surprise to the individual immediately concerned, was to some extent managed by Spanish agencies and funds; and Philip III. subsequently subsidised his nephew Cardinal Borghese, first to the extent of 1000 and finally of 3000 *scudi di oro* a year. The character of the Pope, drawn on paper by the Venetian ambassador, was so far realised that, when he had made the tour of Europe in demands upon the other Powers to observe with greater strictness their obligations toward Rome, he proceeded to turn his attention to that member of the Catholic



union which was notoriously the most difficult of all to intimidate or to coerce.

Not satisfied with the declaratory republication with additions of former decrees, the Senate, on the 26th March, 1605, thought proper to issue a new one, in which the relationship of the Church of Venice to the State was placed on the clearest footing, and the secular arm once more pronounced to be the ultimate court of appeal. Nevertheless, on the entry of Paul V. into office, the usual ceremonies were observed, and his Holiness struck the Venetian diplomatists as of a benign and friendly disposition. But at the close of July the Patriarch of Venice died, and the Senate appointed a new one in his place, requesting confirmation by the Pope. It had been prescribed that, before an election was ratified, the candidate should repair to Rome and submit to an examination; and the preceding holder of the office actually visited the city and the Curia, but on the express understanding that he did so on complimentary grounds. Paul insisted on a compliance with the bull of Clement VIII., and the Senate again trimmed by agreeing that the present Patriarch should wait on the Holy Father to kiss his feet, if that would satisfy him. This incident was followed by two others of a different complexion. Two ecclesiastics on the Venetian *terra firma*, the Abbot of Nervesa and a canon of Vicenza,<sup>1</sup> were accused and convicted of the most atrocious crimes, and their cases were treated by the ordinary tribunals. The Holy See claimed the right to intervene in one of them; but the Government in a studiously respectful communication declined to assent. Meanwhile, the personal attitude of Paul toward the Signory continued to be gracious and favourable; on the 11th September the Borghesi were inscribed on the Golden Book, and before the end of 1605 the affair of Ceneda had been arranged agreeably to Venetian views and wishes. There is an anecdote, which may be worth insertion, of a conversation between Paul, when he was cardinal, and the Venetian envoy, Leonardo Donato. The former declared to Donato that, if he were made Pope, he would excommunicate the Signory at the first opportunity. Donato rejoined that, if he were Doge, he would laugh at the proceeding.

But it was becoming more and more apparent that his

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, sign. c. 3.

Holiness was listening to the proposals and counsels, not immediately of Spain, but of the viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Ossuna, and of the Spanish governor of Milan, the Count of Fuentes. The successors of Charles V. had abandoned as impracticable active and open aggression, and were preparing to play a subtler and a craftier rôle. Not merely the nephew of the present Pope, Caffarello, but the majority of the members of the College, were in Spanish pay; and when Caffarello received the red hat, it was openly said by the Spanish cardinal Zappata, that he was pleased, because it was a selection not only acceptable to his Holiness, but to Philip III. Agostino Nani wrote to the Senate, 3rd December, 1605, to confirm the ascendancy of Spain over the College and of the College over the Pontiff; he said that Cardinal Arrigone boasted of having already made Genoa submit, and of intending next to make Venice do so, and that as to the points in debate the Pope and his advisers tolerated much graver abuses and irregularities in Spain. A few days after, two briefs were completed in duplicate and sent to Venice, touching the crucial question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the two persons in holy orders found guilty of abominable offences. Of these one set of duplicates was handed by a Roman courier to the nuncio on Christmas night, the other travelling round by Ferrara, to insure safe delivery. The nuncio by no means relished the task imposed on him, foreseeing a storm, and eventually seized a moment while the Privy Council was at mass (the Doge himself being too ill to attend), to leave the copies of one of the combustible documents, reserving the others for the present. The parcel was received but not opened, for the Doge died the following night; and on the 10th January, 1606, Leonardo Donato succeeded him, two other candidates waiving their claims from a persuasion of his pre-eminent fitness for the vacancy in the face of a threatened crisis. Donato was a staunch upholder of the political rights of his country, as a previous notice of him implies. His appointment was officially announced to the Holy See; and the two briefs were examined and considered. It was discovered that, owing to some inadvertence, there were discrepancies between them, although they purported to be duplicates; but the matter was judged to be of peculiar gravity on more than one account; and the Government, on the 28th January,

engaged at a salary of 200 ducats as its permanent Theologian and Canonist, Paolo Sarpi of the Order of Servi, whose opinions and sentiments are indeed reflected in many of the recent utterances of his employers.<sup>1</sup> Sarpi took an early opportunity of declaring that the Pontiff was intrusted with two keys, one of Prudence and the other of Power, and that they were to be used together, or excommunication would be ineffectual.

The Spanish faction at Rome desired it to be believed that the priesthood at Venice was treated worse than the Israelites under Pharaoh, and that St. Peter had two functions, to feed his sheep and to kill and devour them, and that in the cases of contumacy the latter course was not cruelty but an act of benevolence, as it saved the soul, though it destroyed the body.<sup>2</sup>

The Doge and his advisers consulted Sarpi and others, and the Senate then prepared (probably with professional assistance) a reply; and the Pope seemed to be peaceably inclined, and forwarded to the Signory the consecrated taper (February 1606), for which the Senate expressed its dutiful acknowledgments, declaring its readiness to shew complaisance as far as possible, and taking the present opportunity to display the good accord between it and his Holiness. So far only one of the two briefs had been presented; on the 25th February the nuncio took courage to lay the other before the Government, dealing with the two clerical misdemeanants, and the Senate furnished reasons for its equal inability to comply, seeing that the Holy See practically asked the Venetians to surrender the constitution inherited from their ancestors. Had the decision rested with the Pope, there is still no doubt that the dispute would have been brought to an early and satisfactory conclusion; but the Spanish party had other intentions; and during the next eighteen months a futile correspondence and discussion ensued, fomented by the viceroy Ossuna in the hope of drawing the Republic into odium, and framing a second European coalition against it. The Doge, guided by Sarpi, exculpated his country from all responsibility for the attitude assumed by his Holiness, and desired to be informed where it could be shown that the Signory had thrown obstacles in the

<sup>1</sup> Sarpi was born at Venice, 14 August, 1552, the son of Francesco Sarpi, a merchant, and Lisabetta Morelli. He lost his father at an early age.

<sup>2</sup> Testimony of an eye- and ear-witness, quoted by Romanin, vii. 44.



path of those who wished to build and endow churches and monasteries, or had failed to maintain ritualistic discipline and reverence toward the Holy See.

The interdict was published at Rome on the 17th April. The Government adopted every possible precaution against anarchists and traitors by calling out the militia, and strengthening all fortified positions on the borders, and wrote to the authorities throughout the Empire, apprising them of the fact, and directing extraordinary vigilance and activity in preventing attacks and surprises. A special commission was delivered to Nicolo Dolfino as proveditor beyond the Mincio. An official contradiction was published to the report that in the Venetian territories scurrilous pamphlets against the Pope were allowed to circulate. A proclamation was published in the city by sound of trumpet, that any one who had received a copy of the interdict, notified there against the Law of God and the Honour of this Nation, should deliver the same to the Council of Ten under pain of death.<sup>1</sup> The Venetian ambassador at the English court was directed to communicate to the King all that was happening, and to endeavour to secure his goodwill in the event of a crisis. James thought that the best plan would be to call a council for the settlement of the peace of Europe, and that meanwhile the blame of this dispute must lie at the Pope's door. To the French ambassador the Doge himself said, "that these aspersions did not hurt him, but were meant to injure the Republic and to strike a blow at its government"; and to the Spanish one, "that as for the imputation of Calvinism, the Venetians were as good Christians as the Pope himself, and such would die."

The general sympathy of Europe soon declared itself in favour of Venice, which had conducted the controversy with equal courage, dignity, and success. The English ambassador proposed an alliance between Venice, England, France, the Grisons, and some of the German princes; and James I. personally drew up his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, in answer to the Briefs and to the letter of Cardinal Bellarmin to George Blackwell the English Romanist in their defence. Even Spain spoke with two voices; for while at Milan and Naples the lieutenants of Philip III. were supporting and encouraging the Papal pretensions, the court of Madrid began

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquie Wottonianæ*, 1672, c. 4.

to lean toward peace. There was even an approach to an amicable accommodation and compromise, by which, setting aside the general question, the two prisoners should be handed over to the Pope as a favour to France, that the King should, in the joint name of himself and the Republic, solicit the withdrawal of the interdict, that the Signory should send its representative to Rome to offer thanks for the gracious act, and that its instructions to its subjects throughout the empire should be recalled, with liberty to all religious orders, which might have quitted Venice, to return. This programme the Senate rejected as derogatory, insisting on the removal of the interdict as a first step; and the resolution of the Government was so manifest, the league against Spain and the Holy See between Venice, France, the Grisons and others, and the hire of Dutch troops to assist in the movement, being seriously mooted, that Paul V. and his Spanish adherents finally arranged terms on a basis analogous to that proposed by France, but modified to meet the scruples of the Signory. When all the formalities had been completed and the Doge had at length<sup>1</sup> (21 April, 1607) superscribed the intimation to all whom it might concern in the Venetian territories, that the difficulty was overcome, Francesco Contarini proceeded to Rome to wait upon his Holiness in the name of the Doge. When he had come within six miles of the city, he was met by over a hundred carriages of prelates, noblemen, and others, and was received by Paul V. with every mark of honour and esteem.

His Holiness hastened to make inquiries as to the health of the Doge, and laid stress on his good feeling toward the Signory; he said that he should desire what had passed to be forgotten; and he concluded with these words: "We love and value the Republic, and if the occasion arises we will manifest our paternal benevolence and the great affection which we bear to it, hoping that those Signori will meet us in a corresponding spirit, and afford us satisfaction in ecclesiastical matters and in regard to the Catholic faith, where they seek to introduce certain opinions, about which we will talk another time. . . ." Strict instructions were published at Venice, that there should be no kind of rejoicing or bonfires on this

<sup>1</sup> The text was very carefully worded and underwent a process of thoughtful revision, before it was ready for signature and distribution. See the document entire in Romanin, vii. 58-59.

occasion, lest it might be said that the Signory had sought absolution and pardon. When Sir Henry Wotton was at Rome some time after the reconciliation, happening to attend vespers in a church, he inquired of a priest on a slip of paper, sent through one of the choir, whether he thought that all those Christians who were excommunicated, because the Pope and the Venetians could not agree, were damned; and the priest, who had some knowledge who Wotton was, wrote under the question, "*Monsieur, excusez moi.*"<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties encountered by the Government in dealing with ecclesiastical questions were manifold, and sometimes lay outside the diplomatic relations with the Holy See. The biographer of Sir Henry Wotton has cast some serviceable light on the troublesome and even dangerous extent to which the dedication of secular property to clerical objects was carried, and the consequent necessity on the part of the Executive of checking such a tendency. "About the year 1603," writes Izaak Walton,<sup>2</sup> "the Republick of Venice made several Injunctions against Lay-persons giving Lands or Goods to the Church without Licence from the Civil Magistrate; and in that inhibition they exprest their reasons to be *For that when any Goods or Land once came into the hands of the Ecclesiasticks, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof (the Lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the Clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all publick Services and Taxes, and from all secular Judgment, so that thereby the burden grew too heavy to be borne by the Laity.*"

A saving door of escape, a dignified egress, was managed in regard to the two clerks in orders still detained in Venetian hands. It was arranged that a delegate of the Signory should hand them over to the Cardinal de Joyeuse, who should pass them on to a delegate of his Holiness. In performing this ceremony Marco Ottoboni, who acted for the Doge, and who has left a personal narrative of the transaction, said to the Cardinal: "Monsignore, his Serenity has commissioned me to consign to your most illustrious lordship the signore abbot

<sup>1</sup> A collection of the pamphlets written on this question was published in a 4to volume of 416 pages at Chur in Switzerland, and passed into a second edition. It consisted of nineteen pieces, which had been separately printed at Venice, Rome, and elsewhere; the call for such a book is a striking proof of the deep and wide interest taken in the controversy.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, sign. c. 3.



Brandolino and the canonico Saraceno prisoners here, which his Serenity does to gratify his Most Christian Majesty, and without prejudice to the authority which he [the Doge] has to try ecclesiastics." The Cardinal accepted the men on these conditions.<sup>1</sup>

So ended the first act of this comedy. The Republic continued, as before, to try ecclesiastical causes without reference to the Curia, and did so down to the last days of autonomy; and not very long after this reconciliation there were grave alterations between the Holy See and the Signory respecting Ceneda, the Jesuits, and other matters, followed during the pontificate of Paul V. by fresh troubles at Ferrara. Seeing the pliant and naturally pacific inclination of his Holiness, the Government seems to have thought it wise to act with a high hand, especially as it enjoyed the advantage of the professional experience of Sarpi. The relations with Ceneda were at length established on a satisfactory basis, and the bishop undertook for himself and his successors to treat Venice and no other Power as his sovereign. The proposal of the Pope to readmit the Society of Jesus into the territories of the Republic was negatived; and the election by him of his nephew Paolo Scipione Borghese to the abbacy of Vangadizza in the Polesine was declared illegal and void, only Venetian subjects being qualified to fill ecclesiastical dignities within the Dominion. The Ferrarese affair was a revival of the dispute respecting the boundary-line on the Po; they had erected forts at a point called *Bocca dei fornaci*, and had imposed a toll, which they termed *ancoraggio*. The Senate instructed the Captain of the Gulf to proceed to the spot, to destroy the works, to impound any craft he might find, and arrest the official whom his employers designated the admiral of the port. Everywhere the same litigious, unquiet, and inconstant spirit seemed to operate in keeping old quarrels open, and creating new causes of animosity. The Republic had her great and her small enemies; and the latter had proved perhaps the most vexatious and harassing. At Ferrara there seems always to have prevailed an anti-Venetian party inspired by the Papacy.

A copy of the *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, 1607, by James I., was sent to the majority of European sovereigns.

<sup>1</sup> Cases of this sort were, no doubt, of normal occurrence; but two others came under official cognizance in 1603 and 1605.

France handed it over to a Jesuit father to confute; the Duke of Tuscany committed it to the flames; Savoy repudiated it; and the Doge caused it to be carefully put away unread, but, on the representation of the Papal Nuncio, interdicted any reprint of it at Venice. Sir Henry Wotton, whose appointment as British representative at Venice was one of the earliest acts of James I. on his accession, and whose master had looked for a more grateful appreciation of his learned labours, warmly remonstrated with the Government, and even talked of asking for his passports; but he was pacified by the assurance, that no disrespect had been intended, that the Inquisitors, who gave the orders in respect to the custody of the book, were not aware that his Majesty was the writer, and that similar steps had been taken in the case of a second publication of a controversial tenor. The maintenance of friendly relations with England was so affectionately studied under existing circumstances, that diplomacy was set to work to remove all possible misunderstanding, and on the 2nd of October Alessandro Contarini received his commission as envoy extraordinary to London to submit a personal explanation. On the 13th of the following month it seems to have been judged expedient to dispatch a second diplomatic representative, Antonio Foscarini, who had previously held the embassy at Paris, and whom James I. received with marked distinction, and undertook to help the Signory, should any difficulties arise in the Levant or elsewhere. Foscarini continued to reside in London for some time. There is no doubt that even at this date (1613) conversations were exchanged between Venice and England in regard to Spanish projects and intrigues, and James I. is found expressing himself in favour of an European coalition against Spain, which appeared to be designing an absorption one by one of all the other States, and might at last swallow up England itself. There is no question that a very keen interest was felt in England among the better-informed members of society and the Government in Venetian affairs. When Marc-Antonio Correr proceeded as resident ambassador of the Signory to London in 1608, Sir Henry Wotton gave the son of the envoy a letter of introduction to Prince Henry, in which he signalizes the views of the prince about Venice, and describes the new Resident.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *Original Letters*, iii. 98.

As a farther counterpoise to Spanish enmity and ubiquitous intrigue, closer relations were contracted with Sweden and Denmark, and for the first time the Venetians, who had threatened in 1607 to take Dutch troops into pay against Spain and Rome, entered into a political and commercial alliance with the United Netherlands. This important step helped to strike a serious blow at the power of Spain in the Peninsula, and to be instrumental in liberating the Low Countries from Spanish and Austrian tyranny; and it might be not unnaturally viewed with displeasure by the Holy See, since the arrangement tended to promote a bond of union between the two Powers of Europe least subservient to Rome. The novel approximation was usefully suggestive, but it did not bear much, if any, actual fruit. For the later interests of both parties contributed to keep them more or less at a distance.

The share which Fra Sarpi had had in the business of the interdict, and in the important discussions and negotiations which led to its annulment, naturally exposed that eminent man to the vindictive antipathy of the Spanish party in Rome. On the 6th October 1607, a certain Rutilio Orlandini, who had filled various employments, and had been in the Venetian service, obtained a passport to go to Venice by Rovigo and Padua; but close to the Venetian frontier he was arrested, and conveyed the remainder of the way a prisoner under a warrant of the Ten. His approaching visit had been notified by the ambassador of the Signory at Rome in a letter of the 29th September, and it was thought that Orlandini had a nefarious object in view. He was originally a member of some religious order, was expelled for misconduct, turned highwayman, took service under the Republic, was charged with being a party to a plot for betraying Rovigo to the Papal troops, imprisoned, and finally banished. He repaired to Rome, adopted the profession of a bravo and cut-throat, and at length was commissioned to return to Venice to take part, as he told his intimates, in a grand coup by order "dei padroni," who had supplied him with funds. One of the trusted recipients of his confidence, however, one Flavio di Sassoperrato, who had also served Venice, betrayed him, and communicated all to the ambassador, who thus procured his arrest.

On the afternoon of 25th October, however, about five o'clock, Sarpi was returning home to his convent, accompanied



by Fra Marino and by Alessandro Malipiero, an aged patrician; and when they reached the bridge of S. Fosca, they were unexpectedly attacked by three ruffians, of whom two overpowered Marino and Malipiero, while the remaining one stabbed Sarpi in three places, and left him for dead on the ground. Some ladies, who had seen the outrage from their windows, cried for help; the assassins, menacing the crowd with their arquebuses, managed to escape; and Sarpi slowly revived.

The public excitement and indignation were intense. Several members of the Senate, so soon as they heard of the atrocity, hastened to the convent to make inquiries. The Council of Ten was specially convened, and one of the avogadors was charged to collect all possible particulars of the circumstances. But the guilty parties had succeeded in outstripping pursuit, and reached the Papal frontier in safety. A boatman who rowed one of them, Ponca Ridolfo, and assisted in his flight, stated that another of the men had been very kindly treated at Rome, and that Cardinal Borghese had given him a large gratuity. A considerable sum of money was also shown to have passed through the hands of Orlandini, of whose fate we hear nothing more. The man who actually struck the blow was believed to be a person of Scottish origin, who called himself Giovanni Fiorentino, son of Paolo. Fra Sarpi was well tended by the physician Acquapendente selected by the Government to attend him, and slowly recovered from his wounds; he remarked with bitterness, looking at the poignard which the assailant had dropped, that he recognized the *stile* of the Roman Curia. He afterward laid the historical weapon at the foot of the crucifix of the altar at the Church of the Servi, where he was accustomed to attend mass, with the words: *Dei Filio Liberatori*.<sup>1</sup>

Four or five persons were ultimately arrested and executed in connexion with the act: Ridolfo Ponca, Michele Viti, a priest, Alessandro Parrasio, the aforesaid Giovanni Fiorentino, and one or two others; the Council of Ten took charge of the

<sup>1</sup> It is said to be still preserved in the Museo Correr. Romanin, vii. 75, note. In a volume entitled *Natura Exenterata* there is an entry of "Acquapendente his Pill, as it was delivered me by his Apothecary in Italy," 1655, p. 236. This book of receipts seems to have been, at least partly, edited by Alatheia, Countess of Arundel and Surrey. The physician probably owed his name to the so-called town in Tuscany.

business, and the affair excited sufficient interest in England to induce a London stationer to order or accept a translation of the Italian narrative. Here Innocence, in the person of Sarpi, is contrasted with the *Meretrix dolosa* of Rome.

On the 27th October, a decree was published, visiting with heavy penalties whoever should dare to molest or injure in any manner the person of the reverend father Paolo Servita, theologian of the Republic and "a subject of eminent learning,<sup>1</sup> courage, and virtue, of exemplary merit, well deserving of our Signory, and to us extremely dear." A house near the Piazza of Saint Mark was assigned to him; he was invited to arrange for certain chosen friends to live with him; and his pension was increased to 600 ducats to enable him to keep a boat, and secure all the comforts which he might desire. In the middle of January 1608, the official minute relative to Sarpi was renewed with even stronger emphasis, owing to an impression that the Patriarch of Venice was unfriendly to him, as that prelate had used expressions construable into disrespect of the State, and was severely reprimanded by the Government in consequence; and peremptory directions were given to all the authorities of the *terra firma* to suffer no discussion or criticism on the subject. The measures taken to protect Sarpi, and the proof of the lofty estimation in which he was held, exasperated the Roman faction, and two farther attempts were made to dispatch him in 1609 and 1610. Of one next to nothing is known; it is mentioned in a letter from the Venetian ambassador at Rome under September 1, 1610; and the intended victim was put on his guard. Of the other, in which two friars were the principals, full particulars were obtained. Sarpi began to feel that it was almost unbearable to be in constant dread of the stiletto. "Evils," he said, "come to an end; but fear lasts for ever."

Judging from a variety of circumstances, one arrives at the conclusion that it was about this time, when political and religious differences were rife at Venice, that the curious incident occurred of an epigram, written in the album of a German gentleman by Wotton during his stay at Augsburg, falling under the notice of Scioppius the Romanist and literary

<sup>1</sup> The Pope excepted to the phrase *prestante dottrina*, and took umbrage at the compliment paid to the fellow-Servite Fra Fulgentio, one of the six, whose companionship Sarpi had solicited.

antagonist of James I., eight years after, and published as a sample of the principles followed by James and his minister at Venice. It was that well known and oft repeated: *Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ*. The King was deeply offended, till Wotton mollified him by explanations and apologies: but the curious point was that, as the biographer of Wotton informs us, the sentence was written in several glass windows in Venice, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's. It was a device of the Spanish faction to discredit Wotton, and to weaken the friendly relations with Great Britain.



## CHAPTER XXXVII

A.D. 1607-1623

Spanish Conspiracy against Venice (1618)—Long and secret preparations for its execution—Imminent probability of its success—The City full of Traitors and Bravoës—Story of the scheme—Delays in its maturity—Denunciation of the movement to the Signory—Wholesale Arrests—Three hundred Executions—The French and Spanish Ambassadors find excuses for leaving Venice—Ramifications of the Plot—Fall and death of Ossuna—Extraordinary case of Antonio Foscarini (1622)—Its English interest—Lady Arundel and Sir Henry Wotton—Unhappy and damaging mistake of the Council of Ten—Death of Paolo Sarpi (1623)—Particulars of his last days.

THE Signory was no longer entitled to doubt the existence at Rome and Naples, if not at Milan, of a deeply seated and persistent design to accomplish its ruin by a combination of treachery and violence; almost from the commencement of the century incidents and revelations had occurred in succession, pointing to a sense of the obstacles, which Venice afforded to the accomplishment of the projects of Spain in Italy and the Two Sicilies; and to this fruitful source of irritation and jealousy supervened the new danger of a more than possible permanent alliance in the future between the Signory and the two rising houses of Savoy and Orange. Such a scheme, apart from diplomacy and intrigue, was likely to depend on the relative naval strength possessed by the parties proximately engaged and their allies or creatures far more than on any operations in the field, and it might be expected to resolve itself into a struggle between Venice and the Spanish viceroyalty of Naples in probable concert with the Holy See. As had been the case a century before, the Signory looked toward England as its best ally; but James I. was very far from filling the place of Henry VII. and his son. The King was indolent, vacillating, extravagant, poor and venal, and many of his advisers were pensioners of Spain. The navy had been neglected since the death of Elizabeth. That of Spain no longer maintained the standard which it had kept

under Philip II. Its general political situation is described by contemporaries as deplorable.

The Duke of Ossuna, Spanish Governor of Milan, a man equally remarkable for his organizing energy, his vainglory, his unscrupulous ambition, and his want of self-restraint, was already, within two years of the last plot against Sarpi, doing his utmost to injure and annoy the Republic by seizing vessels, intercepting letters, and confiscating mercantile property, for which no redress could be obtained; and in 1612 (Aug. 21) we find the Decemvirs authorising its resident at Naples to listen to disclosures promised by one Gio. Battista Rubeis. The tolerant temper of Venice in spiritual matters, its independence of the Papacy, its friendly relations with Protestant England and the heretical Netherlands, its opposition to the Jesuits and its indulgence to the Jews, its alacrity in acknowledging Henry IV. of France, whom it inscribed on the *Libro d' Oro*, by a special decree of the Great Council, 3 April, 1600,<sup>1</sup> and its political coquetry with the disciples of Mahomet—its veritable catholicity, combined to create in the Spanish mind a feeling of deadly and unrelenting rancour, which became capable of resorting to the worst and basest expedients for achieving its ends. The Viceroy of Naples, who was the prime mover in this scheme at the present stage, and who had been previously Governor of Milan, left no means untried to exhibit his resolution to carry it out by a different method, since the original one had so signally failed; but he had slight hope of appreciable aid from Philip, and could rely only on his own resourcefulness and activity. Ossuna naturally dissembled his sentiments, and was even a party to the conclusion of the treaty of Madrid in 1617, by which peace was restored between Spain and Savoy, and between Venice and Austria. Whatever the issue of the project might be, it was one, in which the Viceroy was scarcely entitled to look for any active support either from Spain or Austria. The Archduke and the Emperor himself already found their attention and resources fairly engrossed by the affairs of Hungary and Bohemia; and the trial of strength was to be between Venice single-handed on the one side and Naples and the Holy See

<sup>1</sup> The King sent the Signory, in recognition of the honour, a suit of armour, which is still preserved at the Arsenal. The Venetian ambassador at Paris, Pietro Priuli, sent his Government in 1605 a particular description of the personal appearance and character of Henry and his consort. Romanin, vii. 12-13.

on the other, with the collusive neutrality of the court of Madrid and the co-operation of the Uscocchi, who secretly bought the court of Vienna by admitting it to a share in their plunder from the Venetians and others.

Ossuna had in the previous year begun to collect ships, with which he covertly inflicted damage on Venetian trade, and in encouraging all fugitives from the lagoons to enter his service, with a view to profiting by their local experience and communications. He caused a map to be prepared for his use, in which the city and its approaches were accurately delineated; and he possessed plans of the fortresses of Peschiera, Brescia, Crema, and perhaps Corfu. The Spanish ambassador, Don Alphonso de la Cueva, Marquis of Bedmar, a statesman of signal ability and energy, supplied the Viceroy with the particulars of the Arsenal and its approaches and the defensive resources of the capital, in audacious violation of his character and functions. Intelligence of every movement was punctually conveyed to the Government; its agents and representatives at various points reported any facts which came to their ears. The consul at Otranto sent particulars of a speech made by one of the creatures of Ossuna, a Venetian renegade named Drusi, to the effect that the Venetians might expect a good thrashing (14th to 28th February, 1617). It appears that the plan of Venice was exhibited by Ossuna to this man, who evinced a readiness to place himself at the disposal of every paymaster in turn, when the two were once closeted together in consultation as to the practicability of capturing the city. The representation shewed forts at Castel Nuovo and at San Nicolo del Lido; but the Duke laid less stress on the former than on the latter. Drusi mentioned that it was three years since he was at Venice, and he did not recollect the forts at Lido. Ossuna told him that the King of Bohemia was desirous of having a hand in the pillage of Venice; but Drusi, in repeating this observation to the Venetian resident at Naples, very sensibly expressed his disbelief of such a thing, as Frederic could gain nothing by such a step even if his own affairs had not more than sufficiently preoccupied him.<sup>1</sup>

It has been sufficiently indicated how the Spanish or Neapolitan plot against the Republic had had existence with-

<sup>1</sup> See *Cal. of State Papers*, 1617-19, p. 337.



out assuming a definite form so far back as 1607, when strong efforts were made in concert with the Spanish cabal at Rome to resuscitate the traditions of Cambrai; and literature was made to bear its part in casting doubts on the pretended immemorial freedom of Venice, and in bringing its system of government into odium and contempt. In 1612 a worthless pamphlet, entitled *Squittinio della Libertà Veneta*, was published at Mirandola, and created an artificial sensation by reason of the wide amount of public interest at the moment in everything relating to the subject; and about the same time copies were circulated in MS. of the Statutes of the Venetian Inquisition of State, purporting to have been framed, and to have come into operation, in 1454. Such ephemerides must not be judged by a modern standard; they were intended to exert a sinister influence on persons who were unable or unwilling to test their authenticity or critical value; and even within a measurable distance of time the *Squittinio* was regarded as a masterpiece of scholarship and the Statutes as a prodigy of iniquity. The notion that the Spanish authorities in Italy were turning their thoughts to a new way of operating against Venice, must have acquired tolerable publicity in the very year in which the *Squittinio* saw the light, for the Council of Ten, under date of October 12, 1612, informed the authorities at Corfu that they were to watch a certain Greek priest, who supplied intelligence to Ossuna at Milan, and engaged to send him a chart of the castle.

Ossuna was beginning to make his arrangements in the course of 1617. He had his instruments and material in readiness. All the most abandoned proscripts and felons, who had been driven from Venice, or who were acquainted with the topography of the city, were in his pay. The Holy See, between which and the Signory, owing to the obdurate resistance of the latter to papal pretensions there, had always been a smouldering disaffection, engaged to co-operate, and Ossuna took into his service the Uscocchi as a naval contingent to act, when the moment arrived and the signal was given. In November of this year an agent of Ossuna, Alexander Rose, was in London, endeavouring, but without success, to charter ships to take part in the expedition. In the following February his emissaries were endeavouring to enlist in the service of the Viceroy any ships which they could find along the

coast, pleading that they were required for commercial purposes. Some English ones, which they had engaged, deserted, not improbably under orders from home. The Viceroy renewed at the same time through a second English tool, Henry Gardiner, his efforts to charter vessels in London. The Government was fully aware that the Spanish embassy was a sanctuary for bravi and assassins; and a bank was said to be kept there for betting on the elections to the Great Council.<sup>1</sup> The naval force, destined to attack and hold Venice, was to disembark at the Piazza of Saint Mark, and soundings were obtained of the depths of water in the ports and canals leading to that point.

It was a strangely heterogeneous assemblage of desperate adventurers, who had thus offered themselves to execute the obviously hazardous task of taking Venice by a *coup de main*, and annihilating its independence at a single blow. The League of Cambrai had failed, because it did not even succeed in establishing a close blockade of the islands, and it was open to the weakness of divided counsels and lukewarm adherents. But the plan of Ossuna was altogether a different and a more direct one. It was wholly under his personal control; he had no partners to consider or consult. The stroke was to be aimed at the very heart of the city. Venice, destitute of local military resources and of any immediately available fleet, would be paralysed and helpless.

The confidential minutes and dispatches of the Inquisition of State and the Council of Ten confer on us a privilege, not enjoyed by the Viceroy of Naples, of becoming aware that, apart from the general knowledge and belief of hostile intentions, the Executive was in possession of official advices from a variety of quarters, keeping it constantly apprised of what was being everywhere done and said, so far back at least as the summer of 1615, when (27th June) the Venetian secretary of legation wrote from London to draw attention to the intrigues of the Marquis of Bedmar and to his numerous partisans in Venice; a member of the Senate, who might have heard of this communication, spoke from his place on the 19th May, 1616, in the same sense; and on the 13th April the Senate had written to its representative in Madrid,

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Brown, *Historical Sketch*, 1895, 403. I do not notice any reference to the matter in Romanin.

complaining of the scandalous proceedings of the Viceroy in relation to the Uscocchi, and intimating that his Holiness was willing to place his naval forces at the service of Ossuna. The prospect appeared so threatening, that on the 9th March, 1617, the Captain of the Gulf had orders to keep a watchful eye on every point; and similar instructions reached the proveditor-general on the 12th April and 23rd July. Measures were also taken to strengthen the fortifications at Lido.

So far back as the winter of 1615, Jacques Pierre, a Norman by birth, and a man who had led a chequered and precarious life, and had been consulted by Ossuna, according to his own account, about a projected descent on Venice planned by a Milanese, was in secret correspondence with the Venetian representatives at Rome and Naples, Contarini and Spinelli, and was peculiarly pressing in his offers of service in view of the ancient friendship between the Republic and his native country. The Venetian ambassador at the Vatican, Simone Contarini, who found the statements of Pierre vague and inconclusive, if not suspicious, at first imagined that he referred to some machination in the Levant; but when Contarini said to him: "*Sicuramente verso l' Arcipelago et l' Albania?*" the other mysteriously clenched his hand, saying, "*Un po' più in su, un po' più giu*";<sup>1</sup> and he changed the conversation by asserting that in betraying the designs of the Viceroy he behaved as a loyal Frenchman, who was averse from Spanish aggrandizement. He talked on a variety of other topics in a hybrid vocabulary of Spanish and French, and finally laid open his desire to be in Venetian pay. He was always accompanied by a tall, aged Frenchman, named Nicole Regnault, described as a secretary of the French King's chamber, who assisted him in different ways, and with whom he appeared to be on terms of the closest intimacy. These two individuals did not strike Contarini as quite satisfactory; and they found their way to Naples in March, 1616, and had an interview with the Venetian resident, Spinelli. Pierre took Spinelli into confidence by telling him that he was tired of the Spanish service, spoke of the projects of the Viceroy, and repeated his wish to take Venetian employment. A capitano Langlad, an engineer, a naval officer of experience, and a maker of artificial fireworks, shared his desire; and Spinelli,

<sup>1</sup> "A little more south, a little lower down."



less sceptical than his colleague at Rome, decided to send them, Regnault, and a fourth worthy, capitano Alessandro Spinosa, to Venice, Regnault at 40 ducats a month, and the others to be remunerated at the discretion of the Government. Pierre and Langlad were under orders to join the fleet at Gaeta or Civita Vecchia; but they gave the authorities the slip, and hastened forward to their new destination, accompanied by a fifth person, Beraud la Barriere. They presented themselves in May, 1617.

The Viceroy was so far not too fortunate in the progress of his arrangements. His tools were faithless, if they were not indiscreet; nor was the Duke himself as reticent as the delicacy of the circumstances seemed to demand. For when he received news of the willingness of the Pope or the Curia to lend him naval aid, he exclaimed to those about him, the Venetian resident at Naples tells us (March 4, 1617): "I wish to send these vessels against the Venetians, in despite of the world, in despite of the King, in despite of God; I wish to take from them the navigation and jurisdiction of the Gulf. I know that I shall catch them unawares; and then I shall be lord here, and no other."

On the 15th April we find the Senate writing to the Venetian ambassador in Spain to represent the connivance between the Viceroy of Naples and the Uscocchi, as well as the impossibility of his Catholic Majesty being unaware of what was going on, inasmuch as by advices from Rome it appeared that the King had solicited his Holiness to coalesce with the Viceroy against the Signory. Philip III. seems to have wavered in his resolution, and to have dispatched ultimate orders to the Viceroy not to enter the Gulf. But Ossuna took on himself the responsibility of doing so under his own colours, and in July, 1617, the united flotilla left Brindisi,<sup>1</sup> and made its appearance in the Adriatic; but the Venetian commander advisedly declined an engagement, probably finding his force inadequate, and fell back on Lesina with a trifling loss; and hereupon the Duke had a bridled steed made with a figure at its feet in Venetian costume. The conversion of private talk and confidential papers into historical material admits us all to-day behind the scenes; but even when such unimpeachable witnesses are laid aside,

<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of 1618 Ossuna enlarged the harbour. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1617-19, p. 128.

the public acts of Ossuna and his confederates, working (let us note) on their own account rather than on that of the court of Madrid, were conducted in a manner which could scarcely deceive statesmen of moderate intelligence and observation, far less those whom the Duke, in concert with the Holy See, proposed to take by surprise. The complicity of the Pontiff and College was strengthened by the visit of the nuncio on the 1st August, 1617, to felicitate Ossuna on his auspicious enterprise; and the latter was the more sanguine and elated, that, if this one miscarried, he had two others in reserve, one for September, the other for October. The Viceroy was also in correspondence with Bedmar, the late ambassador of Spain at the court of England; and he was assured by him that the united maritime forces of the Two Sicilies, His Holiness, and the Uscocchi would have no difficulty even in gaining an entrance into the city. At Malamocco a gang of English refugees was said to be in readiness to fire the Venetian ships in that port. It seems that the crisis was fixed for the annual fair of the Sensa, when the influx of strangers into the city was least likely to be marked. The blow was to be struck on the Sunday prior to the commencement of the Fair. Vague accounts meet the eye among the documentary evidences of the advances of Bedmar to Sir Henry Wotton, English ambassador at Venice, shadowed in a mysterious letter from London, written by a man in great pecuniary straits, and received by the Government on the 12th August: and there is an anecdote of a meeting between Wotton and Regnault at a bookshop in the Merceria at Venice, and of Regnault darkly hinting the existence of a conspiracy, to which Wotton naturally made no reply. All these arrangements, calculations, and interviews occupied from the outset not much less than two years, if we leave out of account the earlier stages, when Venice only surmised something serious, and before the Viceroy and his allies began, toward the autumn of 1617, to reduce their project to a definite shape. Looking at the steadily increasing distrust and vigilance of the Republic, this long delay in consummation was a grave error in tactics on the part of the enemy, as each day unfolded some fresh clue, however insignificant in itself, which tended to corroborate and fix suspicion, and to bring the Government to a course of action.

The Duke of Ossuna talked of capturing Venice, and of Spanish becoming the spoken language there. But his policy was, luckily for the Republic, eminently deficient in administrative capacity; he employed bold adventurers, who frittered away his resources; and he disregarded the cardinal principle of concentration of force. The pirate Sanson was able with seven ships to blockade his fleet in the port of Messina. The Venetian ambassador at Rome, writing on March 10, 1618, to his Government, spoke of Ossuna as playing the Turks' game, and that if it came to a fight the victory would be so costly, that both sides would be at the mercy of the Porte. His Excellency said, that the Pope sighed, and agreed with this view.

About three weeks later the Danish ambassador called on Contarini, the envoy extraordinary of the Signory, by the command of the Queen (Anne of Denmark), who expressed her anxious desire to use such influence as she had in favour of the Republic, since her Majesty had become opposed and even hostile to the Spanish party, but that there were difficulties through the Lords of the Council and even the King himself being in Spanish pay.<sup>1</sup> Just at the same time the Signory was officially advised that it was the same at Turin, where the very pages of the court had been bought.

Throughout April, 1618, the political correspondence, which has come down to us, is largely composed of dispatches bearing on the strained relations between Venice and the Spaniards, more especially the viceregal government of Naples. The Signory was kept advised almost from day to day of the progress of current affairs by their agents in London, Paris, Madrid, Naples, Turin, Rome, the Hague, Udine, Vienna and Constantinople, and there was scarcely a possibility of Venice itself being taken by a *coup de main*, inasmuch as all the approaches by sea were powerfully guarded.

The Viceroy himself seems to have made an effort to divert suspicion by favouring an idea that there was a design to seize Corfu (April, 1618), of which it was known that he had been offered a plan long before by a Greek priest.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The criminal prodigality of James laid him open to temptation. The Venetian ambassador in London, writing to the Signory, Dec. 29, 1617, informs us that just then special exertions were being made to obtain funds for a masque to be performed by the Prince and for the ordinary expenses of the King's household. *Cal. of State Papers*, 1617-19, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> There are in the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1617-19, two somewhat discrepant and independent accounts of the events which follow: the autograph depositions



Jacques Pierre and his confidential friends Regnault and Langlad duly found their way to the presence of the Government. Their arrival was preceded by dispatches from Rome, in which the ambassador Contarini says (14th April, 1617): "The capitano Jacques Pierre has in a thousand ways so impressively stated his desire to place himself at the service of your Serenity, that it has often occurred to me that this corsair, although he is full of courage and ardour, is little deserving of confidence, and he seems to me to seek an engagement, in order that when he is with the fleet he may assist the Duke of Ossuna and the Spaniards; such importunity as his does not appear natural." The writer owned that he might be in error, but at any rate he hoped that the Doge would make use of Pierre without damage to the Republic. The resident at Naples does not seem to have sent his views till August, when he simply reported that those who had connived at the escape of the fugitives were put by the Viceroy to cruel tortures. Spinelli did not intimate any distrust of Pierre. The Government was at a loss whom or what to credit; Pierre was immensely plausible, and had a store of schemes, and abundance of friendly information to communicate; but nothing was settled, as it was thought best to await fuller intelligence, beyond the general engagement of Pierre on the 5th August, when he had been at Venice about three months, without any absolute commission. It seems that the Government, looking at the active naval preparations of Ossuna, and treating hostilities at sea as a not distant contingency, did not adequately realise the likelihood not only of treason at home, but of secret correspondence between the man to whose tales and professions it was listening and certain officers on board the vessels getting ready for service and the mercenary troops collected preparatorily to embarkation. These men, quartered at the Fort of La Casetta,<sup>1</sup> numbered about 2100; they were chiefly Dutch, of whom Sir John Vere had 97; there were also two bodies of Swiss—one from Graubünden; and a corps of Walloons quartered elsewhere under the command of Count Lievestein.

of Jacques Pierre, April 24, 1618; (2) a Report, dated October 23, 1618, sent down by the Council of Ten to the College; (3) a message from the Council of Ten to the College, Dec. 3, 1618. *Cal. of State Papers*, 1617-19, pp. 201, 335, 369.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii. 174-5.

They had a liberal scale of pay, and at present nothing to do but lounge about the city, haunt the taverns, and amuse themselves with idle gossip. Eleven of the leaders lodged in two houses belonging to a Greek woman of noble birth, who, after her violation by a Venetian, had come to the city to obtain redress, had failed, and turned courtesan, and now adopted a means, as she thought, of avenging her wrong. Pierre and his friends mixed with them, won some of them by small presents of money, and practised all the arts of good fellowship; it was then or subsequently the boast of Regnault that he had gained over as many as 200 of the Walloons, besides others, French, Italians, and Savoyards. The total force to be devoted to the reduction of Venice, apart from the fleet, seems to have been about 6000.

Meanwhile time was passing; the Venetian accomplices of the Viceroy were anxiously expecting to hear news of the fleet which was to participate in the intended operation. The Norman sent messages to Ossuna; he wrote to him by channels on which he thought that he could rely, but no reply came; and on the 10th November, 1617, the allied squadrons of Naples and Rome,<sup>1</sup> the former under the command of Robert Elliot, were defeated off Santa Croce de' Ragusi by the proveditor-general, Lorenzo Veniero, although the latter had been taken at a disadvantage. Still Pierre continued to look for news and relief; his situation was becoming more awkward and false; and on March 18, 1618, a tumult among the Dutch troops for arrears of pay was raised by Robert Brouillard, one of the Spanish emissaries; and it was allayed by fair words and the distribution of money on account. He was not the only instance of a marplot; for shortly after the arrival of Pierre and the rest in May of the previous year, the Norman had found Spinosa so likely to prove troublesome that he denounced him to the Government, and led the Council of Ten after due inquiries to order his execution.<sup>2</sup> On the 7th April Pierre again wrote to the Duke, stating that owing to his procrastinations the attack must fail. It was suggested that the allied fleet might detain the Venetian squadron on the Dalmatian side, while the

<sup>1</sup> Howell, writing from Rome, 13 Dec. 1622, to Sir William St. John, speaks of the Papal military and naval power at that date as formidable.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 154.

Spaniards and their confederates took possession of the capital : but to this course the objection was raised that a second naval force lying at Malamocco might place the assailants between two fires ; and finally it was arranged that two of the party, the brothers Bouleaux, should proceed to Naples, and try to have some understanding. This journey was necessitated by Robert Elliot, who had been in the engagement off Sta. Croce, in the preceding November, losing his time, when he was on his way to Venice with ten barques of light draught to take part with the confederates in the city in seizing it in the name of the Viceroy. He had stopped to secure a booty in the Gulf, and the opportunity was missed, so far as he was concerned ; but the Venetian Captain-general would have been there to intercept him—the same Lorenzo Veniero, who had defeated his and the papal squadrons in the previous engagement.

But on the 9th of the month an anonymous letter was discovered in the apartment where the College assembled, and was carried to the Ten. It contained matter which led to the removal of Pierre on board the fleet, which was stationed within easy reach of the city to meet all emergencies, with instructions to Veniero to have him carefully watched,<sup>1</sup> and Langlad shared the same lot. The former unsuccessfully attempted to avert the fatal blow to his ambition by making farther disclosures of the plans of the Viceroy,<sup>2</sup> who, he alleged, would have willingly employed him, if he had been prepared to quit the present service.

Some time previously<sup>3</sup> to this turning-point in the business, Balthazar Juven of Grenoble, nephew of the Maréchal de Lesdiguières, had made his appearance to offer to bring 300 men into the service of the Republic, and had first presented himself to the French ambassador Leon Bruslart, who, when he had read his letter of introduction, laughed, saying, " Ah, you do not mean to tell me that you are going to take the pay of this Republic ? They are pantaloons, and do not deserve to have such as you are to help them," and much

<sup>1</sup> His wife was placed under strict confinement, but she was eventually released. The information was corroborated in an interview on June 1, 1618, between M. A. Contarini and the Duc de Nevers. Romanin, vii. 132.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian Series), ii. 201. Pierre here gives an account, which was to have been sent by hand to the King of France, of the vast visionary schemes of Ossuna.

<sup>3</sup> Romanin, vii. 135.



more, adding, if he was in want of money, he had better turn his steps elsewhere. Juven stated that he was there by the direction of his uncle, and at the recommendation of the Venetian ambassador at Turin, and that he should do his duty. Bruslart made no farther ado, invited him to breakfast, and then accompanied him to the Spanish embassy. The Spanish representative asked him why he had not rather stopped short at Milan; but Juven answered that he was a Frenchman, and that Frenchmen did not serve Spaniards, whereupon Bruslart called him a Lutheran, and began to expatiate on the merits of Bedmar and his goodness to Frenchmen. Juven, however, was not to be cajoled, and returned to the subject of his engagement in the Venetian service. He had fallen in about the beginning of March, 1618, with a countryman named Gabriele Moncassin from Languedoc, who at first had some idea of entering into the conspiracy, and before Pierre and Langlad were deported, had had a conference with him in St. Mark's Church, where he seems to have indulged his fancy, and entertained his companion, with all sorts of idle and silly tales about the Venetians—that they only cared for eating and sleeping, that at the sight of a naked sword they would run away, that a disturbance in the Piazza would create such a panic that 300 musketeers would do all that was required; Ossuna would be ready to help outside, and Langlad would set fire to the Arsenal. Langlad had told him, that, when the city was taken, they would find a prisoner who was so rich that he could give them enough to pay 10,000 men for three years;<sup>1</sup> he had seen the programme of the arrangements. In conversation with Moncassin, Juven pretended to be also willing to join; but he successively divulged the whole affair to Marco Bollani and to the Inquisitors of State. Then, under the pretence of concluding the bargain for his troop with the Doge, he asked Moncassin to accompany him to the palace, where, when they had reached the hall, he asked Juven where they were going. "Why," replied the other, "I am going to beg the Doge's leave to shell the Mint and the Arsenal, and give Crema to the Spaniards!" Moncassin turned pale, and exclaimed, "Ah, do you want to lose all?" But Juven reassured him, saying that he had brought him there to reveal everything;

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1617–19, pp. 336, 369.

and so they did. Juven obtained his wish, and proceeded to Crema with his company; and his comrade remained in the service of Venice.

On the 9th April, 1618, an anonymous letter had been, it may be recollected, picked up in the apartment, where the College met, and as an immediate consequence certain arrests were made, but there were no ulterior proceedings beyond the examination of the prisoners. It is not positively known what the contents of the letter were, or whence it came. There had long been of necessity a feeling of uneasiness and suspicion, yet ostensibly nothing so far of a definite or tangible character. Sir Henry Wotton, was approached by all sorts and conditions in his diplomatic capacity; but he might have hesitated to warn the Government directly, even had he had the requisite information. Yet he might have told us who wrote and deposited that letter. The Government, however, took time to strike the blow; but on the 12th May, 1618, Regnault and the brothers Bouleaux were arrested—Regnault and Laurent Bouleaux at the Spanish Embassy, just when Regnault had been writing to his sister in Paris, to say that he had a piece of business in hand which would save him the trouble of earning his livelihood in the future,<sup>1</sup> which was true enough. The two Bouleaux, it appeared at their examination, had been engaged at the Spanish embassy in the manufacture of pétards and fireworks in connexion with a general plan of incendiarism; and they were forced into the admission that the embassy was a perfect storehouse of arms and ammunition, and that the order of the arrangements had been drawn up by Regnault and Pierre.<sup>2</sup> There had been an attempt to secure Robert Brouillard; but he took refuge in the Spanish embassy, and it was not thought expedient to violate the sanctuary. On the person of Charles Bouleaux were found several damning papers: two letters of Lorenzo Nolot, a Burgundian (Pierre's

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Galibert (*Histoire de Venise*, p. 367) adds that an Avogador, accompanied by two Decemvirs, consequently visited the embassy, and overhauled the whole assemblage of warlike and combustible material; but this seems to want confirmation, more especially in the face of the conduct of the Government in regard to Brouillard. Nevertheless, in Saint Real's account of the conspiracy it is explicitly stated that the Venetians found on the premises of the embassy 500 men, 60 pétards, and a great quantity of powder and fireworks, of which they took an inventory in the presence of Bedmar (p. 102). It certainly seems almost incredible that the embassy could accommodate so much without attracting attention.

messenger to Ossuna), directed to a Signor Pireu, and in his stocking two others written to the Duke of Ossuna, one from Robert Brouillard and the other from the Spanish ambassador, recommending Bouleaux, who was to have gone to Naples to arrange certain details in respect to ulterior movements against Venice. Both these last were sealed, and were inclosed in an envelope directed to Monsieur Pietro delle Conchidie. The capture of Regnault and the others produced a scare, and there was a sudden exodus from the city, unhindered by the Executive, and emptying the lodging-houses of their motley and disreputable occupants. In one very large establishment at S. Giovanni Bragora alone, it is said that as many as 300 were accommodated, and, perhaps owing to the numbers continually arriving, none had the prescribed *bullettini* or licences to disembark from the Uffizio della Biastema. The Earl of Oxford, who had made an offer of troops to aid the Signory, also took his departure, according to the statement of the party where he was staying. All who fell into the hands of the Government confessed that everything on their side was ready, and that if Ossuna had been able to support them, Venice must have been overpowered. They confirmed the hand which Brouillard had had in the insurrectionary movement among the Walloons at the Lazaretto, which had been prearranged to continue, till Ossuna had time to arrive, and the collusion between Pierre and two of the naval commanders belonging to the fleet.<sup>1</sup> On the same day which witnessed the arrest of Regnault and the two Bouleaux, orders were transmitted to the proveditor-general at sea to dispatch Pierre, Langlad, and their secretary Rossetti, in such manner as he might judge fit; in reporting their executions, Veniero stated that the fireworks fabricated by Langlad for the use of the fleet had been in reality destined to burn it; and the proveditor-general was recommended to watch certain individuals on the fleet, who affected disaffection to the Viceroy. On the 18th Regnault and six of his confederates were strangled in prison, and their bodies afterward suspended head downward between the Columns. The spectacle produced a farther clearance of undesirable guests. Other summary measures followed, and

<sup>1</sup> This point is corroborated by two letters on the same day from Lorenzo Veniero, proveditor-general of the fleet, to the Doge, written from Our Lady of Curzola's Galley, 26th January, 1617-18.



about 300 persons paid with their lives for their participation in the foolish and flagitious project; but no particulars have been preserved of the exact number or of the mode of disposing of them; and since the Doge, in a reply to the French ambassador a little later, did not deny the allegation, and it subsequently appears that the Duke of Savoy had heard the same story, we must conclude that there was a distinct and influential Venetian element, of which the members silently perished. Bruslart declared that fifty patricians were accomplices. One or two individuals, against whom there was insufficient evidence, were set at liberty.

The unexpectedly quick succession of Antonio Priuli (May 17, 1618) to the dogeship at the close of the ephemeral reign of Nicolò Donato had inspired the court of Naples with the idea of taking advantage of the festivities which might be expected to follow, in order to bring the design to a climax, and a flotilla of brigantines and convoys, the latter carrying 6000 men, was suddenly dispatched from Naples for the purpose of descending on the city. The brigantines under Robert Elliot, the Scottish adventurer, took a shorter route, the rest taking a more circuitous course to avoid suspicion or notice. But the latter were attacked on the second day by the Barbary pirates, and, being comparatively defenceless and greatly overcrowded, were severely injured by the enemy's artillery, and subsequently scattered by a violent storm. Elliot abandoned the attempt, and the Marquis of Bedmar attended the investiture of Priuli, as if nothing had happened. A notification of the change in the Government was transmitted to all the Powers on June 1, pursuant to a now established practice, and on the 10th James I. wrote two letters to the new Doge, congratulating him on his accession, and on the merciful deliverance of the State from the Spanish plot.<sup>1</sup>

Captain Tournour, a Frenchman, who had instructed Prince Henry in the use of the pike, had been committed to prison for suspected complicity with the conspirators, but was subsequently released by the Council of Ten, and had his sword returned to him, since he could not be shown to have had any actual hand in the business.

On the 31st May the Senate addressed a communication

<sup>1</sup> Printed entire in *Cal. of State Papers*, 1617-19, pp. 239-401 (Latin).

to the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, setting forth the circumstances which had led to the final climax on the part of the Signory; and on the 2nd June it dispatched a circular to the Powers stating that a conspiracy against the city had been discovered, that certain persons had been put to death, and that the Spanish ambassador was directly implicated and could not deny it. To the Venetian representative at Madrid the Senate wrote under the same date: "We send you for information what the Council of Ten communicated to us about a conspiracy and the share of the Catholic ambassador. If questioned, you will not enter into particulars, but simply declare that powerful reasons have influenced the Council. For this and other reasons the Spanish ambassador is abhorred by us and detested in the city. You will try and have him removed, but in such sort that his Majesty may attribute it solely to the fault of the minister and not to any lack of our friendship. We send you fresh letters of credit to give greater vigour to your exertions. You will strongly urge his Majesty to remove the ambassador, but without entering into any particulars about his fault or accusing him of treason. If you are asked questions, you will reply that you have no orders, and it will be understood that this silence is observed out of respect to his Majesty.

This dispatch went, *mutatis mutandis*, to Rome, Spain, Germany, France, England, Savoy, Naples, Milan, Florence, Mantua, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Porte.

It was on the same day (June 2) that the Pope sent for the Venetian ambassador, to whom he said: "'Cardinal Borgia has just shown us letters from his brother saying that all the galleons have been recalled from the Gulf, and are to go to Barbary.' I said: 'Holy Father, my news from Naples states that the five galleons have gone to Brindisi, where all Ossuna's preparations are made.' He asked me about the troubles at Venice. I said that I had no information."

James I. was without any particulars of the business, when the Venetian ambassador saw him at Greenwich on the 3rd July. The ambassador explained that the Republic had its own special methods, and refrained from saying anything. The King laughed, and said, "I do not imagine that I am suspected." James expressed a hope that he should hear more in due course, that he might be in a position to estimate to a

full extent the gravity of the case. One point here is curious. James inquired whether any British subject was involved, and Contarini replied in the negative, which was of course not true.<sup>1</sup>

But, in addition to the general notification to the Powers, the Senate thought fit, from the peculiar stress laid on the English alliance, to address a letter to James I., and on the same day Wotton was summoned to attend the College, when a detailed account was read to him of certain measures, which the Signory had felt it to be their duty to authorise. The communication from the Senate was as follows:

"Your Majesty may well rejoice at the favour God has shown in preserving our Republic from great peril, as we are so devoted to your Majesty. The expression of feeling increases our obligations, as we perceive that it proceeds from a sincere affection for us. We return hearty thanks, and your Majesty may always count upon a response from us, with all confidence and esteem. Words cannot adequately express our gratitude and obligation, and we ardently desire an opportunity of proving our affection. We wish your Majesty length of days and every prosperity."

Juven had been for some time passed in Venetian pay. An informer gave the Government to understand that he was a party to a scheme for delivering Crema to the Spanish governor of Milan; and he was detained on this charge, but kindly treated<sup>2</sup> and eventually released. He supplied his employers with some useful intelligence relative to the Austrian designs on Padua in 1619, and he ended by returning to France. Moncassin, who had been saved by Juven from yielding to the temptation to join the conspirators, was liberally rewarded, and had employment found for him at his own request in Candia, whence, under date of 30th November, 1619, we find him forwarding to Venice his plans for the more effectual defence of the island.

It appears from a letter written from Turin, <sup>25 July</sup> 1619, <sup>4 August</sup> by Sir Isaac Wake to Sir Fulke Greville, that a Spanish friar had foretold the very hour of the day in that year when Venice would fall into the hands of the Spaniards; but there is no ostensible indication of the date of the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617-19, pp. 252-3.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 142.



prophecy.<sup>1</sup> Wake attributes to Spain an intention to have, by a combined naval movement against Venice, opened the Adriatic to other Powers, and for this purpose a fleet was to have been sent to co-operate with the Viceroy of Naples and his allies. But no such plan seems to have been carried out.

The political horizon, however, was yet so dark and disquieting, that the Signory did not, even after the discovery of the conspiracy and punishment of the culprits within reach, relax their vigilance and active exertions. The British Government fully sympathised with Venice, and disregarded the complaints of the court of Madrid touching the countenance lent by James I. and his ministers to the Signory against the Spanish Viceroy of Naples. In the course of the first half of 1618, the Venetians took into their service seven English ships of war, for which heavy payments were periodically made.<sup>2</sup> Ossuna appears to have endeavoured to intercept them on their way to their destination. That the Viceroy, if not his master, was indefatigable in the attempt to reduce Venice, and open the Adriatic, is made clear by existing documents.<sup>3</sup> On November 10, 1618, the anniversary of the Venetian victory over the allies, the Senate addressed a circular communication to the European courts setting forth that the naval forces of the Viceroy were hovering in Sicilian waters, but with the suspected intention of descending at a favourable opportunity on the lagoons. The Spaniards left no means untried, when they perceived that the result hung in the balance, of imposing on the credulity of the English and other governments. Ossuna imprisoned two Hollanders, the brothers Vernati, and propagated a story that they had been hired by Venice to assassinate him. A contemporary return of the warships in the Mediterranean in July, 1618, shews that the Venetians, in addition to their own fleet, had a strong auxiliary contingent from the Netherlands. At this juncture there were in Naples and in the neighbouring places between 13,000 and 14,000 troops of various nationalities, including Scots and Irish. Although the Spanish embassy in London spared no expense to

<sup>1</sup> Lady Warwick, *Warwick Castle and its Earls*, 1903, ii. 653.

<sup>2</sup> Farther payments are recorded under April 6, 1619, to five of the ships. A casual incident which occurred in London about the end of July, 1618, betrays the unpopularity of the Spaniards at this date. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1617-19, 281.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617-19.

propitiate the court, England not only declined to furnish ships to the Viceroy, but recalled such as were in Italian waters.

About two years elapsed before the vestiges and ramifications of the plot were exhausted, and before the Government had satisfied itself and others on all points. For the time a variety of special precautions was taken to prevent any fresh surprises; and guards were stationed at many unusual places, especially at the Spanish embassy, colourably for the protection of the Marquis of Bedmar and his staff. The city was resonant with accounts of the recent thrilling and tragical affair, and the Spaniards were in all mouths; groups collected under the windows of the Spanish embassy, and did not disguise their hostile sentiments. Bedmar, apparently pursuant to instructions from Madrid, solicited an audience of the College (June 11, 1618), and protested the entire innocence of his Catholic Majesty and himself of the business, remarking with constitutional effrontery that his loyalty was known to all, that his conscience was perfectly clear, and that such proceedings would have been repugnant to Christian piety and to any man of upright intentions. He spoke of a wish to go for a short time to Milan, and declared most solemnly as a knight and a Christian that he had had nothing to do with the late operation; but he suggested that the idea might have originated among the persons of ill repute congregated at Venice, and always kept by him at a distance. At another time he lightly alleged that there was nothing of any importance, that certain Frenchmen had mutinied, because they had not had their pay, and that a number of them had been punished. He trusted that time would prove the truth of his words; but he begged meanwhile that his house might be secured from danger, as he said that the residences of ambassadors were ever held sacred; and finally he put himself in the hands of the Republic, in whose goodness and benignity he reposed the same confidence as his father had done and as the King his master did.

The senior privy councillor, Giovanni Dandolo, in reply to this courageous allocution, drily said that the matter should be taken into consideration. Shortly after, the Marquis took an opportunity to state to the Doge that he proposed to go on urgent affairs to Milan, and would be absent a fortnight or so. The Doge cordially reciprocated the desire of his Excellency

to see amicable relations between princes, and hoped that his Catholic Majesty would exhibit such a solicitude. Bedmar termed himself of all ambassadors the least, and so retired.<sup>1</sup> It is said that he was obliged to leave the palace by a private way, and embark on a brigantine, as a mob had gathered in the Piazza with the intention of murdering him, when he made himself visible outside. The expression employed might be more or less a formality, but it was capable of interpretation as a step downward—one more—for Spain, when its ambassador, especially so notable a personality as the Marquis, found himself in so equivocal a position. It was a new and a strange experience for the court of Madrid, for the ruler of that empire, on which it had been proudly declared that the sun never set, to be worsted in arms and in diplomacy by a small Italian Republic, more especially since the latter had been confronted throughout with the problem of dealing concurrently with Madrid and with Naples, and the Spanish ambassador angrily professed an inability to accomplish his own desires toward an accommodation. He was succeeded by the French representative, who complained of the precipitate punishment of his countrymen, and expressed his disbelief of the existence of such a conspiracy, which he did not think it possible to have matured in a few days, when so many were implicated in it, and (according to his informants) fifty Venetian nobles lending their countenance. It was represented to him that the Signory had acted with the greatest deliberation, and held the confessions of the accused and their appeals for pardon. If there were Frenchmen among them, they had forfeited by their treason a title to the name, and so with the Venetians, to whom he alluded. Bruslart, who had played his part in disseminating slanders, was, like his Spanish colleague, anxious to obtain a change of air, and announced his intention to go on a devotional visit to Our Lady of Loreto. In his next dispatch to his Government, he characterised the Venetians as barbarians, and dwelt on the idea that the whole thing was a concoction.

One of the features in the case was the revelation of a collateral scheme on the part of Ossuna or the Archduke of

<sup>1</sup> *Comp. Cal. of State Papers*, 1617–19, pp. 88–9. Sir John Digby writes from Madrid, Dec. 15, 1617, to Antonio Donato, Venetian ambassador at Turin, stating that the object of Spain was, not to wage war against Venice, but to waste the Venetian treasury by endless prettexts.



Austria, or both, for seizing the Istrian ports, of all of which soundings had been taken at the instance of the Viceroy, by means of a man-of-war ostensibly laden with salt for sale at different points. The vessel had left Barletta for Trieste on the 5th May, 1618, but was taken soon after its departure from Trieste by the Venetian commander; and two of the persons concerned in the matter were sent to Venice, and ultimately executed. Robert Elliot already mentioned was a party to the movement, and not improbably the leader. We hear nothing farther of him<sup>1</sup> after his failure in May to reach Venice with a naval expedition, when it was thought that the city would be unprepared for attack. In the course of the year, however, Sir Henry Wotton, who had been under medical care at Padua, partly in consequence of a rumour that the French envoy and himself had been charged with using disrespectful or malicious expressions touching the Republic, and that he was not free from a suspicion of a surrender to French influence, solicited an audience, and entered into details of his accidental knowledge of Regnault and his meeting with him in the book-shop, of his offers of information and desire to have English letters of introduction, and of his disclosures of Spanish designs on the African coast. Wotton paid the Signory a second visit, because in a mutiny on board the fleet at the end of July, 1618, a number of English subjects were involved, and with the rest suffered martial law. The Venetian secretary of legation at the Hague, under October 13, 1617, writes: "Questa nazione Inglese è la vera mutina." His Excellency foreshadowed the resentment which his Majesty might naturally feel, particularly as no distinction had been drawn between the offenders, but all, noble or otherwise, had undergone the same fate. At the same time, he presumed that discipline was essential to good military administration. The Doge pointed out that quite two hundred persons had deserted, that the Republic was placed in a very difficult position, as it was well known, and that it had merely acted as other independent Powers were in the habit of acting under

<sup>1</sup> The "Eliot" of Otway's *Venice Preserved*, 1682, a piece of no historical value, dedicated to the Duchess of Portsmouth in a fulsome epistle, where the author seems to suggest that his patroness had recommended the theme. He probably followed the French account. I more than suspect that this Eliot was connected with the Jack or Jock Eliot, who figures in the relations between Darnley and Mary Queen of Scots, and who was outlawed.

similar circumstances, and not from the least wish to affront the King of Great Britain, who would be satisfied, when he learned the true facts.

On the 1st December, 1618, however, when the Venetian ambassador extraordinary, Piero Contarini, took leave of James I., the King, while he laid peculiar stress on his esteem for the Signory, and his earnest desire for its prosperity and preservation, took occasion to observe that he had never spoken to him about the treatment of the English soldiers with the fleet, who, as he had been advised, were in many cases innocent according to the account which had reached him from his ambassador at Venice. He was afraid that if a recurrence of such an incident took place, men would be reluctant to enlist; but if these persons were really guilty, what the Captain-General had done was perfectly right. He recommended the Signory to publish an official narrative. "The day before I left London," says Contarini, in writing to the Doge and Senate, "his Majesty sent me nineteen pieces of gilt plate weighing 1500 ounces, which I shall take with me to Spain and wheresoever else your Serenity may send me, provided this gift be conceded to me, giving me fresh proof of the State's goodness and leave evidence to my family that my services, however inefficient, have obtained the commendation of your Excellencies."

Sir Henry Wotton did not long outstay the extremely unpleasant and embarrassing episode, into which he had been more or less drawn in his official capacity, and in March, 1618-19, he was recalled, pleading to the Signory his temporary engagements at home, and not altogether discountenancing the idea of return. In an autograph Latin epistle to the Doge, 7th March, 1618-19, James I. spoke of the motive as "*causa justa et gravis*," and favoured the expectation, that the successor would not be less Venetian in his sympathy.<sup>1</sup>

During a portion of his term of service Wotton had had the benefit of the talents and loyalty of the secretary of legation, Gianbattista Lionello, whose name frequently occurs in the State papers as intrusted with important and delicate business, and just before the recall of his principal the Senate specially honoured his ability and integrity by permitting him

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1617-19, p. 502.

to retain the gold chain, valued at 100 ducats, presented to him by the King of Great Britain.<sup>1</sup>

Although Wotton's letter of recall was dated early in March, he did not quit his post for some time, and it was not till the 30th April that he obtained an audience of the College, and delivered a valedictory address, to which the Doge responded in cordial and becoming terms. Wotton described Venice as his second country.<sup>2</sup> But on May 3, instructions were sent to London to make confidential inquiries into the real motive for the supersession of Wotton,<sup>3</sup> and two days later the retiring ambassador received a farther audience, and entered into certain details, mentioning that the secretary, Gregorio de' Monti, a Venetian, in whom he had implicit faith, would act till his successor appeared.

In the winter of 1618 the Council of Ten received communications from the secretary of legation at London and from the Venetian ambassador at Turin about Sir Henry Mainwaring, who had greatly distinguished himself as a buccaneer, and who now sought employment under the Signory. He had recently passed *incognito* through Turin, in order to avoid the Spaniards, who had tried every means of intercepting him. The Spanish ambassador tried to dissuade him from his purpose, and undertook to obtain a pardon from his Catholic Majesty for his piratical acts against Spain, so long as he did not serve the Venetians, adding that he (the ambassador) should ere long have lands in Venice at his disposal, whereupon Mainwaring put to him: "And how? And is Venice so easily to be taken?" His Excellency admitted that the place was strong, but when it was disarmed, it would be easily managed, and they might leave the rest to the Duke of Ossuna. Mainwaring had been knighted by James I. only a few months before. But Mainwaring had exaggerated his power of prevailing on the English Government to lend ships belonging to the Navy for use by one foreign Power against another. James himself was almost equally balanced; but the Council absolutely refused. The Navy was not too strong so far in comparison with that of Spain; and there was a sense of sacrificed dignity in such a step. Mainwaring was

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1617-19, p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 533.

<sup>3</sup> The Venetian secretary of legation, writing to the Signory on May 31, states that Wotton left, hoping to get Secretary Lake's place. *Ibid.* p. 555.



consequently of no use, and the trouble and money were wasted.<sup>1</sup>

The French ambassador, in his representations to the Doge on two successive occasions, had on the one hand put forward the bold proposition that the Spanish plot was a fiction, even while he stated that a considerable body of Venetians of family were parties to it. His own Government was of a different opinion, as we have seen; and there is a highly remarkable report of a conversation on the subject in the beginning of June 1618, between Reniero Zeno, Venetian resident at Turin, and the Duke of Savoy, who said: "If those Signori [the Venetians] do not take advantage of the present moment, and publish full particulars and justifying documents of that iniquitous business, two things will happen; the Spaniards will be saying that it was an invention, and was the work of malcontents in Venice, and that those nobles, who were put to death, were the real movers; so that the world will say that the Signory, instead of discovering the fire, smothered it. The other point is (and he urged Zeno to send an express home to submit it), that they are nourishing a serpent in their bosom, not perceiving the danger, and not remedying it. God forbid (and he made a feint of falling on one knee), it may not turn to their and my discomfiture! Signor Zeno, it does not end here (the Duke spoke in a low tone); there were Frenchmen in it; I do not speak of the King, for there are no better men, but of corrupt ministers, who do not seem to have communicated to him so abominable a wickedness, but simply to have spoken of a stroke to weaken and mortify the Republic . . ." Zeno and the Duke had already exchanged views on the subject at the beginning of April and toward the end of May. In the former case, it appears from the dispatch of Zeno to the Doge and Senate, that the Duke had it much at heart to unite with Venice, Holland, and England against France and Spain.<sup>2</sup>

The central crisis, so long in process of maturity, had been averted by the removal of the foreign principals and the eradication of the still more serious and alarming element—the traitors at home, the corrupt blood, which began to vitiate

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617-19, p. 347. The Spaniards had sent his portrait to Milan and other places, with a view to his identification and arrest.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 187

the national life. The peril had been infinitely greater than any one outside the councils and the prisons ever suspected; and the difficulty of grappling with it was immense. The seizure of the persons of the secret ringleaders in the movement and the dispersion of their accomplices would have been tolerably easy; the normal police and a strong detachment of marines would have performed the task without risk and without impediment. But the large body of foreign mercenaries in the capital at the moment, with the possibility of a survival of local disloyalty among the needier nobles, rendered the display of armed force a dubious experiment, for the Government could not calculate on the turn which such a step might have given to affairs. It might have provoked a riot or even a revolution. Hence proceeded an apparent dilatoriness in striking the decisive blow, and forcing an issue. The relief was probably intense, when there was a fair certainty that the city itself was no longer in jeopardy.

The Spanish conspiracy had had the effect of aggravating the normal cosmopolitan complexion of Venetian life and society, and had brought into contact with the government and police an almost unprecedented number of strangers of a dangerous or at least questionable character, and among them, in addition to Spaniards, Frenchmen, Netherlanders, and Germans, there were English and Scottish adventurers even of high social standing. The State papers of the time throw light on the relations of the Signory with such persons as Sir Henry Mainwaring, member of an old Cheshire family; Sir John Vere, a kinsman of the Earl of Oxford, who was himself implicated in a compromising business; Sir Thomas Stucley, who was taken into pay, and then dismissed, to oblige James I.; Sir Henry Peyton, who seems to have been a meritorious naval officer, whose salary was 200 ducats a month, and who had a gold chain of 300 crowns' value presented to him; Alexander Rose, an English merchant, who was engaged in shipping transactions of a more or less suspicious aspect; and Henry Gardiner, a creature of Ossuna. Peyton was introduced by Sir Henry Wotton to the Doge, who invited him to take a seat at his side. He had been particularly recommended to Wotton by his sovereign. It was rather late in the day when a gentleman named Geoffrey Pole, bearing credentials from Cardinal Farnese, presented himself in

December 1618, and offered his services through the ambassador at Rome; he was politely informed that there was no vacancy for him. Then there was Robert Elliot, a Scot, who was a daring naval adventurer, and whom the Italians seem to have known as *il capitano Roberto*, and on board the Dutch ships some of the crews are described as Scots. It was just about the same time that another of the nation, the so-called *Ser Giovanni Fiorentino*, endeavoured to assassinate Sarpi. Ossuna had Irish volunteers among his troops; probably some might have been found on the Venetian side; it was purely a question of wages.

The recent appalling experience, which at any rate formed a flattering testimony to the Spanish estimate of Venetian greatness and power, while it appeared to betray some deficiency in the system of protecting a capital so seriously exposed to danger, less from external attack than from machinations concerted within between aliens and national malcontents, and accordingly to impeach the wisdom or vigilance of the oligarchical rule, ultimately tended still farther to fortify the general trust in the Council of Ten and its delegates, the inquisitorial triumvirate, since the course of events and the drift of constitutional changes had united to deprive the Republic of any practical alternative. The key to the Decemviral supremacy, and its successful resistance to attack, was its unquestionable integrity and its absence of bias—qualities to which the increasing symptoms of loss of caste and independence among certain impoverished members of the Great Council naturally lent an enhanced value. The amicable attitude of the British Government toward the Signory was repeatedly acknowledged in the most cordial terms with an assurance of reciprocity, if the necessity should ever arise. In strict truth, England was just at this point of time ill able to spare ships. The Navy had steadily declined in efficiency since the time of Elizabeth, and there was acute and chronic unrest throughout Europe. It was the eve of the Thirty Years' War. The political situation in Spain and in Germany is represented by contemporary witnesses as simply deplorable. The diplomatic representatives of the Signory were keeping their Government constantly and promptly advised of events, as they successively unfolded themselves.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 157-8.



Our copious inheritance of current correspondence really places us in a position to judge how ubiquitous and sleepless the Venetian emissaries throughout Europe at this painful and perplexing juncture were—superior to that enjoyed by the majority of those actually on the scene.

It does not appear possible to judge with precision when the Government first satisfied itself as to the exact bearings and reach of the terrific danger, and its action was hampered by the painful doubt of the extent to which subjects of the Republic were implicated; the interval between the stage of suspicion and that of approximate certainty strikes us as a very long one; and, on the contrary, the hand of the authors of the plot almost seems to have been stayed by a sense of the magnitude of the design and the dread of a secret knowledge of the facts by the authorities.

The discontent of the Neapolitans at the oppressive government of Ossuna led to his recall in 1620 and the appointment of Cardinal Borgia in his place. The Cardinal, with a retinue of three persons only, finding a difficulty in gaining an entrance into the city, owing to the reluctance of the Duke to relinquish his post, succeeded in bribing the guard or garrison of Castelnuovo, and when Ossuna, hearing the salute fired in honour of his successor, hastened to the Castle, they refused him admittance. "Am I not the Viceroy?" he exclaimed. "The Viceroy is in the castle," was the answer given.<sup>1</sup> About the same time the French ambassador was replaced, and so three of the principal actors in the drama just closed quitted the scene, leaving the Republic to deal with other occurrences less grave, yet scarcely less strange or less mournful. The administration of Ossuna must have been oppressive even for a Spaniard; for there was a saying that while the Viceroy of Sicily gnaws, and the Governor of Milan eats, the Viceroy of Naples devours.

The Spanish conspiracy, of the reality of which no dispassionate mind can entertain the slightest doubt, left behind it just such traces as its insidious conduct and deadly object might be expected to preserve. A Government, never prone to overweening confidence in those Powers with which it

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ*, ed. Jacobs: letter of Oct. 1, 1621. In a later one from Madrid (March 13, 1623-4) to Viscount Colchester, Howell mentions the Duke's death, "a little man, but of great fame and fortunes. . . ."

maintained the ordinary diplomatic relations, and at all times peculiarly sceptical in regard to Spain, was just at present animated by a feverish distrust and a nervous dread of all who were supposed to be in touch with the court of Madrid in a direct or indirect manner, while at home it was engaged in repressing with exemplary severity electoral and other parliamentary abuses and scandals, some of the Barnabotti or poor patricians, who owed their *sobriquet* to their tendency to foregather in the cheap neighbourhood of San Barnabà, having been convicted of tampering with the ballot in order to secure their return to offices of emolument. In one case, Giambattista Bragadino confessed to having been in intimate relations with Bedmar and his successor, and his accomplice Minotto received, it appeared, 200 scudi a month from Spain. Bragadino was hanged, and Minotto committed to the Lower Dungeons; and the Spanish ambassador found it convenient to apply for his passports, nor was any other representative of the country appointed for some time.<sup>1</sup> Those ominous symptoms were overshadowed for the moment, however, by an event of which the origin dated back to 1611 or 1612, when, it having been discovered that the tenor of dispatches addressed by the Cavaliere Antonio Foscarini, Venetian ambassador to the court of Great Britain, had been divulged, and the blame being attached to the secretary of legation, Scaramelli, who kept the seals, he was recalled, and Giulio Muscorno sent to take his place. Foscarini and Muscorno after a while had serious disagreements, and the latter proceeded by artful intrigue to ruin his chief. Foscarini, who was born in 1570, was a nobleman of high family and honourable reputation, who had filled many responsible positions with credit, and who had evinced an interest in literary studies and historical research; but he was fond of pleasure, giddy in his behaviour, and indiscreet in his conversation. His secretary was also partial to society, could sing and play well, and ingratiated

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 163. The Queen of England (Anne of Denmark) informed the Venetian ambassador Contarini in strict confidence, May 2, 1618, that the Spaniards had been extremely prodigal in their distribution of gifts and money, and that her husband, she thought, expected to gain in that sort of way by the proposed Spanish marriage, to which her father had intimated to King James his strong objection. *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617-19, pp. 205-7. Contarini had previously had an audience of the King, and had had some conversation with him on the relations between Spain and Savoy, and the navigation of the Gulf.

himself with the Queen and some of her ladies. The breach between the two Venetian officials gradually widened. Muscorno began to whisper insinuations against his colleague, and was assisted by the Cavaliere Biondi in drawing up and privately circulating a contemptible libel entitled, *Sayings and Doings of the Ambassador Foscarini*; and he actually prevailed on the Council of Ten to accord him leave of absence from London to see his aged father at Venice, and to transact other urgent family business. Interrogated by the Inquisitors of State, the secretary furnished such an unsatisfactory account of Foscarini, alike in his public and private capacity, that it was decided to send back in his place Giovanni Rizzardo, a notary attached to the Chancery, to collect whatever information he could find in relation to the matter, and transmit a confidential report. The result was that opinion in London and about the court was divided, and that the balance was favourable to the accused; the King and the Primate were both well disposed toward him; and the Queen, although her Majesty had taken momentary umbrage at some expressions on his part, was once more perfectly cordial, and it was said that Foscarini had been a special favourite of the late Prince Henry. But advices from other quarters, particularly from the Venetian representative in France, who had seen a countryman just arrived from the English metropolis, full of gossip about the irregularities and levities of the ambassador, his loose course of life, which made him pass with many for a fool, his unauthorised correspondence with the French Huguenots, and other things, asserted to be the common talk in Paris, seem to have outweighed all other considerations; and after a sufficiently long interval, to preclude the risk of a false step in the face of such conflicting statements by equally responsible and trustworthy informants, Foscarini was recalled. Prior to his departure he went to Greenwich, and met with a most gracious reception at the hands of Anne of Denmark, who, he states in a letter from Calais, 1st January, 1616, sat down and made him sit by her, and be covered, while they conversed. But on his arrival at his destination he and his valet Ottavio Robazza were arrested and committed to prison. A long, intricate, and tedious process of examination and trial succeeded. Elaborate efforts were made through the Secretary Lionello in London to obtain proofs, first of the treasonable



betrayal of confidence, and secondly of private misconduct. As much as a year and half posterior to the disgrace of the unhappy man, the Inquisitors forwarded to England (8 July, 1617) a series of interrogatories for solution by his successor Barbarigo;<sup>1</sup> the question was finally referred to a committee of seven, including the Inquisitors, and on the 30th July, 1618, after two years and a half of cruel suspense, Foscarini was acquitted by a small majority in the Council, and Muscorno sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the fortress of Palma. But this arrangement was not carried out, for on the 8th August he was permitted by the Ten to pass the term in one of the new prisons across the Canal "shut out from the light, under all the other conditions imposed."<sup>2</sup> A petition to the Ten for the free release of Muscorno was actually presented on the 19th July, 1618, and negatived, and one of the Council expelled. The treatment of both amounted to a mockery of justice. The scoundrel Muscorno assuredly as well deserved the cord or the halter as any of those who had recently suffered, while to Foscarini even his full reinstatement in favour was an inadequate compensation for such lengthened persecution and obloquy. The simple fact was that the valet Robazza had been bribed by Forêt, a French spy, in the absence of the ambassador at Newmarket and elsewhere, to admit him to the room where the papers were very incautiously left open, and that Forêt had copied them. Robazza lost his right hand, and was condemned to twenty years' imprisonment. The Ten directed the release of the chaplain of Foscarini, who accompanied him home, and was placed under arrest, on his oath to observe absolute silence. On the 19th December, 1618, Foscarini at last delivered in the Senate his *Relation* of his French and English embassies, nearly three years after date; and he there took occasion to state that the expenses which he had necessarily incurred in maintaining the dignity of his country had impoverished his estate to the extent of between 14,000 and 15,000 ducats. He subsequently filled a succession of high employments, was received on all sides with unabated respect and affection, and had the gratification of hearing the British ambassador reiterate in the Senate the assurance, previously tendered to

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 175-7, where the full details are available.

<sup>2</sup> *Col. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617-19, p. 285.

him personally by special leave of the Chiefs of the Ten at his own residence, of his complete innocence of the calumny.

Muscorno underwent his very lenient sentence, and emerged with the fullest intention to renew his attempt to undermine and destroy the man whom he chose to regard as his arch-enemy. His new plans were of course governed by the altered circumstances. The Earl and Countess of Arundel and Surrey had settled in Italy since 1619, in order to avail themselves, in the education of their two young sons, the elder of whom was at a later period owner of the Arundelian Marbles, of the advantages offered by the University of Padua.<sup>1</sup> They had the Mocenigo Palace at Venice and a country house at Dolo in the neighbourhood, not far from the University; and there Lady Arundel spent much of her time, her husband being frequently absent. Her ladyship was said to dislike England, because she had been brought up as a good Catholic; and she probably preferred the curriculum at Padua for her children on the same account. Among the guests at the Villa Dolo were the English ambassador, the Tuscan resident Sacchetti, the Imperial delegate Rossi, the Spanish secretary of legation, and others, including one Girolamo Vani, whom his hostess did not of course recognize as a common informer; and Foscarini came very occasionally.<sup>2</sup> Yet it was upon this basis that Muscorno built up his second case against his former chief; and he had the advantage of the collusion of Rossi and of a friend of the latter, Giulio Cazzari, who fabricated between them a series of papers incriminating Foscarini. This distressing affair differed from the preceding one so far that a very brief space of time sufficed to impress the Government, with these documents before them, of the treasonable correspondence of the Cavaliere with Milan, the Emperor, and Spain; and on the evening of the 8th April, 1622, as he was leaving the Senate, Foscarini had a cloak suddenly thrown over him,<sup>3</sup> and, so muffled, was carried to prison under a warrant from the Council of Ten. The latter had been supplied for a stipulated amount by Girolamo and Domenigo

<sup>1</sup> Other Englishmen just about this time graduated there. Waller has a copy of verses to Dr. George Rogers on his taking the Degree of Doctor of Physic at Padua in 1646.

<sup>2</sup> The above-named Sacchetti, in a dispatch to his Government, 21st April, 1622, says, "Il senator Foscarini ch' era stato ambasciator in Inghilterra la visitava qualche volte, se ben piuttosto rarissime volte." Romanin, vii. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, p. 308.

Vani, of whom the first has been named as an unsuspected frequenter of the Villa Dolo, and who, as some said, were uncle and nephew,<sup>1</sup> with the entire series of reputed communications. The two Vani swore that, besides their own evidence and the written record, one Giovanni Battista, who served the Spanish agent, knew these facts, and would depose to them. The Mantuan resident at Venice refers to Foscari as a senator with wide sleeves, or, in other words, of the first rank.

It was alleged that Foscari frequented the residence of Lady Arundel at night and unaccompanied, dressed in a fantastic manner; but the main charge was that he paid these visits in order to carry on a clandestine negotiation with the representatives of the Emperor and with Spain, and that he enjoyed for his services a pension of 6000 gold crowns a year. The guilt of the prisoner appeared to his peers and judges so manifest that on the 20th, out of fifteen votes, thirteen, the Doge himself included, were in favour of capital punishment by strangulation and subsequent exposure between the Columns. The deliberations had lasted till three o'clock in the morning, and between seven and eight Foscari was no more, protesting his innocence with his last breath. He had dictated a will in the presence of three of the prison officials,<sup>2</sup> whereby he bequeathed sums of money to various friends, including Fra Sarpi; but all the legatees renounced their claims.<sup>3</sup> To the majority, who beheld the disfigured corpse<sup>4</sup> dangling from the gibbet till sunset, the gruesome spectacle was the earliest knowledge of the tragedy. Foscari is said to have retained to the end his natural gaiety and even levity of character.

The judgment was subscribed by the Doge and other members of the Council, and concluded with these words: "This judgment absolves the tribunal from the imputation of having suffered itself to fall into error or of having acted arbitrarily in a matter affecting the honour and life of the citizens."

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquie Wottonianæ*, p. 307, where there is a letter to an anonymous correspondent about the business.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 187, where it is given entire.

<sup>3</sup> See Fra Sarpi's letter in Romanin, vii. 188, and particulars of Foscari's house (*ibid.* p. 615).

<sup>4</sup> Wotton says that his face was bruised by being dragged along the ground; but he suggests that this may have been done to disguise his identity.





ILLVSTRISSIMA ET EXCELLENTISSIMA DOMINA; D<sup>na</sup>. ALATHEA TALBOT et  
Comitissa Arundellæ & Surræ et prima Comitissa Angliæ.

1644. 4to. 10. 10. 10.

Hollar fecit 1645. Antwerp.

De Meester excudit.

PORTRAIT BY HOLLAR OF ALATHEA, COUNTESS OF  
ARUNDEL AND SURREY

[Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London]



The same day, Wotton, having understood that Lady Arundel contemplated a visit to Venice, dispatched a secretary post-haste to Dolo to communicate what had happened, to say that the Signory spoke of ordering her ladyship to quit the Dominion within three days, and to recommend her to countermand her journey. The messenger found Lady Arundel from home, and followed her as far as Lizza Fusina, where she was in her carriage on her way to Venice, and where he delivered his charge. Its effect was to confirm her ladyship in her resolution to proceed to her residence at the Palazzo Mocenigo at S. Samuele on the Grand Canal,<sup>1</sup> where she arrived about four in the morning (fourth hour of the night). It was with some difficulty that Wotton prevailed on her to wait, till an interview with the Signory could be arranged. But the ambassador solicited an audience as soon as possible, and it was fixed for the 29th. She was accompanied by Wotton, who did not relish the duty, being indisposed, and placed on the right hand of his Serenity in the Council of Pregadi. The Countess held in her hand two papers, which Wotton made a sign to her to hand to the Doge; but the latter, forestalling her ladyship, said: "We must first direct the proceedings in the Senate to be read to you, and then we shall be willing to hear what you wish to say." The Countess then rose from her chair, and duly delivered her letter and statement in English, Wotton following with an Italian version, both alike affirming that she had not seen Foscarini, nor heard from him, in the last eighteen months, and that she was eager to clear herself, her name, and her nation of such an unjust accusation; and the reply of the Doge, previously settled, was read, acquitting her ladyship of all blame, and adding that steps had been taken to explain to the Earl Marshal, through the English Legation, the whole of the circumstances, and to intimate the profound goodwill of the Signory, and its pain at the inadvertence. A propitiatory oblation of confections and wax to the value of a hundred ducats was at the same time made to the aggrieved lady, and a dispatch had already been addressed on the 28th to the Venetian Embassy in London to do what was necessary to restore amity. Lady Arundel was probably the only woman who ever made one in that august assembly.

<sup>1</sup> Where Lady Wortley Montagu and Lord Byron subsequently stayed.



Her ladyship had not waited for the views of the Senate to transmit to the Earl in England a full narrative of the whole business, and the text of her forthcoming vindication, by her major-domo Vercellini. Both Lord Arundel and the King were satisfied with what she had done; but they concurred in feeling that Wotton exposed her to too grave a risk in not absolutely refusing to support her personal appeal to the Signory, from which some unpleasant consequences might have ensued. It does not transpire that his lordship moved any farther in the case; but James I. sat down on the 10th June, 1622, to write, "from our Palace at Greenwich," a letter<sup>1</sup> to the Doge, thanking him for exonerating "our most dear cousin" from an unjust suspicion, stating his readiness at all times to reciprocate such goodwill, and expressing the gratification of the Earl Marshal at the honour done to his wife, and so forth. Lady Arundel, however, removed shortly after to Turin, where she lived till the circumstances had been forgotten.<sup>2</sup>

But the worst and most cruel part was to come. The employers of the informers Vani, not satisfied with having disposed of one victim, next proceeded to denounce a second nobleman inimical to the Spanish party, named Marco Miani. Sir Henry Wotton writes from Venice to a correspondent<sup>3</sup>: "But one of the Inquisitors, either by nature more advised than the rest, or intenerated with that which was already done, would by no means proceed any farther without a pre-examination of the aforesaid Giovan Battista,<sup>4</sup> which might now the more conveniently, and the more silently, be taken, because he had left the house of the Spanish Agent, and was married in the Town to a Goldsmith's Daughter. To make short, they

<sup>1</sup> An Italian version is in Romanin, vii. 194-5.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl died at Padua in 1646. The Countess subsequently to 1638 appears to have resided in London. In an inventory of her household goods in 1641 occur three pictures, which may have been painted for her at Venice: *A Gondola, a Mountebank, a Brave*. See Wheatley's Cunningham, iii. 347. But from the letter of Evelyn to Pepys, August 12, 1689, it is ascertained that Lady Arundel disposed in her life-time to various persons of an appreciable portion of her husband's valuable acquisitions, either by sale or gift. Her ladyship occurs among the contributors to a Book of Receipts published at London in 1655, under the title of *Natura Exenterata*, with a reduced copy of her portrait by Hollar.

<sup>3</sup> *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, pp. 308-9.

<sup>4</sup> Romanin, vii. 195, seems to be at fault here, for he writes: "non sappiamo per quali indizii od accuse, ma certo è che cominciarono a sorgere sospetti. . . ." And he applauds the avowal of the Ten as "un atto sublime."

draw this man to a secret account, where he doth not only disavow the having ever seen any Gentleman in the Spanish Agent's house, but likewise all such interest as the Accusers did pretend to have in his acquaintance, having never spoken with any of them, but only three words by chance with the elder, namely Girolamo, upon the Piazza di S. Stephano. Hereupon the Inquisitors confronted him with the Accusers; they confess without any torture their malicious Plot, and had sentence to be hanged, as was afterwards done. But now the voice running of this detection, the Nephews of the executed Cavalier, namely Nicolo and Girolamo Foscari, make haste to present a petition (in all opinion most equitable) to the Decemviral Tribunal, that the false Accusers of the abovesaid Marco Miani might be re-examined likewise about their Uncle. The Council of Ten, upon this Petition, did assemble early in the morning, which had not been done in long time before; and there they put 10 voices, whether the Nephews should be satisfied.

"In the first Ballotation the balls were equal; in the second there was one ball more in the negative box, either because the false witnesses, being now condemned men, were disabled by course of law to give any farther testimony, or for that the Council of Ten thought it wisdom to smother an irrevocable error. The Petition being denied, no possible way remained for the Nephews to clear the defamation of their Uncle (which in the rigour of this Government had been likewise a stop to their own fortunes), but by means of the confessor, to whom the Delinquents should disburthen their souls before their death, and by him, at importunity of the said Nephews, the matter was revealed. . . ."

The two Vani were put to death; and the Council of Ten was thus, as we seem to be entitled to believe, forced into an admission of having perpetrated the grossest, most inexcusable, and most detrimental blunder ever capable of being laid to its charge. It was a poor atonement to the family, which the tribunal offered, when it placed among its archives a minute as wanting in candour as the proceeding itself had been in perspicacity and justice.<sup>1</sup> After a verbose preamble, in which the Council erroneously predicated of their measure that it was a spontaneous one, it signified that the representatives of

<sup>1</sup> See it entire in Romanin, vii. 297.

the deceased were to suffer no taint in blood or forfeiture of property, and that the resolution was to be read in the Great Council for the information of the world. Printed copies of it were exposed for public sale, and were sent to all the Courts. The remains of Foscarini, which had been laid without any ceremony at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, were exhumed, and were reinterred in the Church of the Frari with every mark of sympathy and attribute of splendour. A bust surmounting an inscription is to be seen in the Church of S. Eustachio near the old Foscarini residence.

Such was what may be termed the third act in the great Spanish scheme for breaking the power of a State, which presented to the subjects of his Catholic Majesty the twofold aspect of inculcating principles antagonistic to monarchy and popery. First came the rupture with Paul V. during the years 1605-7; then succeeded the Spanish conspiracy, which reached its climax in 1618; and now we may look back on the miserable Foscarini miscarriage and wrong.

The Doge Marco Foscarini, a century and a half later, in an apology for the Inquisitors as an institution, took occasion to recall the painful misadventure to which his ancestor was sacrificed, and said that he held "as a household tradition the grateful and tender recollection of that day, the 16th January, 1623, when the Great Council by solemn resolution, transmitted to all the Courts, declared the tragical accident which had befallen a citizen who had discharged the highest dignities in the State." But the speaker pertinently concluded: "Nothing is said there, except that the frauds of three villains had outbalanced the perception of three inquisitors."<sup>1</sup> When an executive organization, such as this before our eyes, was hoodwinked and duped by such persons, to the degradation and ruin of a public servant of long and high standing, there should be less wonder that a man of such consummate address and profound craft as Jacques Pierre imposed on its credulity during months, and brought within a point or two of success his gigantic enterprise.

The Franco-Spanish ague was rather long-lived; and it may be worth while to relate an incident which illustrates the

<sup>1</sup> He might have said, of a Doge, six Privy Councillors, three Chiefs of the Ten, three Avogadors, and three Inquisitors. The sentence was proposed by the Doge; but perhaps he did not vote.



drastic and impartial sternness of the Venetian nature, and shews that, on the supposition of his guilt, Foscarini had not been exceptionally punished. The *Sieur de la Haye*, who was in the Venetian service about 1650, says, writing about fifteen years later<sup>1</sup>—"About twenty-six years since, one of the family of the Contarini, and nephew to the Doge that was then, was strangled in Prison for having been seen in a Gondoloe with a Secretary of Spain." But the distrust extended to the French, it seems, for the same writer immediately adds—"A Friend of mine, one Labia,<sup>2</sup> a noble Venetian, who had spent much of his time in France, when Monsieur du Plessis Besançon took his leave of the Senate, admiring the beauty and accomplishment of the young Chevalier his Son, he could not contain himself from accosting him and paying his respects, but suspecting that one of the Council of Ten (who are always about the Ambassadors) had observed him, he was glad of his own accord to throw himself at the feet of those terrible Judges, to acknowledge his fault and implore their pardon"—and he was excused, because he had acted thus promptly, and had forestalled an information.<sup>3</sup>

It was when the pressure and anxiety proceeding from the Spanish business had nearly come to an end, that the Signory, though reluctant to incur for the moment any direct responsibilities, thought fit to draw nearer to Savoy and Holland on political and commercial grounds.<sup>4</sup>

While all this political trouble was agitating Venice, Fra Paolo Sarpi continued to lead a retired and studious life in the residence near Saint Mark's, which the Government had assigned to the use of himself and his chosen companions. His official services were occasionally sought in points arising between the Signory and his Holiness; but there had not been of late much to occupy him. His health had during some time been affected by certain ailments; but he took little notice of them, until, being in the place where the

<sup>1</sup> *Policy and Government of the Venetians*, translated into English, 1671, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Comp.* ch. lx.

<sup>3</sup> Casanova narrates an analogous episode of a gentleman, who became a fellow-prisoner in the *Piombi* in 1756, because he had been observed to speak at the Ridotto to the wife of Signore Ruzzini, who was on the point of setting out to Vienna as ambassador of the Republic at that court.

<sup>4</sup> Defensive treaties were concluded in March and December, 1619. But Venice had been in communication with the Hollanders many years before. See *post*.

archives were preserved, on the 26th March, 1622, he was seized with a chill; he lost his voice, and a catarrh and feverish attack supervened. These symptoms continued during three months; and his strength gradually failed. He experienced increasing difficulty in producing circulation, and his digestive organs were feeble. He was suffering from the consequences of a prolonged neglect of his health. It was Saturday, the 14th January, 1623, when he felt an inability to rise in the morning. Several distinguished visitors called to inquire for him. He was aware that he was in imminent danger, but he did not part with his cheerfulness. To the Frati at his bedside he said—"I have done all I could to comfort you; now it is for you to keep in good spirits." Fra Fulgentio was summoned by the Signory to let them know how Sarpi was. "He is *in extremis*." "And his mind?" "It is perfectly clear." Three questions of great public importance were then confided to Fulgentio to put before his friend. Sarpi sent the replies, and the latter were the same evening read in the Senate, which decided to act upon them. The dying man then made one of those near him read aloud the description of the passion of Christ in St. John's Gospel, Sarpi repeating the passage: "*Quem proposuit Deus mediatorem per fidem in sanguine suo.*" His medical adviser arrived, and made known to him that he had a very short time to live, whereupon, smiling, he said: "Blessed be God! that pleases me which pleases Him. With His succour we shall perform well this last act." The physician proposed to give him a restorative; but Sarpi declined it. His tongue was viscous, and he asked Fra Marco to hand him his scalpel, which was not in its usual place. "Ah!" he cried, "here it is. Take more care of it in future; it is a small thing." He continued to talk in a subdued tone, repeating several times with satisfaction: "Come, let us go where God calls us." He then fell into a sort of stupor, muttering to himself; but presently he lifted his voice audibly, saying: "Let us go to Saint Mark's; it is late . . . I have much to do." He heard the eighth hour<sup>1</sup> strike, and counted the sounds one by one; and when they had ceased he said: "It is eight; make haste to give me what the physician has ordered." It was some muscadell which the doctor had sent him from his own cellar; and he

<sup>1</sup> About one o'clock in the morning.

had barely put it to his lips when he refused more, observing: "It seems to me strong." Feeling faint, he motioned Fra Fulgentio to his side, embraced and kissed him, and "'Do not stay here any longer,' quoth he, 'looking at me; it is not right; go and take your rest, and I will go to God, whence we have all of us come.'" Fulgentio complied; but he and the others shortly returned, and, kneeling down round the bed, said in low tones the *Vigilia Mortuorum*, Sarpi repeating the words as well as he could after them. The crucifix was placed in front of him; he made an effort to join his hands, and first fixing his eyes on the object, and then partly closing them, he yielded up his brave and noble spirit. The last articulate words he was heard to pronounce were: ESTO PERPETUA! His beloved country was his last, as it had been his chief, thought.

His remains were consigned to the earth in the presence of a large concourse of ecclesiastics and laity; and the Republic gave direction for the safe custody in suitable binding of all his papers, and for the execution of a marble bust to be deposited in the Church of the Servi, as a mark of public gratitude and respect. The work was intrusted to Jacopo Campagna; but the Roman Curia and its supporters at home succeeded in preventing any progress with the monument. The Venetian ambassador at Rome (Reniero Zeno) reported no modification of the animosity against Sarpi, and recommended a policy of complaisance, adding that the departed had no need to live in stone, as he would live in the national annals with less risk of oblivion.<sup>1</sup> Within a week of the death a notification of the event had been sent to the Holy See and to the other European courts, with an emphatic expression of the general sorrow, and an account of the last honour paid to his memory; and the step, which might have been construable into a cartel of defiance against Rome, since such a rare homage was paid to the Venetian of all Venetians most distasteful and most formidable in the eyes of the Papacy, possibly explains the opposition to the proposed memorial.

Whatever may be the estimated literary value of his works,

<sup>1</sup> The chapel and altar of the Vergine Addolorata at the Servi were demolished in 1828, but the bones of Sarpi were reverently preserved and reinterred at San Michele di Murano on the 15th November the same year. Romanin, vii. 81.



or his true place as a theologian, Sarpi stands face to face with us to-day as one of those personalities which render history less monotonous, less ignoble, and less sad; for his sorrows were those of every strong spirit struggling for right, and his pleasures those of every great mind searching for truth. The portrait which accompanies some of his books seems to have been produced under the superintendence of Wotton, and it displays the scar left by the Roman stiletto. In the preparation of his *History of the Council of Trent*, it is generally believed that he had some assistance from William Bedwell, who was, before he succeeded to the living of Tottenham, chaplain to Wotton at Venice. Bedwell is otherwise known as a person of archæological acquirements. He was subsequently Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.

The succession of incidents, which distinguished the severe controversy between the Holy See and the Signory, the courage and inflexibility of the latter, and the European complexion gradually imparted to the business, had the effect of directing more general attention in France and England to Venice and its institutions, and of awakening an intelligent curiosity in respect to the circumstances of their common development. Some of the temporary publications arising out of the dispute had found English translators, and in 1612 a ponderous French compilation by the *Sieur de Fougasses*, purporting to be a gathering from all available sources, appeared at London in an English dress, accompanied by portraits of the Doges scarcely more apocryphal than the text. The material point, however, is that at this date there was a remunerative call for a costly volume, in which the reader expected to discover the solution of the faculty resident in the Republic of withstanding the pretensions and demands of Rome, not merely with impunity, but with added prestige.

This stirring political episode created sufficient interest in the minds of some Englishmen to induce them to acquire the books, which accumulated on the subject, and even a personage such as Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who is not specially credited with a study of theological problems, bought at the time at least two works arising out of the dispute, and accounted them worthy of handsome armorial bindings.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

A.D. 1623-1669

Succession of Doges—The Rialto Bridge erected (1588)—Enthusiastic inauguration of Marino Grimani (1595)—The Dogaressa crowned (1597)—Splendid festivities—The Doge Bembo and his Physician—The rich and popular Doge Priuli—Reniero Zeno and his attacks on the Council of Ten (1624-28)—Changes in Europe—Venice and the Netherlands—War in the Valtelline (1620)—Activity of Venetian Arms and Diplomacy (1620-30)—Plague at Venice (1630)—Unusual Mortality—Deaths of Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII. (1642-43)—Cardinal Mazarin—Threatened danger to Candia—Pretext of the Porte for going to War—Scene at Constantinople between the Divan and the Diplomatic Corps—Commencement of Candiot War (1644-45)—Strenuous exertions of Venice to preserve the Island—Treaty of Westphalia (1648)—Eventual surrender of Candia to the Porte on honourable terms—Enormous losses of the Turks during a four-and-twenty years' intermittent struggle (1645-69).

THE sequence of the Doges since the veteran Nicolo da Ponte was chosen to replace that remarkable figure, Sebastiano Veniero, in 1578, has been hitherto left unchronicled as a feature of secondary importance, and as not offering in itself any historical points deserving of special attention. The element in the constitution, on which all once leant and turned, has become little beyond an official medium and a majestic or pompous adjunct. Da Ponte, if the popular desire had been consulted, would have had as his successor Vincenzo Morosini, who in fact commanded a majority in the electoral conclave. But he was induced to give way to Pasquale Cicogna, who aggravated the dissatisfaction at his appointment by his frugality in scattering largesse among the crowd as he was carried in the chair round the Piazza. Cicogna, a descendant of the apothecary who was admitted to the Great Council after the war of Chioggia, was happy in witnessing ten years of peace (1585-95), persistently maintained in spite of every attempt to prevail on the Signory to join political or military alliances both in Western and Eastern Europe. Even with the Porte friendly relations were pre-

served, and in 1595 a new treaty concluded. The sole disturbing incident seems to have occurred in Udine in connexion with the long precarious relations between Venice and Austria, to which reference has already been made.<sup>1</sup> But this administration was distinguished by many architectural improvements and embellishments; the ducal palace, the public library, and the Mint were brought nearer to completion; and, above all, the famous Rialto bridge, after forming a subject of discussion and negotiation since the commencement of the century, was thrown, pursuant to a resolution of the Senate (7th January, 1587-88), across the Grand Canal, from the design of Antonio da Ponte, in a single arch, the estimated cost being 250,000 ducats; the first stone had been laid on the 31st May, 1585.<sup>2</sup> There were three competitors, including Scamozzi; but opinions as to details were invited, and as many as four-and-twenty professional persons came forward to offer suggestions. They were co-operating in a work which scarcely the three interposed centuries have divested of its uniqueness. Among the designs submitted at an earlier date (1524-25) by Michael Angelo, Sansovino, and others, one shewed a line of shops on either side; a second proposed a covered way. The object was limited in all cases to the accommodation of pedestrians. It was the son of Cicogna, who personally designed and constructed for the Turkish ambassador a superb culverine, a real work of art, which his father would not permit him to send out of the country, and which was accepted as a gift by the Great Council.<sup>3</sup>

On the night of the 26th April 1595, after the death of the Doge Cicogna,<sup>4</sup> a vociferous clamour spread over the precincts of the palace, demanding the election of Marino Grimani, who was a special popular favourite, insomuch that

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Hazlitt's *Coins of Europe*, 1893, p. 220. A bronze *osella* was struck to commemorate the occasion with this inscription: *Fvndamenta · Facta · Prid · Kal · Ivnii · 1585.*

<sup>3</sup> "Napoleon I<sup>er</sup> en vrai dilettante d'artillerie, la fit essayer a Lido. On trouva que sa portée était de 2.500 mètres. Certes, depuis le fondeur Cicogna, on n'a pas fait plus beau que son bijou, mais MM. Krupp et Armstrong ont créé des engins de plus longue portée."—Havard, *Amsterdam et Venise*, 1876, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> A portrait of the Doge forms part of the series published at Cologne in 1598, under the title of *Effigies Regum ac Principum*, being professedly a collection of such rulers as had distinguished themselves in nautical affairs. The engraver was Crispin de Pass. The Doge's likeness is also given by Heiss (*Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, 1887).



there was at one moment a fear of a tumult. But the next day Grimani was actually returned; and the general rejoicing and exultation were boisterous, a bonfire being made of the benches lying about the public offices. A large quantity of bread and wine was distributed among the poor and the boatmen at the ferries. The new Doge was as lavish in his largesse as the Doge before him had been niggard; and the Dogaressa Morosina Morosini Grimani threw money to the crowd beneath from the palace windows.

In the course of nine hundred years only two Doges had seen their consorts invested with the ducal berretta. It was an honour and a homage, of which the signal rarity immensely augmented the distinction. Both the present prince and his wife enjoyed an exceptional degree of popularity and esteem; and in 1597 it was decided to proceed to the coronation of her Serenity. The ceremony was performed on Sunday, May 4, with unprecedented magnificence. The Signory, the great officers of State, their wives and daughters, and the Trades, contributed to one of the grandest spectacles ever witnessed. Three hundred bombardiers led the way; the members of the Gilds followed; next came a procession of ladies belonging to the aristocracy and the Government, attired in the most costly material; the nephews and nieces of the ducal house, six damsels in green, and two dwarfs; then the Dogaressa succeeded, walking at a stately pace, in a mantle of cloth-of-gold, between the two senior privy councillors, her head invested with the berretta; and the procurators of Saint Mark and the other grand functionaries formed the rear. It was a gorgeous and dazzling galaxy of gold, silver, velvet, satin, and every other imaginable texture; and the Gilds had entered into the proceedings of the day with enthusiasm, and had set up triumphal arches and awnings along the route, which the cavalcade had to take to Saint Mark's. All entered the Basilica, and when the Dogaressa had reached the principal altar, the Grand Chancellor read the ducal commission, and tendered her Serenity the oath of allegiance. A *Te Deum* was sung, and the whole party left the building, the Dogaressa ascending the leaden steps, which conducted to the palace.

The Trades, preceded by the bombardiers, had taken possession of the entrance-hall, and had formed in order, and as the Dogaressa passed before them, the delegate of each

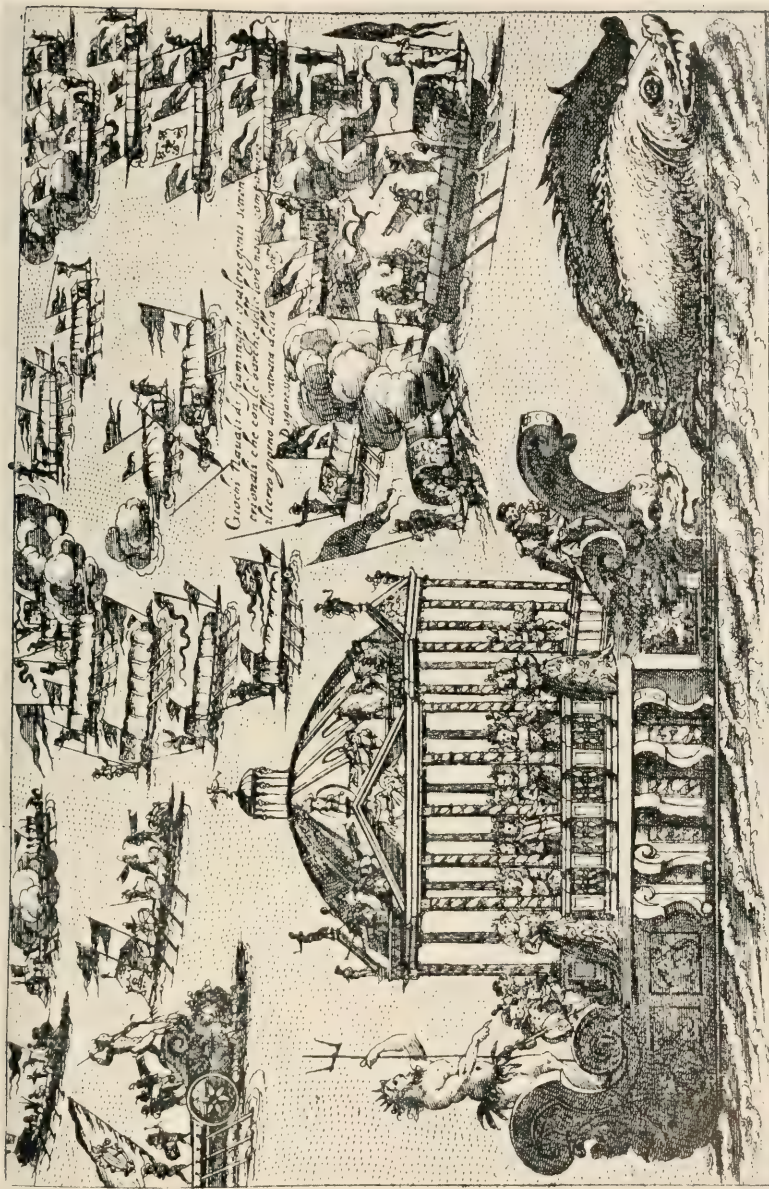
Gild offered her sweetmeats with *Ben vegna Vostra Serenità*, to which her answer was *Altra volta*. A noble banquet was afterward served in the saloon of the Great Council, all the members' seats having been removed, and the Dogaressa occupied the ducal throne, supported by the privy councillors, with her ladies of honour ranged at her feet or around her. The confectionery was carried beforehand by torchlight round the Piazza in three hundred gilt baskets, and represented men, women, fountains, boats, and other objects artistically modelled in sugar. On the third day her Serenity attended mass in the Basilica; the papal legate offered to her acceptance the Golden Rose on the part of the Supreme Pontiff, and there was in the afternoon a regatta and water-fête on the Grand Canal, in which some Englishmen tilted with lances at each other. A temporary theatre<sup>1</sup> had been constructed on a barge; but the performance, which was to have been by torchlight, was frustrated by the weather.

Such was the splendid tribute paid by the nation to the wife of Marino Grimani, a rite dictated by a common affection for the Doge and the partner of his fortunes. A medal was struck to commemorate the auspicious occasion, exhibiting the Dogaressa crowned, and on the reverse *Mvns Mavrocanae Grimanae Dveissae Venetiar: 1597*, and was distributed among the members of the Executive and the public officials. It is permissible to infer that the great lady wore the *cornio* prior to her visit to the cathedral, to indicate that she owed it to the complaisance of the Government, and not to the Church.

There was no change of administration till 1606, the interval presenting very little of political moment beyond the addition of Ferrara to the States of the Church and the chronic necessity of being always prepared for unexpected emergencies. But the Uscocchi continued to form a source of trouble and expense, as well as a cause of friction and angry correspondence with Austria, whose maritime subjects were more than suspected of favouring and harbouring the enemy.

But the selection of Leonardo Donato to replace Grimani was itself a forecast of a less tranquil prospect; and in fact from this point a consecutive series of foreign and domestic difficulties and dangers seemed to evolve from each other, and,

<sup>1</sup> The accompanying illustration is from the contemporary print in the Franco series.



IL NOBILISS<sup>o</sup> TEATRO DETO IL MONDO FATO FARE DALLI + 0.  
*Gentilhommi eletti da sua Ser.<sup>a</sup> nell'entrata alla Ser.<sup>a</sup> Dogressa Moresina Grimaldi.  
 Francia l'anno 1797.*

CORONATION PROCESSION OF THE DOGRESSA MORESINA GRIMALDI

[Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London]





without committing the Republic to war, to expose it to more serious peril than any hostilities by land or sea since the Chioggian crisis of 1379. All these complications will be shown to have been the result of a deliberate and persistent endeavour by the Spanish party in Italy to overthrow Venetian independence. Through the whole space of time from the accession to the papal chair of Paul V., the puppet of the Spaniards, in 1605, till 1630, there was scarcely any relief for the Government from the painful and exhausting tension produced by continual revelations of conspiracy and treason within and without; and Venice was only saved from ruin by the birthday blessing of its geographical site and the sleepless vigilance and unswerving loyalty of a solid Government. Donato, who was not less opposed to the inordinate pretensions of the Curia than Paolo Sarpi himself, was an old man, when he died in 1612, after six months' indisposition; but it has been said that he accelerated his end by an altercation with his brother Nicolo about the erection of a residence, which the Doge thought unsuitable as to position and extravagantly costly;<sup>1</sup> and he had been worried by the course of public affairs. His Serenity was probably inclined to be parsimonious, for there is a story that at the very close of his reign, when he visited one of the churches, the people, looking for the usual gratuities, and being disappointed, vociferated: *Viva il doge Grimani padre dei poveri!* Whereupon Donato resolved that he would pay no more visits of the kind; and the spectators, at the next anniversary procession, that to the Church of the Redeemer, seeing that the Doge was absent, exclaimed: *He will see the day when he will wish to go to church, and will not be able.* The historian Morosini, who spoke from personal knowledge, has left a rather minute and a highly favourable portrait<sup>2</sup> of this personage, and seems to have thought that his worst failing was an indifference to public applause; and Sarpi, a second contemporary and eye-witness, and his particular friend, speaks most highly of him, and in a letter to a correspondent tells him and us, that the Doge transacted business within a few hours of his end. Sir Henry Wotton signalizes him as "a wise and constant man." By

<sup>1</sup> On the *Fondamente nuove* near the bridge of the Croseshieri; it was till 1858 in the hands of the family, and was known as the *Casa dalle Rose*; but the Donati have since become extinct.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 94-5.

the clericals he was held in as poor odour as Sarpi; and perhaps he owed to this circumstance the popular tale that, at his death, strange cries and shrieks had been heard proceeding from the bedchamber. The Evil One had at last claimed his own.

The dogeships of Marcantonio Memo and Giovanni Bembo, both members of the Old Houses (*case vecchie*), which had long been excluded from power, witnessed a continuance of the same general policy and of the same unwholesome and dangerous symptoms on the side of Spain. The two consecutive nominations appear to be ascribable to a fear, lest the repeated disappointment of candidates should have provoked at a critical moment a factious coalition and a popular commotion. In the second case, that of Bembo, the hesitation of the electors was so great, and the delay so protracted, that the Privy Council, acting as a provisional government, sent three messages to the Forty-one, each more imperative than the other, to force them to a decision. There had been an interregnum of five weeks, during which no dispatches were opened; and the posture of affairs at the close of 1615 demanded undivided attention. The electors returned Bembo as Doge with all sorts of threatened pains and penalties in their ears, if they were not prompt. The successor of Memo had obtained a reputation as a naval officer, had served under Veniero at Lepanto, and was generally liked. But he did not stomach the long and late hours of attendance at the Councils, which sat till seven or eight in the evening, through the winter months, owing to the incessant pressure of business; and he declared to his physician Sivos that he would rather, if he could have got permission, have gone to sea, and died on the prow of his galley, than die in his bed at the palace; and he always lamented his hard fate in becoming head of the State at so perilous and fatiguing a juncture. He died, while the Spanish conspiracy was absorbing the attention and resources of the Government.

Sir Henry Wotton supplies<sup>1</sup> a few additional particulars of the Doge. He tells that he died in the 75th year of his age, on Friday the 16th March, 1618-19, about an hour before sunset, and that the cause of death was strangury. The doctors bled him, perhaps too copiously. His father had

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, pp. 255-6.



been a poor man, till he happened to marry an heiress, who brought him two sons, the future Doge and a brother, who died unmarried. Wotton mentions the presence of the former at Lepanto, and his appointment as general of the fleet, when the Spanish plot was in progress; but he gives him credit for goodness of disposition rather than high political ability. "For," says the writer quoted, "he was neither eloquent, profound, nor learned, only notable in his splendour and economical magnificence, beyond ordinary example, and perchance in another nature beyond Permission: for these Popularities among them [the Venetians] are somewhat hazardous. To Ambassadors he gave small satisfaction, save with his eyes, which were very gracious and kind. In his Countenance otherwise, there was an invincible weakness, always blushing while he spoke, and glad when he had done." Wotton possessed a portrait of Bembo by Fialetti in a crimson brown robe, with a grey clipped beard. It was presented by him to Charles I., and is now at Hampton Court.

The ducal elections at the present time seem to have caused unusual perplexity: and there appears to have been a disposition to extend a preference to those whose years promised to secure an early opportunity of change and to preclude a risk of undue personal ascendancy. In the interval between the choice of Bembo and the loss of the previous Serenissimo the departmental zealots, the correctors of the oath, always anxious to justify their existence, drew up an elaborate memorandum, of which the essence was a more perfect equality of civil rights for poor and rich alike, an encomium on the paternal charity of the Republic, and an instruction to the Doge, in such hours as he could spare from other duties, to receive and hear any complaints of imperfect or tardy justice, so that the laws might operate for the benefit of all classes. A strict fulfilment of this excellent recommendation might have proved of signal value; but it would have made the Doge look even more wistfully at his lot than Bembo had done. Nicolo Donato, an octogenarian, who, according to Sir Henry Wotton, was known as Testolina from the smallness of his head, was after much debate in the conclave pronounced the successful candidate, the two popular favourites being Antonio Priuli, a man of great wealth, and Giovanni Giustiniani. Donato was distasteful on account of his meanness, and there

was no acclamation for him, no *vivas*; and, curiously enough, he had a nephew as avaricious as himself, who was kept out of the Senate on a similar account, as, when his uncle entertained company, there were not enough sweetmeats for the ladies owing to the officiousness of the younger Donato, and once, when some ladies came to the palace, he sent them back, saying, that they had not been invited. The Doge did not long vex the world with which he mingled; he died of apoplexy on the 8th May.<sup>1</sup> A month later all the votes were given to Priuli, who had discharged many important and varied trusts, and had impoverished himself in the public service to the extent of 80,000 ducats. He was absent in Friuli on a diplomatic mission, when the intelligence of his election (18th May, 1618) reached him; the Bucentaur, with a large number of senators and other public functionaries, met the naval escort which had been ordered to meet him at Chioggia; and he made a triumphal entry into Venice. 3000 ducats in gold and small money were distributed among the people. There were illuminations and other signs of rejoicing. The Spanish ambassador was among those who most effusively congratulated the new Doge, and expressed the hope that the peace he had been negotiating between Venice and Austria might prove permanent. His Excellency had just been unhappily foiled in his attempt to destroy the City and Republic during the electoral fêtes, which was frustrated by the dispersion and partial destruction of his fleet by the Barbary pirates and by a violent storm.

Priuli not only possessed ample resources, but his son Girolamo had married a lady with 200,000 ducats and 300,000 more on the death of her mother. Nevertheless, the present Doge entered on office at an exceptionally trying moment, when the great Spanish plot was just coming to a head. He

<sup>1</sup> He had been previously suffering from ague, and had no leisure or inclination to alter a will, by which he left only 25 ducats to his servants and 20 to the nuns of Sta. Chiara in Murano, where he desired to be laid. He had rendered himself obnoxious to the Gild of Bakers by having been instrumental (as it was thought) in checking abuses in the trade. "In his nature," observes Wotton (*Reliquiæ*, 1672, p. 264), "there was a strange conjunction of two things rarely seen together, Love of Learning and Love of Money." The following epitaph was composed at the time:—

"Qui giace il gran Donado testolina,  
Mercante e senator plusquam perfeto.  
Fato dose, mori per suo banchetto  
Stronzà da un suo nipote per rapina."

Sivos, quoted by Romanin, vii. 131.

lived to see that unexampled scheme, as it were by a miracle, defeated, to set his hand to the deplorable warrant which sealed the doom of Antonio Foscarini, and to be a witness of the opening scenes of a severe constitutional agitation, which marked the years 1624-28. The brief tenure of authority by his immediate successor Francesco Contarini (1623-24) opened the way to the speedy succession of Giovanni Cornaro, who remained in office till 1630, and was constrained during the greater part of that time, in common with the Council of Ten, to endure the attacks of a nobleman, whose rank, character, and wealth rendered him as fearless as he was unsparing in his hostility to the encroachments of the oligarchy and the nepotism of the palace. It was the Cavaliere Reniero Zeno, a personage of the highest social standing, who had in turn filled all the most exalted and responsible functions, himself a Decemvir, yet who, like the reformers of a long-passed age, was prepared to sacrifice to the general interests of a large caste some of the weight and ascendancy of a narrow, secret, and arbitrary tribunal, of which he had enjoyed, and might again enjoy, the prestige. But in or about 1624, when Zeno first appears on the scene in an unofficial character, the Ten, of whom he had been one and in fact a *Capo*, were suffering from its flagrant betrayal of fallibility in regard to the Foscarini case; and the Great Council was all the more predisposed to support him on the one hand and protect him on the other. The matter belongs in chief measure to the constitutional history of Venice;<sup>1</sup> but it is collaterally remarkable as the final act or stage in the egregious Spanish machination, of which the first, the Papal interdict, was really the least momentous.

The death of Henry IV. of France in 1610,<sup>2</sup> and the decline in the power of Spain as an active belligerent force, had combined with the rise of Savoy to produce a change in the relations and alliances among the European States. The Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emmanuele, signalized his appreciation of Venetian friendship and assistance by an even importunate appeal to the Republic to join him in his projects against the Spaniards and Austrians; and these advances were so much the more flattering and significant, that in co-operating with

<sup>1</sup> See it treated more in detail in a later chapter.

<sup>2</sup> See the interesting and ample details in Romanin, viii. 85-8.



the Savoyards the maritime or naval resources of Venice were not calculated to come into play, and that its military strength was judged by such a discerning prince as eminently worth securing. The Duke impressed on the Venetian resident at Turin, Reniero Zeno, the vastly increased facilities for Italian liberty afforded by the dissensions among the Germans and French; he tried to convince Zeno, that it was a particularly fine opportunity for his country; and he even said that, if he could obtain funds, he would embark in the enterprise against his Catholic Majesty and the Archduke Ferdinand single-handed. But the Republic hesitated for the moment to respond to this counsel and call, although the views of the Duke were undoubtedly sound; and all that the Government could persuade itself to do was to sign defensive treaties with Carlo Emanuele and (for fifteen years) with the United Netherlands in the course of 1619, in the latter case a Venetian resident, Cristoforo Suriano, being for the first time appointed. At least since 1609 there had been a disposition on the part of Venice to draw closer to Holland; in that year the earliest formal settlement of a basis of intercourse on the lines of commerce and navigation had been concluded; some years later, the Signory had taken into its pay the Walloon corps of Count Lievestein; and the diplomatists, sent to the Low Countries to arrange the necessary details connected with these new departures, furnished their employers with a picture of Dutch enterprise and prosperity calculated to put certain thoughts into the heads of Venetian statesmen as to the possibility in the future of two Powers so similar in their character and so far apart in their geographical position, proving of value to each other in a mercantile respect without mischievous rivalry and politically as a counterpoise to Spanish power. Howell, in a *Survey of the United Provinces*, 1622, remarks: "These two Republics [Venice and Holland], that in the East and this in the West, are the two Remoras, that stick to the great Vessel of Spain, that it cannot sail to the Western Monarchy."<sup>1</sup> The observant Italians, at the same time, noted for the benefit of their countrymen all the latest improvements in naval appliances and in every other direction. This growing national force, by its points of resemblance to Venice in some respects, must have awakened in the mind of

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ*, ed. Jacobs, p. 127.

the Republic many useful, and some mixed reflections; and in point of fact the rise of Dutch and English commercial importance was not long in making its influence alarmingly sensible, and all the more, inasmuch as it threatened to become more permanent than Spanish or Portuguese ascendancy.

Since the development of maritime discovery and the opening of new channels and centres of trade, the vast pre-eminence of Venice, alike commercial and political, had necessarily undergone some modification. Yet we are to see a very long time elapse, before the Signory betrayed any signal evidence of a decline in power or in resources, much less in prestige. An intelligent observer, James Howell, writing in 1621 to Sir James Crofts, says: "There is no outward appearance at all of Poverty, or any Decay in this City; but she is still gay, flourishing, and fresh, and flowing with all kind of Bravery and Delight, which may be had at cheap rates."

The significance of the approximation of the Venetians and Hollanders was not misinterpreted by Spain, which recognized in the movement the contingency of a formidable coalition between two maritime States, neither of which subscribed to the extreme tenets and demands of Romanism. But in 1620 fresh complications arose on the side of Switzerland, and obliged the Republic to knit itself in more immediate and active union with Savoy. The Valtelline, which is the valley of the Adda stretching from the head of the Lake of Como to the Stelvio Pass, had long been viewed by the Spanish-Italian government of Milan as of special value in connecting the Milanese with the Tyrol, and in enabling the masters of it to hem in the Venetians on all sides, and prevent French aid from reaching them by way of Tirano, the Aprica, and Edolo. This territory was long a small municipal government under the suzerainty of the Swiss canton of Graubünden or the Grisons; but the Spaniards in 1620, favoured by the internal dissensions between the Catholic and Protestant factions, the former supported by France, the latter by Venice<sup>1</sup> (on political grounds), instigated a massacre of the Protestant population and seized the valley. A religious war broke out, side by side with that deadly one beginning to rage

<sup>1</sup> Newsletter from Sir Isaac Wake to Sir Fulke Greville, 1619 (*Lady Warwick's Warwick Castle*, 1903, p. 659).

in the Palatinate; and it was to stay the bloodshed and barbarities perpetrated on both sides that in 1623 a triple alliance was formed between Venice, France, and Savoy, the parties contracting to bring into the field an army of 46,000 men, of which the Republic was answerable for 12,000 foot and 4000 cavalry. This was the result of a negotiation to which James Howell alludes, where he says, in a letter to Sir Thomas Savage of 15th December, 1622, that, while he was in Paris, two ambassadors extraordinary arrived there from Venice, while a third had proceeded to Spain.<sup>1</sup> The Government, however, declined to perform its share of the undertaking, unless the absolute independence of the Valtelline, the very essence of the business from a Venetian point of view, was guaranteed. Cardinal Richelieu, with a convenient forgetfulness of French perfidy and duplicity in the past, was immoderately wroth with the Signory for their alleged breach of faith; and while the French, unsupported by Venice, were gaining a few preliminary advantages, the Spanish forces ultimately triumphed, and a treaty was concluded, ignoring the Republic and Savoy, at Monzone in Arragon, March 6, 1625, by which the Valtelline was practically reinstated in its old administrative position, with power reserved to the Holy See to occupy and dismantle certain fortresses. Such a peace, to which the Republic signified its unwillingness to be a party, merely acquiescing in the situation, did not carry much promise of durability; the struggle lasted many years longer; and Venice remained more or less a belligerent or a pecuniary contributor without any immediate interests at stake. The delusive spirit of imperialism was ever tending to enfeeble and impoverish a State which stood in need of all the careful and jealous nurture attendant on peace and repose. The Venetians were sensible enough that Richelieu was the actual arbiter of French affairs, and the Cardinal submitted to the Powers, Venice inclusive, a series of propositions for bringing matters to a settlement without success—probably without any expectation of it.

But it was not alone the Valtelline question, which occupied and harassed the Signory at this time, and engrossed resources, which the daily increasing competition of other trading Powers, particularly Portugal, England, and Holland,

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaŋæ*, ed. Jacobs, p. 139.



ever tended to diminish. The diplomatic activity of Venice had never been greater than it was in the earlier part of the seventeenth century in healing disputes and misunderstandings, in restoring amity between States whose united action was likely to be of service to the Protestants of Germany, even subordinating (as usual) its Catholic allegiance to its temporal calls, and, to the surprise and displeasure of the Holy See, financing Count Mansfeld as an indirect factor in the freedom of Italy, in dissuading alliances bound to be injurious to itself, as that which the representative of Spain tried to make with the Netherlands, and in the maintenance of satisfactory relations with those countries, which were outside the immediate zone. Nothing of importance and interest escaped the notice of the Venetian diplomatic agents, of whom one is found describing to his employers the wonderful collection of pictures in the palace at Prague in 1612; and negotiation was energetically seconded by military and financial support. Thus the Venetian sphere of influence extended far and wide; and the *dolce maniera*, an inheritance perhaps from the ancient Romans, some of whom, under the later Republic, exhibited this diplomatic mannerism<sup>1</sup>—the history of the Republic becomes during the Thirty Years' War the history of Europe; the purse and the sword played their several parts. The two cardinal objects of Venice, apart from the preservation of its commerce, by the encouragement of new channels and markets as indemnities for the shrinkage of the Eastern custom, were the promotion of combinations against the Austro-Spanish element in the Peninsula and the connivance at any agency apt to hamper and check the Porte in the Levant. On the last account the Waiwode of Transylvania or Siebenbürgen met with a friendly reception in 1623; the Swiss cantons were promised subsidies in aid of the pay of 10,000 infantry and 1000 horse for service against the Spaniards; and when, on the failure of the direct line at Mantua in 1628, the ducal crown devolved on the French house of Nevers, the Republic upheld the new ruler against the Spanish besiegers with men and funds.<sup>2</sup> Between Novem-

<sup>1</sup> Where a Venetian politician felt hesitation in giving a definite reply, he contented himself with what Sanudo the Diarist terms "verba generalia."

<sup>2</sup> "The peace continueth still, and the Emperor hath delivered up Avigliano to the Generall of this Seignorie [Venice]: and within these 8 dayes, Mantua shall be possessed by the Duke of Nevers."—*Weekly News*, June 28, 1631.

ber, 1629, and the end of March, 1630, 638,000 ducats were spent in the endeavour to resist and exhaust the enemy. The Duke found himself in a severe dilemma; money of necessity was struck, bearing artificial values; and in 1629 the hereditary gallery of pictures was sold to the King of England. Yet with all the succour and relief the Venetians could afford, the city was officially stated in a dispatch of the 31st October, 1629,<sup>1</sup> to be in the utmost straits. The Duke lost heart in the face of an apparently hopeless situation, and on the 19th July following it was taken by surprise by the Spaniards, and sacked, the Venetian resident being among the prisoners.

It was about a week later only, that the earliest intelligence of the approach of the plague,<sup>2</sup> which had travelled from Altorf in Switzerland through the Milanese, and which spread over Western Europe, England inclusive, reached Venice (July 28), and elaborate and enlightened directions were promptly sent to all governors of provinces and other authorities, to take every possible precaution, even to the sacrifice of property thought to be infected, the censorship of food, and the burial of the dead. The fair at Crema was countermanded. Yet between July, 1630, and November 21, 1631, there were 46,490 deaths in Venice alone.<sup>3</sup> The dwellers on the lagoons naturally paid the heaviest toll.

The balance of parties in Italy was continually changing. Savoy, which Howell in a letter of 1621 describes as "patching the Lion's skin with the Fox's tail," trimmed between France and Spain, the former being the more acceptable ally, the latter the nearer enemy; and at length Susa was occupied by the French. From the universal chicanery, corruption, and distrust which prevailed, many turned away in despondent moods, less because those arts of statesmanship were distasteful than because they did not invariably succeed; and we find even Richelieu assuring the Venetian ambassador that he was more dead than alive with the illness of the young King and other matters, and should like to retire into a

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 291.

<sup>2</sup> The visitation of 1630, on which Manzoni founded his *Promessi Sposi*.

<sup>3</sup> Romanin, vii. 303-6. The Church of the Salute owed its existence to the national gratitude for deliverance from the epidemic, which occurred at an unfortunate season of the year. In the *Weekly News* of 1631 above cited, it is said, under date of June 28, "The Pestilence begins to encrease here again exceedingly, and one half of the people are already dead and fled." This newsletter is partly directed from Venice.

monastery, to be free from such cares as his, which were mortal.<sup>1</sup> The Cardinal complained of the dearth of talent in France, which necessarily made his work heavier. The great French statesman had long used this tone and method, which indirectly served to illustrate his own paramount importance, and he found such lines answer even when Louis XIII. was no longer a child, and there arose differences of opinion between the King and his minister. A threat to give up the cares of State, and to consecrate the rest of his days to the service of God, always proved effectual. At the same time, Richelieu, almost all-powerful as he was, found himself in some cases incapable of coping with the difficulties, which had arisen from the appetite for conquest and aggrandizement, and he might have been sincere when he assured St. Vincent de St. Paul, urging him to give peace to France, that that would soon be obtained, if it depended only on his own wishes.

The Venetians on their part had reason to be dissatisfied both with the Duke of Mantua and the French, even when Richelieu came to take over the chief command of the forces, sent in the name of Louis XIII. to relieve the city; too large a share of the labour and danger was thrown upon them; and they were unfortunate in their commander Zaccaria Sagredo, who was severely punished for abandoning his positions at Villabuona and Marengo, and superseded. His conduct was the more irritating that it was suspected that the fugitives from the camp at Valeggio were instrumental in communicating the plague to the places where they sought refuge.

Whatever the fruits of war might be, however, Venetian diplomacy was incessantly assiduous in its efforts to promote the return of tranquillity. A letter from James Howell to the British ambassador at Constantinople, January 1, 1629-30, says: "Mr. Controulr Sir Tho. Edmonds is lately return'd from France, having renew'd the Peace which was made up to his hands before by the Venetian ambassadors, who had much laboured in it, and had concluded all things beyond the Alps, when the K. of France was at Susa to relieve Casal." So that the Signory was concurrently using its good offices to reconcile France and England after the Rochelle business, and to extricate

<sup>1</sup> "Voglio certo ritirarmi in un monastero e liberarmi da questi travagli, perchè sono pene di morte." These were his words to the ambassador. Romanin, vii. 292.



Louis XIII. and Richelieu from the awkward position arising out of the invasion of Savoy.

The more carefully we look behind the scenes, or are enabled to avail ourselves of casual clues, the more clear it becomes, that Venetian influence and action were ubiquitous, and that the Republic and its diplomatic agents at all Courts did their utmost to maintain the dignity and rank of an independent Power, whose good wishes as an ally and whose means of self-protection as an enemy were to be equally received into account in all European combinations. Howell, in a letter to his brother of 1623, speaks of having seen the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, and of that functionary disbelieving in the Spanish match, of which the King of Denmark was alone in favour; and in fact there is no doubt that the Republic was apt to regard such an alliance with dislike as conducive to the promotion of Spanish projects, and saw with satisfaction the eventual result, inasmuch as France no longer seemed likely to prove a dangerous neighbour in Italy. The extant Turenne correspondence between 1643 and 1647 furnishes some idea of the terrible state of the Peninsula, the incessant need of vigilance on the part of the Republic, and the unscrupulous violence of the foreign invaders of different nationalities, each warning Venice against the other, and each courting her alliance.

It is surprising to find the Republic, labouring under such difficulties and disadvantages in many ways, and exposed to such exceptional charges in rendering assistance in the field to its allies, in so good a position from time to time to undertake the responsibilities which it deemed unavoidable. It had proved the insincerity and untrustworthiness of other Powers at sea, and on that element was always more or less able to hold its ground without external help.

In the operations on the mainland the Venetians incurred not merely vast outlay but perpetual risk of disappointment and betrayal; and the military activity of Austria, where during some time Wallenstein was placing his services at the disposal of the Archduke, formed a new source of solicitude and danger. The domestic troubles of France and Germany, and the lengthened inaction of the Porte, had been favourable circumstances; but in Italy the interminable intrigues and hostilities of the Spaniards, with the apparent impossibility

of forming any stable union among the other States or with France against them, created a position full of danger and menace. So often unfortunate in the choice of foreign condottieri, the Signory had of late resorted to the experiment of employing their own commanders; and even this plan, as the recent case of Sagredo shewed, was not always successful. The strong footing which Spain had gained in the Milanese was continually shaking the constancy of those among the Italian principalities, which were balanced between a desire to expel the detested foreigner from their neighbours' lands and the dread of his absorption of their own. Even Savoy was not consistent; and the treachery and vacillation of the French were proverbial. The peculiar efficiency and grasp of the Venetian diplomatic service scarcely leaves room for any doubt, that every effort was made to organize and maintain a league against Spain;<sup>1</sup> the failure owing to the successive defection of adherents, with the mortification caused by the recent disaster in the field and the stunning blow inflicted by the terrific ravages of the plague of 1630-1,<sup>2</sup> led Venice to turn its thoughts once again in the direction of a watchful neutrality; and, moreover, there was a feeling on the side of Venice that these repeated and lengthened parleys were devices for gaining time. For there were symptoms that all its energy and capabilities might at no distant moment be engrossed, where the national interests and honour were far more immediately involved. But all these considerations did not deter the Government from asserting the title of the country to close the Adriatic against foreign warships, even when they had no other object than that of conveying an Infanta of Spain to the port whence she was to proceed to her nuptials with the son of the Emperor; and the royal lady repaired in a Venetian galley to her destination with every mark of studied compliment and honour. There the question of maritime pretensions and prestige was paramount, and the Signory was immovable, as it proved on a similar occasion in 1636, when Spanish troops were to be shipped on the Gulf.

<sup>1</sup> See some interesting details in Romanin, vii. 291 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> The Board of Health pronounced the city free from contagion on the 28th November, 1631; and there was a day set apart for rejoicing and thanksgiving. The weather was singularly fine, and the concourse of people is described as having been immense, notwithstanding the heavy mortality. Romanin, vii. 307. This anniversary is still celebrated by a procession to San Salute. In 1902 it crossed the Grand Canal over a bridge of boats.

Belligerents on both sides were not impeded in procuring supplies from Venetian markets; and the diplomatists assiduously reported to the Government of the Doge all that came under their notice or within their hearing. But the Republic wisely held its hand. In 1638-9, in the course of the treaty for the investiture of the young Duc de Nevers with the duchy of Mantua, the Republic entertained severe anxiety through the reports which reached Venice of the French and Spanish movements in that quarter and the efforts to gain over the Regent Maria, who, as the circumstances assumed a graver aspect, took measures to acquaint the Republic with the actual state of affairs, and announced that she had placed herself at the head of the troops. The Venetians, whose interest lay in a maintenance of the duchy in independent hands, sent reinforcements to Mantua, fortified the outposts, and contracted a defensive alliance with the Holy See.<sup>1</sup>

A pronounced characteristic of the seventeenth century sprang from the constant political disturbance and readjustment of *frontiers*, and it was the prolific series of treaties, into which two or more Powers were periodically entering, and of which the stipulations were not unfrequently disregarded or imperfectly performed. The Venetians paid a heavy price for their unavoidable entrance into the family of nations not only in the arduous and costly incidence involved in alliances and material aid, but in the tiresome discussions, which nearly always retarded definitive settlement. The Treaty of Ratisbon (October 15, 1630) purported to provide for the amicable arrangement of all details, including the restitution of territory, investiture of the house of Nevers with the duchy of Mantua, and exchange of prisoners, yet months elapsed before the parties came to an understanding, and the Signory itself found several grounds of complaint after the devotion of so much time and the expenditure of so much money. Even while the diplomatists were at work, warfare continued in certain places, and there is a curious account of a fight in the trenches under Casale between the French and Spaniards, when the papal agent, Giulio Mazzarini, who had travelled at the peril of his life, appeared on the scene, holding a paper in

<sup>1</sup> Mantua remained in the Gonzaga family till it was added to the German Empire in 1707.



his hand and shouting *Peace! Peace!* He was the first bearer of news that hostilities had been suspended.

It was the fortune of Venice to find the empire, which had almost insensibly grown round the original City of Islands, coming into contact with every successive transformation in the political drama, entangling itself in every European difficulty and quarrel, and constantly and perhaps involuntarily extending its sphere of action by arms as well as by diplomacy. One signal feature in the Venetian attitude toward the other Powers was the qualified Catholicism of the Signory, in which it stood almost alone, but which amounted in a religious sense and direction to little more than the insistence, in regard to its peculiar geographical situation, on a primary thought and care for the State or Dominion and a disposition to view with a measure of complacency the convulsive and lethal struggle between the Romanists and the Protestants in Germany during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), since it tended to reduce to narrower dimensions the theatre of hostilities in the Peninsula, and left the Signory and its allies greater liberty to cope with Spanish influence and intrigue. The Northern Powers had not yet begun to play a valuable part in creating a diversion against the Porte; but, in a different way and from a different motive, Sweden, under the inspiration and leadership of its heroic sovereign Gustavus Adolphus, asserted itself just about this critical period as a champion of Protestantism without desiring to traverse or persecute believers in another faith, and threw its weighty sword into the scale against Austria and, which was more in Venetian eyes, indirectly against Spain. The Swedes disembarked at Stralsund, one of the Hanse towns, on the 4th July, 1630; and the situation was rendered more serious for the Emperor, but perhaps more favourable to Venice, by the concurrent secession from the imperial cause of the Elector of Saxony, while the other members of the Diet, with Bavaria at their head, were growing louder and louder in their complaints of the losses sustained by incessant warfare and in demands for indemnification, and the Venetians were vehemently and indignantly resenting the evident desire and attempt to ignore them. A Swedish representative paid a visit to Venice in the beginning of July, 1631, to solicit a continuation of the subsidy paid by France and the Signory for the purpose of securing a diversion of the

imperialists from Mantua; but it was signified to him that, as terms of peace had been arranged, it was neither reasonable nor honest to agree to such a thing, although Venice was still animated by a desire to preserve its good relations with his Swedish Majesty and his subjects. The Emperor, on his part, scarcely knew which way to move between his engagements in the Peninsula and in the Fatherland itself, between the fruits of political greed and religious bigotry, which were destined to reduce parts of Germany to a desert.

The death of Cardinal Richelieu, followed within a few months by that of Louis XIII. (December 1642—May 1643), found nearly the whole of Europe in a state of disorganization. In Italy the Holy See was at war with Parma, in whose support Venice, Tuscany, and Modena had proposed to unite their forces. The Republic, which had never before taken the field against the Supreme Pontiff, and might be induced to do so in the present case to preserve the balance of power in Northern Italy, actually mobilised 2000 foot and as many cavalry, and concentrated them at Badia in the Polesine of Rovigo, ready to march into the Papal States; but the other members of the league did not move, and the Duke of Modena at last seceded, and cast in his lot with the Spaniards. Cardinal Mazarin,<sup>1</sup> who had been recommended by Richelieu to Louis XIII. to succeed him as first minister, deemed peace even more desirable for France than his greater predecessor; and he ultimately prevailed on the Curia and the other confederates to come to terms. The Treaty of Ferrara was dated March 31, 1644, and was proclaimed at Venice on the following first of May. The Duke of Parma thanked the Republic for the services which it had rendered to him, and more especially in refusing to accede to the arrangement, unless there was a distinct understanding on the part of the Holy See in regard to certain points; and Mazarin received the acknowledgments of the signatories for his mediatorial offices. The clauses almost exclusively affected Parma and Rome. But to no Power was the settlement more welcome than Venice. The latter might be blamed for interposing in almost every European combination and redistribution, and

<sup>1</sup> "Figlio di un mercatante siciliano, ritiratosi negli stati romani, erasi acquistato per la grazia dell' aspetto, per la avegliatezza dell' ingegno e l' amabilità dei modi la protezione di alcune case potenti di Roma."—Romanin, vii. 382.

becoming a party to almost every treaty between the Powers ; but the conquests on the *terra firma* at a period when political conditions in the Peninsula were far less intricate and when Venetian resources were more ample and elastic, had grown into an inheritance, which the Signory found itself under the absolute necessity of protecting against new forces as a barrier against hostile attack by land on the city itself.

The quarter from which the Republic had during some time been advised by its representatives abroad to count upon fresh developments, was the Sublime Porte, which might hope to derive benefit from the manifold troubles of Western Europe and the enforced committal of Venice to them. Having held Cyprus since 1570, the Sultan was now prepared to seize the earliest opportunity of making himself master of Candia, which had belonged to the Republic since the thirteenth century, and the possession of which was endeared by the labour and sacrifices which it formerly cost to hold it, no less than by the very circumstance of Cyprus being no longer Venetian. The Porte was unable to advance any claim to the island, and waited a more or less substantial pretext for occupation or attack.

The lawless and dangerous condition of the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas, naturally favoured by the growth of trade and wealth, had long exhibited a tendency to grow more serious and irremediable. The Turks had repeatedly complained of the neglect of the Republic to protect navigation and commerce on its own waters, although great and constant exertions were used for such a purpose. The command of the Mediterranean, as the balance of naval power stood in the seventeenth century, remained an open and fluctuating question. It was long before the Signory instituted the practice of maintaining in the Adriatic a permanent squadron of protection and observation under a Captain of the Gulf ; but no Power undertook, or indeed was capable of undertaking, the police of the extensive waterway, of which the Gulf formed an inlet. Even when the Captaincy of the Adriatic became a regular service, the necessity remained of covering the annual trading fleets by an escort of armed convoys or of the vessels themselves carrying heavy artillery, and these precautions were not seldom insufficient. In the Mediterranean navigation was exposed during centuries to the attacks of



pirates serving under a variety of flags, or perhaps under no flag at all, where the coasts of an almost land-locked sea abounded in places of concealment and retreat.<sup>1</sup> During the entire period of Venetian independence and prosperity, no systematic or concerted action was taken by the interested Powers to repress piracy, and protect commerce and property. The underlying and supreme motive even of the Venetians in this direction was by the closure of the Gulf to safeguard their city, and by the guns of the convoy their trade.

Yet cases were known, where Venice had issued strict orders to its commanders at sea, to take and execute certain notorious pirates, and where the Sultan had shielded them, and taken them into his service. The most conspicuous instances were those of the two brothers Barbarossa of Mitylene, of whom one was captured and executed, and the other died at Constantinople. They had been a terror to mercantile shipping during a long series of years down to 1546.

An instance occurred in November, 1618, where the Captain of the Gulf sighted from Sapienza three large ships under Modon. He discovered that on board they had two famous renegade English pirates, Guarda and Sanson, who had the year before burned the ship *Foscarina*, and from whom he had rescued two convoys on their way to Canea. The others were Turks from Tunis. The captain wrote to the Turkish authorities at Modon to complain of the shelter allowed to freebooters under their fortress. But the Porte connived at these practices, against which Venice received no co-operative help beyond that afforded by Genoa under the auspices of Andrea Doria, and to a very slight extent by England.

The numbers and resources of the buccaneers ever increased; and as they comprehended men of several nationalities, English, Spaniards, Algerines, Tuscans, Pontificals, they passed under the general name of *Ponentini*. Among these the most active were the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem at Malta, who, in common with the Knights of St. Stephen at Florence, under colour of protecting the Cross, exercised an

<sup>1</sup> A case had occurred in 1491, where a Venetian merchantman, with a rich cargo of goods destined for Constantinople, was seized by a Biscayan pirate in the Levant, and where the Neapolitan Government succeeded in recovering the vessel and its contents, which were handed back to the owner, when an inventory had been made. Molmenti, ii. 16.

open and systematic trade as filibusters side by side with those of Algiers and Dalmatia. It is said, in 1621, in a letter from Florence, that the free port of Leghorn was a rendezvous for corsairs,<sup>1</sup> and it was in that year that the English Government equipped a fleet for the repression of the danger and scandal, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel, Vice-Admiral of England. Not till the accession of Cromwell were any farther steps taken in this serviceable direction. Under the second Stuart a certain measure of naval assistance in the repression of the Algerine pirates was counterbalanced by the royal commission with letters of marque, granted to Sir Kenelm Digby, to conduct a sort of filibustering expedition in 1627-28, just when France was occupied by the siege of Rochelle under the Duke of Buckingham in the Mediterranean, of which Digby has left an account neither creditable to himself nor to his country.<sup>2</sup> During parts of two years he seems to have constituted himself a sort of bully on the water to vessels of all nations, with checkered results. The most exaggerated reports of his exploits seem to have reached London, for in a letter from James Howell to him,<sup>3</sup> the writer congratulates him on having obtained a success in the Bay of Scanderoon *over the Venetian fleet, and letting the Pantaloni know themselves and him better*, and he farther mentions that Digby had confuted the calumnies published by the ambassador of the Signory against him. The valuation of him by the Venetian representative in London and by the modern critic may be assumed to be identical; yet Digby was evidently viewed as a hero, and was received at court. Yet it is a production, which on more than one account was deserving of preservation, and will repay perusal. The Government had repeatedly expostulated with the Grand Hospitaller, laying before him the critical situation in which these outrages at sea placed the Signory; the receiver of the property of the Order in the Venetian territories was summoned to attend a sitting of the College, that he might hear a farther and fuller communication read, before it was dispatched to Malta; and that functionary was informed that, if redress was not afforded,

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, ed. Jacobs, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Printed from the original MS. in 1868.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, ed. Jacobs, p. 280. See a note in Pepys, March 10, 1667. At a much later date Lancelot Blackburn, successively Dean of Exeter (1716) and Archbishop of York (1724), started in life as a pirate.

and the scandal and evil were not stopped, the estates of the Knights in the Dominion would be attached.

The relations between Venice and the Porte had altogether, however, continued to be of a friendly and favourable character, partly by a systematic and unconscionable principle of bribery, since the satisfactory renewal of the commercial treaty by the Sultan in 1605. In 1638, however, in consequence of a Venetian squadron having blockaded a strong naval force of sixteen galleys manned by Algerine pirates in the Turkish port of Valona from the 1st of July to the 7th of August, and the Venetian proveditor Cappello having at last brought the enemy to an engagement, in which fifteen of their galleys were sunk and the remaining one taken, the Sultan, who received the news on his march to Bagdad, at first in a paroxysm of fury ordered a general massacre of all Venetians in his dominions, but subsequently regained his composure, mollified perhaps by a triumphant campaign, and ultimately restored matters to their former footing. His Majesty was in fact responsible for the damage, which had unavoidably occurred at Valona, as his treaty with Venice debarred him from permitting any of his ports to become a harbour for pirates.

But in 1644 a comparatively unimportant incident was attended by results infinitely graver and farther reaching. A Turkish flotilla, conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and freighted with a rich cargo, was overtaken and seized in the Archipelago by a Maltese squadron, which on its return touched at Kalismene in the southern part of Candia, where there was an insufficient defensive force, took in water and provisions, and landed some horses and some Greeks rescued from the Turkish galleys. The Maltese then endeavoured at another point to effect a landing, but were opposed by the Venetian garrison, and, proceeding to Cerigo, met with a similar reception. They finally abandoned a Turkish prize, which they had taken, and retraced their course homeward. The Sultan was furious. He ordered his secretary and the Cadi to convene a meeting of the whole diplomatic body in Constantinople with a view to eliciting the true facts; only France, Holland, and Venice appear to have responded; the Republic was represented by its Bailo, Giovanni Soranzo, who has left us an account of the edifying and nugatory consultation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 348 *et seqq.*



The Cadi stated that his Majesty had sent for them in order to learn what they knew about the matter. The French and Dutch ambassadors denied any acquaintance with the affair beyond what they had gleaned there; and Soranzo said the same. The Cadi said: "The Sultan is convinced that one of you knows, but will not speak." They reiterated their assurances to the contrary. The Secretary warned them not to irritate the Sultan by denials, and executed a gesture with his hand significant of decapitation. The French envoy lost heart; but Soranzo told his dragoman Grillo to reply, that they all looked for perfect good faith from his Majesty, and that they were there under the protection of treaties. The Secretary pointed out that this was a case in which the Sultan would not pardon his own mother; that he was sure that the Maltese had boarded the Turkish ship, and that they must know what had become of it. The Frenchman answered that Malta lay at a great distance from France, and roughly sketched on a piece of paper the relative positions. Soranzo added that Malta was an independent State; and the Hollander capped the argument by observing that the religion of the Maltese was different from that of his employers, and that there was no correspondence between them. "Then," retorted the Turk, "if their religion differs, they must be your enemies, and you will surely join the Sultan in attacking them." The Hollander thought that his principals might do so, if his Majesty would help the latter in fighting their battles. "Who are your enemies?" asked the Cadi. "The Spaniards," replied the other. "O, then, you are on our side all the same, for the Spaniards are with the Maltese." The secret instructions of the Sultan were that the Venetians should be leniently treated, and that the Maltese should bear the brunt of his resentment.

Soranzo remarked that the Turkish secretary was asking for something in a very excited and angry manner; and it presently appeared that he required a notary, who entered, and seated himself between the ambassadors and the Turkish delegates. The secretary then called on the diplomatists to make their statements in turn, and the Frenchman was beginning, when Soranzo intervened, telling him that such a course was out of the question. The Venetian hereupon instructed his dragoman to intimate that they did not under-

stand Turkish, and would not be bound by what the notary set down. The secretary averred that this was done to thwart his Majesty, and repeated his persuasion that the galley was somewhere in Candia. Soranzo expressed perfect confidence that the Maltese, with the Turkish ship in tow, had not touched at any place in the island within the reach of the Venetian guns. The notary prepared to write down these words as interpreted by Grillo; but his chief drew him back, and rose, declaring to the French ambassador that he would submit to nothing of the sort. The Frenchman said: "But what is to be done?" Soranzo then gave the two Turks, through Grillo, to understand that if they wished for an answer in writing, he would supply it; and to this proposal the Cadi and secretary, after whispering to each other, agreed. The Frenchman candidly recognized their common obligation to Soranzo for his manly attitude, in the absence of which they might all have been in worse case; but after the conference one of the Turkish officials let drop a proposition that Candia really belonged to the empire, of which his master was the existing sovereign, having been merely pledged to the Republic as security for a payment—a piece of history for which the vouchers might have been sought without success. The parley, however, amounted to nothing. The Porte had fixed its mind on possessing Candia, and was already preparing for a struggle of which it probably foresaw the severity to some, yet by no means to the full, extent.

Venice on its part realised the futility of farther negotiation,<sup>1</sup> and hastened to throw men and material into the strong places, which would have to bear the brunt of the hostile attack now believed to be imminent: 2500 troops under two condottieri, some ships of war, engineers, corn (of which the island produced little), and rice, and 100,000 ducats in specie for the pay of the forces. The Government recommended the proveditor-general to lose no time in strengthening the fortifications, and to raise additional men in the island; and it promised continued support and supplies. The octogenarian Doge volunteered to put himself at the head of the ex-

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn was at this juncture at Venice, and had formed a plan for going to Jerusalem, and all his arrangements were complete, when the vessel was impounded for the transport of provisions to Candia; it was the eve of the war with Turkey. *Diary*, ed. 1858, i. 212.

pedition; but his death closely followed the acceptance of his services.

The Ottoman fleet of about 400 sail, carrying 50,000 fighting men, left the Dardanelles on the last day of April 1645, professedly bound for Malta, but, as the Venetian Government was made fully and promptly aware, in reality for Candia, a Turkish declaration of war against Malta having been made in the evening as a blind. As early as the 24th February the Bailo of Constantinople had advised the Venetian authorities at Canea of the truth, and urged them to put everything in a posture of defence. At the same time civil commissioners were engaged on behalf of the Signory in conciliating and reassuring the Candiots. The Turks received reinforcements at Tino and proceeded to Navarino, from which they directed their course, not for Malta, but for Candia, in sight of which they arrived on the 23rd June. On the 24th the proveditor of Canea wrote to the proveditor-general that from Cape Spada the enemy's fleet had been descried. The Government at home was engaged in treating with other Powers, and in endeavouring to pacify the religious troubles of Europe, as well as in solving the problem of obtaining the necessary funds for a war of wholly uncertain duration; and while, instead of a prompt concentrated effort, it lost time in fruitless appeals for help, the enemy had taken possession, after strenuous resistance, of Canea; and the garrison evacuated the place unmolested. The conquerors, remembering the fall of Famagusta nearly a century before, might have anticipated a prompt settlement of the question and the easy annexation of the island to the Turkish Empire. But this was a case where the first step was the simplest and most ready of achievement. Between the fate of Candia and that of Cyprus there was no analogy. A few months witnessed the investment and the surrender of Famagusta; and the whole possession was involved in the same fortune. The acquisition of Canea, owing to official impediments and dilatoriness, as well as to dissensions among the allies, was deceptively rapid; it fell, as Famagusta had fallen. There was a strong feeling among the Venetians themselves in favour of an effort to regain the position; but the leaders failed to come to an agreement, and nothing was done. The enemy, exulting in their unlooked for success, endeavoured to secure Suda as an



anchorage for their fleet, and the Venetian commander Cappello pusillanimously withdrawing his force, the Turks demanded the surrender of the forts, and were met by a courageous and firm refusal, and time was gained for the rest of the fleet, now numbering over eighty sail, to come up, and deter the Turks from attempting anything farther. Cappello was tried and disgraced. But the conquest of the remainder was to occupy a period longer than that reported to have been covered by the Trojan war, to exhaust the lives of more than one Sultan and of many Doges, and even at last, while it weakened the Porte as much as it weakened Venice, to remain incomplete. To become the masters of Candia, the Turks found it necessary to submit intermittently during four-and-twenty years (1645-69) to a reckless sacrifice of men, material, and treasure; the Republic, by a series of financial expedients unpalatable to many, rose, when it had only too late learned to depend on itself, instead of waiting for useless allies, and hampering the discretion of its officers, to a sense of the situation and of the national dignity worthy of older and better times, and learned to allow that freer hand to commanders at a distance, which had secured such repeated advantages, while the Doge enjoyed an authority unfettered by councils and parliaments. The naval forces under Andrea Cornaro consisted of about forty Venetian ships of all sail, and one-and-twenty contributed by the Holy See, Tuscany, Naples, and Malta, a total of about sixty, which effected a junction at Zante on the 29th of November. A second Venetian squadron was under Cappello at Suda. Contingents had been expected from Spain and the Netherlands, but had not arrived.

The war of Candia deserves to be viewed and studied as a historical drama complete in itself, of which the intricate technical details are beyond the compass of a general narrative. The century to which it belongs has no episode to offer to our consideration more striking, more patriotic, more noble. With means even more straitened than those at their disposal when Cyprus was lost, the Venetians, with little more external assistance than they derived from hired troops, sustained during a generation the shock and weight of the entire available resources of opponents who, to their own apparently unlimited power of raising and maintaining fleets, added the

too willing co-operation of the buccaneers of all flags; and we hesitate to blame the policy which placed above all other sentiments and motives, in such an acute crisis, the resistance at all costs of a farther disintegration of the empire. 7,000,000 ducats were raised by the admission of new families to the Great Council; but a becoming reluctance was sensible, even under the most trying circumstances, to legalise any general principle of registration on the Book by virtue of a pecuniary fee, however large; in 1646 a resolution of this class passed the Senate, but was defeated in the Upper Chamber by 528 votes to 378; and in 1664, while the Cretan difficulty still weighed on the Republic, and funds were scanty enough, an offer of 100,000 ducats was refused by the Senate itself; but a subsequent resolution declared that such evidences of public munificence might be accepted, if four-fifths of the Senate and two-thirds of the Great Council concurred. On the 6th April, 1646, the parochial clergy were requested to call meetings in their churches of the heads of families, and solicit help in the good cause. In the course of the war forty were admitted by payment to the procuratorship of Saint Mark. The Cretan positions offered an obstinate resistance to the Turkish besiegers, and the movements of the latter were at length reduced to a blockade.

Meanwhile the Republic was doing its utmost to protect its Dalmatian frontier, and to create a diversion on that side; and its diplomatists were incessantly labouring to promote a general European pacification favourable to the release of certain Powers from their present engagements, so that they might co-operate against the common foe of all Christian communities. Venice already perceived the arduous nature of the contest in which she was involved, and the *Sieur de Varennes*, on his way from Constantinople to Paris in 1645, had been at the pains to impress on the Signory his conviction that the war would prove a terrible one, and that the wisest course would, in his opinion, be to treat for peace. Such counsel might reflect the apprehension of *Mazarin*, lest by any official or national movement on behalf of the Signory France might excite jealousy and distrust in the minds not only of the Protestants of Germany, but of the Sultan, neither of whom the Cardinal cared to offend; and in fact the mission of *Varennes* had had for its object an assurance to the Porte that

the military armaments at present in progress in his country were solely with a view to Italian exigencies.

At the close of July 1649, the Senate advised the Venetian ambassador at Madrid of the arrival at Ragusa of a Turkish embassy on its way to Spain, and recommended him to keep watch on the movement, which might be to turn to account the hereditary jealousy on the part of Spain toward Venice. But the mission seems to have remained a mystery. A report reached London that, while the French professed friendly sentiments toward the Republic, that Power had had a hand in inducing the Porte to carry out its scheme of aggression against the Venetian territories, but this was unlikely, as the embarrassment of the Signory could not under existing circumstances have benefited the Government of Louis XIV. or any other Western State.<sup>1</sup>

The laborious negotiations for the settlement of the lamentable war, which since 1618 had been desolating the Palatinate almost beyond recovery, extended over four years and a half, and finally resulted in the Treaty of Osnabrück or Westphalia (1648), so important in many of its results, particularly to the Low Countries and to Switzerland, and principally due to the exertions of Luigi Contarini, the representative of the Signory.<sup>2</sup> The relief to Germany and Europe was immense; and gratitude for the close of the thirty years' struggle was largely due to the assiduity and address of the Venetian mediator Contarini. The immediate benefit to the Republic was, however, not appreciable; a strenuous effort, in which the French envoy at the Porte, De la Haye, co-operated, to terminate the war even at considerable sacrifices and cost, proved unsuccessful after a lengthened negotiation during 1652 and the following year; and the Venetian delegate Cappello was treated with such barbarous indignity, that he attempted suicide and died miserably at Constantinople. Yet in 1649, throughout the winter, the Venetian fleet had blockaded the Dardanelles under great difficulties, owing to the scarcity of water and supplies; and when, in the spring, a Turkish squadron sought egress, the provveditor Riva having temporarily abandoned his position in order to victual his

<sup>1</sup> Howell notices such a rumour in a letter to Endymion Porter at Paris, dated 3 Feb., 1646-7, but was loth to credit it.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 398-9. The preamble is explicit.



ships and carry out repairs, a division of the enemy escaped ; but Riva overtook it, and gained a brilliant victory,<sup>1</sup> for which the Government generously rewarded him and his officers, and gave the joyful intelligence the widest publicity. But it was an error of tactics not to have taken the opportunity to exterminate the whole Turkish fleet, whereas the wreck of the latter with reinforcements was enabled to throw fresh supplies and troops into Candia. Although Riva, when he had scoured the seas, and destroyed much Turkish shipping, returned to the Dardanelles, a precious chance was lost of permanently intercepting communication, and confining the enemy within their own lines, which might have brought the Porte to reason. Such a view was taken by certain members of the Senate at the time, who resolutely urged that Riva should be instructed to enter the Dardanelles, burn the fleet, bombard the capital, destroy the arsenal, and dictate at Constantinople the terms of peace. This heroic programme was negatived on several grounds, and it was settled that present efforts should be restricted to the closure of the Dardanelles. Riva is described as a man of lofty stature, of bronzed, soldierly aspect, and past the prime of life, readily distinguishable by his shining armour.

Throughout the following years a series of operations took place at sea, and the losses of the enemy were enormous. While in Candia itself an obstinate stand was being made, and no effort was spared to intercept supplies and relief, the Dardanelles remaining under permanent blockade, every opportunity was seized of harassing and destroying the naval forces of the Porte. Heroism and devotion were so prodigally displayed, that what might under ordinary circumstances have appeared to be brilliant exploits began to acquire an almost normal and daily character. One of the earlier incidents of the war had been the resolute act of the commandant of San Teodoro, two miles from Canea, who blew the fortress into the air with himself, his companions in arms, and many of the assailants, when he at last despaired of his ability to defend the position against superior numbers.

It was from the outset felt to be a fight of life and death ; and if the Turks from religious motives were indifferent to their fate, on the other side there was a succession of leaders

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 415.

equally prepared on a more practical ground to treat their personal safety as a jest. But the country from the depth of its heart responded to the noble spirits, whose blood flowed like water in the national cause. When the tidings of a victory reached Venice in July, 1651, the Great Council was sitting, and almost before the dispatch could be read, the Doge rose, and, followed by members of the assembly and a throng congregated outside, proceeded to the church to render thanks to God. Public funeral honours were decreed to the fallen, and the shops were draped in black.

During the more advanced stages of the Cretan war (1656-7), the whole burden lay on the principal belligerent, whose courage and constancy were applauded by passive allies.<sup>1</sup> It had been hoped that by the politic readmission of the Jesuits, the Holy See might have been conciliated and encouraged—the Provincial Father of the Order tendered his oath of fealty to the Doge on the 20th February, 1657; but the Papal contingent was tardy and insignificant. A remarkable appeal to Russia to create a Cossack diversion proved unavailing.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole, both on land and at sea the Republic was admirably served, and Lazzaro Mocenigo stands out, even among many distinguished names, as a prodigy of valour, daring, and skill. In 1656 Tenedos and Lemnos were recovered, and Samos tendered its submission. It must have been when the Venetians once more obtained possession of Tenedos, coveted on account of its commanding position, that an officer who served under Mocenigo, the *Sieur de la Haye*, who was in 1649 acting as the French diplomatic representative at the Porte,<sup>3</sup> saw five hundred Frenchmen's heads on the

<sup>1</sup> A tract appeared at Rome in 1657, giving an account of the victorious progress of the Venetian arms "contro quelle di Barbaria."

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 432. The envoy from Russia, who came to Venice in response to the call, was lodged in the Grimani Palace at San Luca; he did not relish the Venetian *cuisine*, and was supplied with his national diet, and had pocket-money to the extent of 25 *ungari*<sup>1</sup> a day. He regretted the inability of his master to help the Signory, owing to the war with Sweden, and begged on his own behalf pecuniary aid. The Senate let him understand that Venetian funds were absorbed just then by the Candiot business.

<sup>3</sup> De la Haye rendered a friendly service to Venice, when in 1649 the Bailo of Constantinople was subjected to an humiliating punishment, by interceding for him, and procuring a relaxation of his imprisonment. See Romanin, vii. 408.

<sup>1</sup> A gold coin nearly equal in value to the later type of ducat.

walls. In spite of the hesitation of the Government to lend its sanction to the operations, Mocenigo contemplated in 1657 an advance with his squadron on Constantinople; but the cannonade from the forts was overwhelming; the Admiral's ship was struck by a shell which set fire to the magazine, and the man, on whom more than any other individual his country at that moment depended, was crushed by a falling yard. His death opened the Dardanelles, and changed the whole aspect of affairs. He had already lost an eye in his dauntless disregard of his own safety, with a single supreme aim in view. Fifty lives are stated to have been sacrificed by the explosion. The Admiral's brother was picked out of the water half dead.

"The brave Mocenigo," says his contemporary De la Haye, "who died with so much honour at the head of his fleet, was not complete five-and-thirty years old, and doubtless, had he escaped that misfortune, the great designs he had on foot (which yet were easy with his conduct) would questionless have succeeded. . . . To speak the truth, there were many, and those considerable, errors in that engagement, which I have heard many grave captains enumerate and prove." That great battle, in which he fell, became known as the *Battle of the Dardanelles*.

Upon the disastrous loss of the Captain-General, an attempt was made to arrange a settlement; but the Sultan refused to agree to anything less than the absolute cession of the island and, after an animated debate in the Senate, a continuation of hostilities was carried, and as a successor to Mocenigo the Government nominated Francesco Morosini who had been hitherto engaged in the defence of Candia, and in whom his country reposed an abundantly merited confidence. A communication in the name of the Doge was sent to the representative at Constantinople to the effect that the demand of the Grand Vizier for the surrender of Candia was too hard, and that it was repugnant to all human and divine considerations to abandon the most legitimate and most ancient of the possessions of the Signory (7th January, 1658). Offers of money continued to come from all sides. His Holiness supplied a contingent, and exerted himself to secure co-operation. The Doge, Bertucci Valiero, who was a personal supporter of the war, set the example by subscribing 10,000



ducats, and Giovanni Pesaro gave 6000, and Cardinal Mazarin forwarded a donation of 100,000 gold *écus*. In 1651 an elaborate Atlas of Candia, extending to 61 maps, had been published, in order to facilitate a knowledge of the topography of the island.<sup>1</sup> In 1648 French volunteers had already unofficially enrolled themselves in the Venetian service; and on two later occasions (1659–60) contingents from the same quarter, composed of gallant and impulsive soldiers, eager to signalize their valour and orthodoxy, arrived to take part in the campaign (1660). But their succour was temporary and delusive, and they lost one of their commanders, the Duc de Beaufort, whose remains were brought to Venice, and solemnly interred at Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. The unwillingness of Mazarin to give open umbrage to the Porte made him at first shy of entering into the crusade. He waited till others joined. In 1667, so slow and indecisive was the progress, that the Sultan sent the Grand Vizier with the supposed means of bringing matters to a climax; but the Signory on its part committed to Francesco Morosini the task of defence, furnishing him with ample supplies of every kind, including 400 pieces of artillery; and at the same time the generals at sea were gaining advantages over the enemy in many directions. Nevertheless Morosini gradually became less sanguine of ultimate success, the Turkish engineers having undermined the positions, and the last French soldier having re-embarked for his own country. In 1668 the Sultan grew so impatient of the delay and of the interminable demand for reinforcements of all kinds, that he quitted the capital and personally approached the seat of operations. This step animated his lieutenant, who might think his head in jeopardy; and efforts were redoubled. In the beginning of March, 1668, the Grand Vizier planned a *coup de main* for cutting off provisions from the besieged, and secretly dispatched a squadron in the night to attack that under Lorenzo Cornaro, which was guarding the adjacent waters. Morosini gained intelligence of the stratagem, collected twenty galleys, and proceeded to attack the enemy with furious determination. The Turkish commander mistook his assailants for the fleet of Cornaro; both sides fought desperately in the dark; and the move-

<sup>1</sup> Marco Boschini, *Il Regno Tutto di Candia Delineato a parte ed Intagliato*: Venetia, 1651, folio.

ment was signally defeated to the equal satisfaction of Morosini and the Government. The Turks did not discover the truth until the Venetians kindled torches, which the enemy supposed to be fireworks, and enabled them to perceive how they had been out-manœuvred.<sup>1</sup>

Such an exploit tended to demonstrate to the Porte the apparently inexhaustible elasticity of Venetian resources and courage; but Morosini, forsaken by the papal contingent, which re-embarked and departed, as well as by the French, came to the conclusion (Sept.-Oct. 1669) that it was useless to endeavour to await reinforcements from home or anywhere else, and that the conditions of peace would grow harder, as the situation grew less tenable. For the resources of the enemy in men, money, and material seemed so far superior to adversity. In July, 1664, they had sustained a heavy loss in the great battle fought near the Styrian frontier with the Germans under Montecucoli and the French cavalry commanded by Coligni;<sup>2</sup> but the Porte was an absolute government exempt from constitutional restraints in conflict with a Power existing under totally different conditions, and whose resistance the rest of Europe viewed as a prodigy of courage and patriotic devotion.

The Captain-General accordingly wrote to the Senate that he had concluded peace with the Sultan on the following terms after considerable difficulty, namely: lives and property were guaranteed; 328 guns were saved; the Cretan fortresses of Carabusa, Spinalunga and Suda, and Clissa, and all other places in Dalmatia and Bosnia at present occupied by the Signory, were to remain Venetian; and, for the first time, the Porte claimed nothing by way of expenses or indemnity. On the 26th September the garrisons and such of the inhabitants as did not desire to continue under the new rule, marched out with all the honours of war, the last to quit being the Duke of Candia, Zaccaria Mocenigo, and the proveditor-general Battaglia. To the 4000 Candiots, who elected to abandon their homes, a new settlement was assigned by the Signory in

<sup>1</sup> At the siege of Constantinople by Philip of Macedon, in the fourth century B.C., a supernatural luminous crescent in the sky is said to have revealed to the Athenians the presence of the Macedonian enemy. This phenomenon was either atmospheric or pyrotechnic.

<sup>2</sup> Under the 9th and 19th August, 1664, Pepys records the successive arrival of the first, and of farther news of the event modifying the magnitude of the business. The victory was due to the French, not to the Germans.

Istria, where their descendants yet preserve traces of their origin in their language, their dress, and their customs. The retention of Suda on the north coast was influenced by the value of its bay as the best anchorage for shipping on the coast, a rank and repute which it still to this day preserves.

The Venetian ambassador at the Vatican, Antonio Grimani, exhibited to his Holiness a table of statistics which shewed that in this campaign of 1668 alone the Signory had sent to Candia 974,000 ducats in cash, 8700 soldiers besides auxiliaries, and an immense quantity of ammunition, guns, gunpowder, arms, and general stores, estimated to have cost 4,392,000 ducats; and his Holiness acceded to the suppression of three religious orders in Venice and the appropriation of their revenues, which amounted to over a million ducats a year, while the Pontiff renewed his appeal to the other Powers for material support.

Such was the conclusion of a war which had commenced in 1644, and which had cost both sides in human life and in money a total exceeding any experience.<sup>1</sup> The Turks are said to have sacrificed 108,000 men in the siege of the capital alone; and it was a victory which they gained at the price of sapping the foundations of their empire. To the Republic it had been an enterprise, on which the expenditure was spread over a long series of years; and, apart from other weakening agencies, it was one, from which it might well have gradually and completely rallied. The Venetian policy and attitude had throughout commanded the respect and admiration of Europe; the Duc de Gramont, sent by Louis XIV. in 1658 on a mission to the King of Hungary, paid a special visit to the Venetian resident at Frankfort, in order that the esteem in which his royal master held the Republic might be generally known. But this complimentary testimony had only a qualified value; in the current account published in France at the close of the struggle<sup>2</sup> the disposition is to render the share of that country far more conspicuous and important than was at any stage the actual case; and the limited extent to which France, England, Germany, and other countries, in sympathy with the Republic, co-operated in the cause, was

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 465, emphasized it as "*unico nella storia.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 461-2.



largely due to grave local preoccupations; but in a Report read before the Senate on his return from his mission to England in 1671 Pietro Mocenigo divulged the fact that the English Levant Company, in common with the Hollanders, realised large profits during the Candiot war by secretly supplying the Turks with gunpowder and other stores. On the other hand, there is the story of a brave attack on several Turkish ships by the *Elizabeth Mary*, commanded by Thomas Middleton, which kept the enemy in check, and subsequently returned to Venice, where Middleton was publicly thanked.<sup>1</sup> The Pope, in conversation with the Venetian ambassador at Rome, was most effusive in his praises of the bravery and all other admirable qualities displayed by the Captain-General, and in nothing so signally as in the wonderful dexterity with which under the circumstances he had extricated the Signory from the crisis. This he reiterated. His Holiness declared that the result seemed to him almost incredible. It was a struggle in which the Romanists were apt, setting aside political considerations and differences, to recognize the championship of Venice in the Christian cause. And it is a most striking proof of the masterful personality of Morosini that, even supposing the conversance of the Porte with Venetian institutions to be more or less imperfect, that Government was content to treat the lines of settlement laid down by the Doge as absolutely binding on his country, and did not wait for any farther confirmation. When the Venetian envoy, accredited to the Porte to complete the ratifications, presented himself, he was treated with the most marked distinction; it was the same Alvigi Molini, who had unsuccessfully approached the Grand Vizier in 1666 with a more moderate proposal. No time was lost in placing on a firm administrative footing the reserved frontier in Candia and elsewhere, and in delimiting the Dalmatian frontier; and the Government left no expedient untried in order to relieve the taxpayers and encourage a revival of maritime and commercial enterprise.

Two contemporary narratives deal with the trifling share of the French in the war: (i.) An Exact Account of the

<sup>1</sup> See an interesting account of him in Pepys, 24 March, 1669, *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 466. The sense of the signal services of Venice to Christendom is also apparent in the Relation of Angelo Corrado made to the Pregadi, and of which we have an English translation in 1664.

Late Engagement Between the French King's Forces and those of the Grand Seignior before Candia, On the 25th of June 1669. As it came in a Letter from the Duke de Navairres the French General. With a List of the Slain and Wounded. 1669. (ii.) A True and Perfect List of All the Forces lent By His Most Christian Majesty, Aboard His Men of Warr and Gallies, Upon the Expedition for the Relief of Candia This present Year, 1669. Published by Authority. 1669.

There was a party at Venice, however, which viewed the conduct of Morosini with other eyes, and which gave public expression to the opinion, that he had exceeded his authority as a subject and a public servant in coming to terms with the Porte, and merely acquainting the Senate, when all was settled;<sup>1</sup> that he had obtained his procuratorship in an irregular manner; and that he had been guilty of corrupt practices in Candia. These charges were introduced in the usual manner into the Senate, and were discussed by speakers on both sides; but the Great Council marked its appreciation of the movement and of the great man, whose character it was intended to traduce, when it acquitted Morosini by a majority amounting to a censure of his accusers. When we peruse the elaborate and verbose arguments employed to degrade and ruin him at the time by a minority in the Councils, we find ourselves at a loss to understand such parliamentary tactics, since the conditions won from the Sultan were such as no other Venetian would have probably dared to demand, or have presumed to expect. In fact in 1666 the Signory had offered to accept less advantageous terms, and the Porte refused them.<sup>2</sup>

But the superlative gifts of this extraordinary personage must not shut out from view the egregious merits of many, or indeed most, of those who served the Republic in this arduous exertion to hold Candia. The Venetian forces were led by a succession of men of lofty capacity and of dauntless spirit worthy of the Crusades. There is an anecdote of the captain-general, Luigi Leonardo Mocenigo, who, when a mine had exploded, and an officer, exclaiming *All*

<sup>1</sup> The official communication of the settlement appears to have been in the hands of the Venetian Government about October 19, 1669. Romanin, vii. 464.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 461-2.

*is lost!* was about to flee, cried, "Then let us die with our arms in our hands." The words stimulated all within hearing to fresh exertions; and it is asserted that the step cost the Porte twenty years' prolongation of the war—a war which, had it been restricted to that element on which Venice remained supreme, would have had a different and an earlier issue.



## CHAPTER XXXIX

A.D. 1669-1699

Sequence of Doges (1630-84)—A singular electoral incident—Exertions of the Government to encourage and promote Material Prosperity, and restore the Finances—Some Political Changes in Europe—Operations in the Morea under Francesco Morosini—Entrance of Poland and Russia on the scene as Opponents of the Porte—Successes of Morosini in the Morea—Joy of the country and honours to the General—Government of the Peninsula—Venetian commercial ideas—Election of Morosini to the Dogeship (1688)—He receives the Command-in-Chief—Projects of Morosini for the recovery of lost Territory—Failure of his health, and return home—His solemn Investiture—Complimentary offering from the Pope—Return of the Doge to the Morea (1693)—His death at Napoli di Romania (1694)—Misfortunes of the new Captain-General—His disgrace—Gratifying operations of his successors Alessandro Molini and Girolamo Dolfini—Beneficial fruits to Venice of the victory over the Turks at Zenta by Prince Eugene (1697)—Mediatorial services of the Republic sought by Parma and France—Embarrassments of Louis XIV.—Reviving hopes of Italian Confederation—Peace of Ryswyk (1697)—Peace of Carlowitz (1699)—Death of the Doge Silvestro Valiero (1700)—His consort the last Dogressa honoured by Coronation.

FROM 1630 to 1688 there were several reigns of unequal duration, where the personality of the head of the State was lost in the administrative system, of which he made part, and which now demanded strong individuality of character to enable the occupant of the throne to stand out as a distinct unit. The names,<sup>1</sup> which continue and prolong the line of sovereigns, are those of meritorious citizens, who discharged their exalted functions with credit and advantage, but whose private and domestic relations, and independent share in the progress of events, have no historical interest beyond an incident, which occurred in 1676, on the death of Nicolo Sagredo. It appears that Giovanni Sagredo, of a different

<sup>1</sup> Nicolo Contarini (1630-1), Francesco Erizzo (1631-46), Francesco Molini (1646-55), Carlo Contarini (1655-6), Francesco Cornaro (1656), Bertuccio Valiero (1656-8), Giovanni Pesaro (1658-9), Domenigo Contarini (1659-74), Nicolo Sagredo (1674-6), Luigi Contarini (1676-83), Marcantonio Giustiniani (1683-88). When Molini was elected in 1645-6, Evelyn the Diarist was at Venice, and speaks of the heavy snow and the extreme cold preventing him from witnessing the ceremony. This was in January.

branch of the same family, born in 1647, the son of Agostino Sagredo by his wife Maria Malipiero, had been educated at Rome, and had acquired diplomatic experience. Sagredo was told by a French astrologer that he would become Doge; he had at first spent too freely, and impoverished his fortune; and a son had discredited him by certain official irregularities, which procured him a four years' term of rigorous imprisonment; but the father succeeded in retrieving his position, and made friends among the more influential nobles, with a view to verifying the prophecy. He in fact attained the procuratorial dignity, and distinguished himself in 1669 as an apologist for Francesco Morosini, when the latter was arraigned for usurpation of authority and other acts. Sagredo was a public servant of some mark; he had been accredited to the courts of England and France, and had done his best to persuade Cromwell and Mazarin to lend their help against the Turks. An anecdote of his French mission has come down to us. The Cardinal found fault with Venice for seeking to grasp too much; he said to the ambassador, "Your Excellency charges itself with too many head-breaking matters; the world is too large to admit the protection of all"; whereupon Sagredo rejoined, "Your Eminence should consider that a citizen of a republic without human sympathy resembles a spray of flowers without fruit. My country has been educated in piety toward strangers; and would your Eminence desire it to derogate?" Upon the occurrence of a vacancy in 1676, Sagredo proceeded, without taking advice, to have his name posted as a candidate for the Dogeship, and of the eleven in the Great Council, who chose the Forty-one, eight were in his favour. His opponents were without exception personages who had been long mentioned in political circles as likely to succeed in gaining their object: men of unexceptionable antecedents, signal merit, venerable years, and great fortune, while Sagredo was unpopular on account of his meanness, and was mercilessly taunted with the escapades of his son Pietro, who was called "the son of the prince with the wide sleeves."<sup>1</sup> His acceptance, however, among his own class was more general than among the people at large. On Monday, the 24th July, in the afternoon, a report was current in the city that Sagredo had been nominated; and he dis-

<sup>1</sup> "Figlio del prencipe alle maniche larghe."—Romanin, vii. 497, note.

tributed wine and bread among the poor, and gratuities to the boatmen at the ferries, that they might shout his name, when the Forty-one came to the ballot. But the people began to manifest their dislike; some said that, if Sagredo was related to the late Serenissimo, he was the reverse of the medal;<sup>1</sup> others cut an effigy in stone, supposed to resemble the candidate; poor women in the streets threw doubts on his nobility; the gondoliers, whom he was too parsimonious to employ, raised an outcry, and while the electors were engaged at the ballot, a crowd outside was vociferating *No! No! No!*

The younger son of Sagredo besought his father to retire; but he was self-complacent enough to believe that he could ignore the plebiscite against him. When his own friends, however, refused to enter the electoral conclave, the Great Council deemed it opportune to interfere, and administer a reproof to the Forty-one, inviting the supporters of Sagredo to make a new choice; and Luigi Contarini was returned. These exhibitions of public sentiment and bias had not been unfrequent in these later times; and the present piece of constitutional by-play possibly had more influential support than is apparent to us. Sagredo took his defeat in good part; he lived for a short time in retirement at his country seat at Monselice; but he subsequently filled several responsible offices; and he died at Venice, August 10, 1682. He is a little known to literature as the author of a volume on the Sultans of Turkey, published so far back as 1673.

His most signal political service was perhaps his contribution to the reform of the Council of Ten in 1676, when he was fortunate enough to propose, after several attempts by other legislators, a resolution and a scheme, which the Great Council adopted.

It has thus proved necessary to devote to an historiette, of which an unsuccessful competitor for the berretta was the hero, a larger space than that accorded to something approaching a dozen of his contemporaries, who sat in the ducal chair.

When we come down to 1684, there is a recommencement of military operations on an important scale, and the history of Venice begins to merge in the history of an indi-

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been an Italian phrase. See *Life of Cellini*, by Symonds, i. 589.



vidual—that Francesco Morosini, who has already appeared on the scene as a ruling and potential spirit for good.

In the course of about half a century (1630-74) many alterations had taken place in other parts of Italy and throughout the European continent. In England the house of Stuart had been dethroned, a republic and protectorate had enjoyed a short but glorious career under the auspices of Cromwell, who beneficially influenced the political situation from a Venetian point of view by keeping Spain and the corsairs of Tunis and Algiers in check, but whose rule, primarily based on militarism, was too brief to permit solid establishment, and the Stuarts had been restored in the person of Charles II. In France Louis XIV. had succeeded his father in 1643, and still occupied a throne which was to see no other claimant till the next century had well advanced. In 1640 a bloodless counter-revolution restored Portuguese independence under the house of Braganza. In 1659 the Pyrenæan Treaty had been concluded between France and Spain, and the brief ascendancy of the latter was already perceptibly declining. In the north, Sweden and Poland had been, since the Thirty Years' War, appreciable factors in all political movements and combinations, and the latter, in conjunction with Russia, was destined, when the influence was too late to be eminently beneficial to the Republic, to operate in checking and breaking the power of Turkey. Nevertheless, the last quarter of the seventeenth century put a term to the overwhelming military preponderance of the Ottoman Porte, and it had already lost its rank as a first-rate maritime Power. In 1683 the Sultan experienced two severe checks in the great Polish victory at Presburg and in the relief of Vienna by Sobieski. The warmest and keenest interest was evinced in Europe in these successes; narratives of the course of events were published in the press and in book-form from the pens of local observers and actors; and translations into English were almost concurrently circulated. The war in Candia was the topic in all mouths, and the point on which all eyes, as it were, were fixed. The general condition of the continent was unsettled and unhealthy; and if the other Christian States were sincere in their professions of homage to the wonderful gallantry of the Venetians in withstanding the enormous concentration of force upon Candia by the Porte, they were at least equally

so in their avowals of inability to render them effectual assistance.

The first care of the Signory, even before the ratifications of the treaty of 1669 had been exchanged,<sup>1</sup> and certain readjustments of frontier were complete, was to recruit the finances, and to take every possible step to promote trade. There was an incipient tendency to encourage shipbuilding by the grant of bounties or subsidies, to reduce customs and tariffs, and to assist agriculture by facilitating the cultivation of waste lands. Since the middle of the sixteenth century, immense tracts had been reclaimed by embankment and drainage; and recent events seemed to recall attention to the subject, and to emphasize the urgency of developing the territories nearer home, and studying the possibilities of rendering the river traffic in Venetian Lombardy more practicable and more lucrative. In 1677 a new official department or magistracy for this and cognate objects was created under the name of the *Proveditors of the Adige*.

Three very prominent possessions had been lost in turn: Negropont, Cyprus, Candia; and with an empire to that grave extent contracted in area the leading minds in Venice naturally and properly addressed themselves to the task of utilising all that remained, while others were not strangers to the dream of recovering all that had been so reluctantly abandoned—the fruit and monument of the toil and intellect of so many generations.<sup>2</sup> But the Sultan had also set foot in the Morea, and several places were occupied by his troops; Turkish garrisons were in Athens and Sparta; the Parthenon had been converted into a Mohammedan infirmary; and in Dalmatia the Porte appeared in arms to dispute with Austria the lordship over positions, of which the Republic treated both as equally usurpers.

The Government had at the same time the delicate and perplexing task before it of placing the revenue and the

<sup>1</sup> This did not happen till the 30th October 1671, owing to various disputes and difficulties.

<sup>2</sup> During thirty years the Signory suspended diplomatic relations with Savoy on account of the assumption by the Duke of the title of King of Cyprus, and a volume was published at Venice on the subject in 1633. But in 1662 the rupture was closed, and the book called in. As early as 1509, however, the Duke is said to be raising an army to take Cyprus, "which belongs to him." He counted on profiting by the League of Cambrai. *Cal. of State Papers, (Venetian)*, ii., lxiii.

public debt on some basis consonant with the possibilities of the case and with the equitable adjustment of burdens. The demands on the treasury for the last quarter of a century had been absolutely unparalleled in the annals of Venice or any other State in the seventeenth century; the entire bill for the Candiot war was 126,000,000 ducats,<sup>1</sup> and national insolvency was imminent. A commercial people had cast behind them all commercial calculations, and had staked nearly all that they were worth on an island, possibly not because there was the sentimental feature about it, that it was one of their earliest important acquisitions, but rather from the conviction that it was imperative to arrest the tendency to drift—not to let Candia, if it could be helped, be taken from them, as Negropont and Cyprus had been.

The straitened pecuniary conditions, for which a consolidation of Government Stocks and a sale of Treasury Bonds under their value were only partial and imperfect remedies, had at all events the effect of restraining, and in fact disabling, the Signory from engaging in any movement, apart from sheer self-protection, which involved military or naval equipments. The cession of Casale by the Duke of Mantua to France and other more or less secondary events in Lombardy and Dalmatia were allowed to pass unobserved;<sup>2</sup> the most essential thought of Venice was declared by those, who had its real interests at heart, to be the restoration of its credit and the repair of its works of defence on all sides, for if an interval of repose was permitted, there was already a strong presentiment, that the relations with Turkey were far from secure, and that the Porte would seize the first convenient opportunity or excuse for striking another blow at the possessions in the Levant. The present policy therefore was one of strict neutrality and steady preparation; and during some years this attitude was successfully and advantageously maintained. The Candiot war, notwithstanding its weakening and impoverishing influence on the enemy, did not preclude, however, the resumption of hostilities in Hungary; and the

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian ducat=about 9s. 5d. of English money; but the difference of value 200 years ago must be borne in mind; and we seem to reach a sum of at least £300,000,000, if we take money in 1644-69 to have been worth five times its present rate.

<sup>2</sup> In a newsletter from Paris, August 8, 1648, Sir Richard Browne, writing to Evelyn, says: "The newes of the seidge of Cremona is confirmed, not without hopes of the speedy taking thereof."



Emperor and his Polish allies made it sufficiently plain to the Signory that, so soon as the Turkish forces were released in that quarter, the next project of the latter would be the complete subjection of the Morea.

A combination, in which Venice was to join the Emperor and the King of Poland, with the prospect of the ulterior adhesion of the Czar of Muscovy, tempted the Government, a few months posterior to the defeat of the Turkish forces by Sobieski, to leave its pacific lines, and to enter into a league, which certainly promised to become a more effectual bar to Osmanli conquest than any alliance hitherto formed. On the 19th January, 1684, the imperial ambassador was summoned to attend the College, where he was apprised of the determination, and a special messenger was dispatched to Vienna to hand the necessary papers to the Venetian ambassador, Carlo Ruzzini. Francesco Morosini was appointed captain-general with an army of 9500 men and apparently without any proveditorial impediments, and was flattered by the choice of another to the vacancy in the dogeship, in January 1684, on the avowed ground that his own services elsewhere were positively indispensable. On the 25th April, the day of St. Mark, when the Doge Giustiniani and the imperial ambassador, Count Thurn, were attending mass together at the Basilica, the Venetian courier arrived from Lintz with the treaty; the Bailo of Constantinople was recalled; and war was forthwith declared. The peace had been broken by operations in Dalmatia, where the Turks defeated the Venetian proveditor in an obstinate engagement. But the real theatre of war was on other ground under another and greater leader. Morosini inaugurated the Peloponesan campaign by the recovery of Koron, a position of vast strength, with all the guns, ammunition, and stores; and the whole of Maina was soon in Venetian hands and in charge of a Venetian governor.

The Turks had offered an obstinate resistance to the Venetian forces engaged in the investment of Koron; but the triumph of the Signory was complete, and a very rich booty was secured, including horses, tents, standards, guns, of which six were stamped with the lion of St. Mark, and, above all, the imperial banner adorned with horse-tails. Many of these trophies were sent to Venice, and were deposited in the church of the Tolentini, a solemn procession, headed by the Doge,

bearing the colours thither on the 12th September, and attending a special mass and thanksgiving. The horse-tails symbolized the resolution of the Grand Signior and his people to raise continual levies of cavalry, and the standard denoted by its presence an army under a general officer of the highest rank.<sup>1</sup>

These operations were gratifying enough ; but they shewed the intrepidity and vitality of the adversary, whom Venice appeared to have no immediate prospect, even under the actual auspices, with Morosini to the front, of permanently reducing. The fall of Modon into the hands of the Venetians produced a very favourable impression, and a contemporary writer<sup>2</sup> observes:—"It happened for the common good of Christendom that, while these Memoirs were printing in French, we received the agreeable news of the taking of Modon from the Turks by the Venetian army under the wise conduct of the valiant general Morosini. This will much advance the conquest of the whole Morea, which justly belongs to that triumphant Republic."<sup>3</sup>

The Swedish general Count Koningsmark and the Duke of Brunswick now entered the service of the Signory, the former with a salary of 18,000 ducats a year (subsequently raised to 24,000) for himself and his troops ; the Brunswick contingent came to Venice for shipment, and the Duke was splendidly entertained ; his troops were quartered at Lido ; and it became a question at a council of war whether the next effort should be to regain the rest of the Morea, or Negropont, or Scio, or Candia. Opinions were in favour of completing the movement already so auspiciously commenced ; and it was decided that Koningsmark and his mercenaries should first invest Navarino, a spot consecrated by many venerable and stirring recollections. The triumph of the Venetian arms was complete ; victory after victory, recalling the best days of the old Republic, crowned the exertions of Morosini and his lieutenant, and the tide of fortune, as if by sympathy, was turning in Dalmatia, where the Morlachians

<sup>1</sup> Coronelli, *Historical and Geographical Account of the Morea*, translated by R. W., 12<sup>o</sup>, 1687, where the standards are figured with great care, pp. 61, 74.

<sup>2</sup> The French translator of Coronelli. The news arrived while the version was in the press ; it was published in 1686.

<sup>3</sup> A detailed account by a contemporary of the operations in the Morea, &c., from July 25 to September 29, 1687, was compiled in Italian, and appeared in an English translation, 1688.

proved of immense value to the Republic by their loyalty and valour, while the Imperialists in Hungary were creating an opportune diversion in acquiring, after reiterated efforts, the commanding fortress of Sing, the key of Herzgovina, and winning important advantages over the Turks. It was a stimulating and comforting influence for Venice to find, after so long and unequal a contest with a great naval and military State, prepared, like the Porte, to fling its strength improvidently, almost madly away, that at last there were other countries awakening to the sense of a common interest, and beginning to share a burden too weighty for the Signory, with all their Western responsibilities, to bear alone; and no efforts were spared to keep in steady touch with Poland and the other northern Powers.

A felucca arrived at Venice on the 10th August, 1687, with the news of the triumphant progress of the army in the Morea, just when an election was taking place in the Great Council; and the proceedings were suspended while the dispatches were read. The enthusiasm and gratitude were so vehement, that the current business was relinquished, while all repaired to the Basilica to render thanks to the Almighty for His goodness. A contemporary narrative says: "The News of the great Victory was brought upon the Tenth of August by a Feluque, which before she came within ken, they knew not what the sight might mean; but when they saw the Ottoman Colours and Standards exposed to view, the people crowded to the seaside with Shouts of Victory, and immediately the news spreading with the swiftness of the wind, presently a humming noise of Joy ran through the Streets, while the People gathered in clusters gave ear to the Speaker, who undertook to give a relation of the Victory, before he knew it himself." The salvos of artillery and the church bells soon confirmed the glad tidings. Bonfires were lit on the Piazza the same night, and there was a succession of salvos of artillery during two consecutive evenings. An impressive and elaborate illumination on both occasions was a lofty steeple, representing the Castle of Babylon, resplendent with lights, and surmounted by "another Heaven, adorned with Stars propitious to the desires of the People." A *Te Deum* was celebrated at St. Mark's with a musical accompaniment so charming that, as a letter of the day puts it, "it was



a difficult thing to judge, whether Paradise did not congratulate us for the advantages of so great a Victory." <sup>1</sup>

The Senate decreed that a bust of the hero should be executed in bronze and placed in the saloon of the Decemvirs with the inscription: FRANCISCO MAUROCENO PELOPONESIACO ADHUC VIVENTI SENATUS; near it was hung the standard taken from the Seraskier, and the Doge addressed a letter to the hero couched in the warmest and most flattering terms, commencing: *Vi lodiamo col Senato*. Count Koningsmark and the other officers who had served under Morosini with distinction were generously requited. Koningsmark himself was retained in the Venetian service for another term of five years at an augmented rate of pay; the Duke of Brunswick was presented with a valuable diamond; and a diamond-hilted sword was awarded to the Prince of Torina. Several officers, who had distinguished themselves, received gold medals. It is to be remarked that in the judgment of some the share of Koningsmark in the credit for these late achievements was scarcely inferior to that of the generalissimo himself; for we find Antonio Martinelli addressing to him a poetical panegyric, where his next exploit, the reduction of Constantinople, is foreshadowed; <sup>2</sup> nor was the Government insensible, as we perceive, to his exceptional talents and merits. In the course of 1686 and 1687 a very interesting series of medals was struck to perpetuate the triumphs of Venice and the Cross, bearing legends significant of the defeats of the Turks by Morosini, Cornaro, and Koningsmark. We read on some of these memorials: *Leoni Ultori*, *Virtus Veneta*, *Urbs Victrix*, *Fortitudo Venetiae occupat Græciam*, and *Venetia Urbium Regina*. Nothing was left undone by the Executive at home to encourage and signalize the services of the army and navy, and to stimulate the genius of the commanders in the field and at sea.

The historical campaign, so peculiarly identified with the name and genius of Morosini, was immeasurably briefer than the Candiot struggle and immeasurably more plentiful in incident. With the temporary and resultless extension to Candia, Negropont, and Scio, it is divisible into two unequal periods: the term during which the master-spirit personally

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Venetian Campaigne*, 1688, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

conducted the movements (1684-93), and that which elapsed from his death at Nauplia to the conclusion of the treaty of Carlowitz (1693-99).

The cordial satisfaction and unqualified confidence manifested toward him by all classes in Venice encouraged the Captain-General to embark in farther schemes of conquest. Attica and Lacedæmon were overrun by the Venetian troops; and Athens and Sparta were taken. The Turks had reduced the whole country to desolation, and had, through their natural indifference to monuments, with which they had no sympathy, and their barbarous ferocity, ruined many of the noblest architectural and artistic remains handed down by the ancient Greeks to those who inherited nothing but the name; and we find that it was already a proverbial saying among the English at this time, that "where the Turk's horse once treads, the grass never grows." An unhappy casualty added to the deplorable story of wanton and ignorant havoc. At the bombardment of Athens a Venetian shell severely injured the already roofless Parthenon, igniting a store of gunpowder kept there by the Turks, and shattering the greater part of the interior. Morosini, educated in a reverence for antiquities, was immeasurably distressed by the accident, partly due to the exposed situation of the building; and when he contemplated the general desecration and wreck of Attic taste and splendour, he was heard to exclaim: "O Athens! O nursery of the arts! to what hast thou come?" He removed the colossal lions, which still adorn the entrance to the Arsenal,<sup>1</sup> and he endeavoured to secure some of the statues; but they were broken in the process of shipment by the unskilful hands to which they were confided.

The Republic hastened to take measures for the reduction of the government of the Morea to orderly principles, to establish local institutions and a postal system, to regulate the land-tenure, to stimulate manufactures, and to bring the soil into more general cultivation. The four territorial divisions of the province were not substantially disturbed: Romania, Laconia, Messenia, and Acaja, of which the capitals were Napoli or Nauplia, Malvasia, Navarino, and Patras, each with its proveditor, treasurer, and judicial staff, and lastly a proveditor-general, who was answerable to the Venetian

The inscriptions, which they bear, are said to be runic. Romanin, vii. 491.

Senate. Morosini himself, before he quitted Greece and those who acted under him or followed in his footsteps, were not wanting in goodwill and intelligence; but they dealt with a mixed population, jealous and distrustful of each other, swayed by hereditary and deeply-rooted prejudices: demoralised, priest-ridden, and indigent. The country had unlimited capabilities; its chief products were wine, *aqua vitæ*, oil, salt, and tobacco; but generations were demanded to retrieve the fruits of a lengthened term of anarchy succeeded by a lengthened term of misrule. Nor were the Venetians likely to be very successful in accomplishing the desired result, even if their political authority had been more uninterrupted and prolonged. Morosini himself seems to have committed the mistake of creating a number of petty proprietaries which were incessantly involved in dissensions; and in spite of the earnest appeals of the more enlightened Venetian officials on the spot the Republic obstinately clung to its old-fashioned ideas of commercial protection, and resented the growth of a rival market for Venetian home industries. One of the proveditors is found saying: "The principal source of prosperity is trade; only liberty and security can foster it; its security depends on that of the sea, its liberty on the removal of all restrictions." Others spoke in a similar strain. But the Government hesitated, and buyers sought other and cheaper markets, finding even those of Turkey more advantageous; and before the error was discovered and repaired, the opportunity had been lost. In one respect the Venetian domination was beneficial; by facilitating immigration from other parts of Greece and from Roumelia, the inhabitants not only multiplied but improved; colleges were established in each of the principal centres for the instruction of the young in various branches of knowledge and science; and in 1692 the population had risen from 87,000 to 160,000, and in 1701 to upward of 200,000. In 1691 the indirect taxation, chiefly from wine, oil, tobacco, brandy, and salt produced 259,564,000 *reali*. This amelioration of the prospects of the immediate region was favourable to Venice in raising the standard of the people, and in tending to propagate an active sympathy with the authors of reform and the liberators from Turkish despotism. But the obstacles to any durable sovereignty over Greece itself were immense. Nearly everywhere



symptoms of the same corruption and degradation were manifest, the same sloth, ignorance, lawlessness, and venality; and while on the one hand the population was always open to external intrigue, on the other the administrators sent by the Signory were not always superior to local bribery.

The Doge Giustiniani dying in March, 1688, Francesco Morosini was, without a dissentient voice, chosen to succeed him; but, his presence abroad being judged essential to the public service, the totally exceptional course was taken of intimating to him that his formal instalment in the office might be postponed to a more convenient opportunity. The Great Council unanimously resolved that under the special circumstances expense in doing honour to Morosini should not be considered. The Captain-General, who thus for the first time since the days of the Fifth Crusade united in his own person two independent dignities, and in whom even the jealous oligarchical Executive at home was content to vest an absolute discretion, with all its knowledge of his daring assumption of authority, was at present entertaining the ambitious and romantic hope of wresting back not only Negropont, but Candia, Scio, and other Turkish spoils. He was as proud of his country as that was of him, and, above all, a fighter; and he had been successful and fortunate beyond expectation. His new plans appear to a dispassionate observer too vast and too vague, too costly and too specious, looking at his advanced period of life and at the extent to which the result probably depended on his personal superintendence. But Morosini did not take this view, and his country was with him. A council of war held in June, 1688, to determine whether Negropont or Candia should be the first point of attack, supported the opinion of the generalissimo that the former was preferable, inasmuch as its recovery might assist farther movements, and the Turks had so strengthened the defences of Candia as to render its reduction extremely dubious, while the appropriation of a force adequate to the purpose would leave the Morea unprotected. The arrangements were on an ample scale. Over two hundred vessels were employed in conveying the besiegers in July, 1688, to their destination.

The enterprise at first promised to succeed, and a few positions were gained; but the Porte had put the walls and

gates of the town itself in thorough order; the loss of life was terribly heavy, and disease and insubordination spread among the German mercenaries,<sup>1</sup> of whom many deserted, and many more clamoured for discharge; while the citadel was almost inaccessible, the sole approach being by a steep, narrow, and tortuous defile, like the famous Ladder of Cattaro, which admitted the passage of only a single horse or two men on foot at a time. The Doge sent away the malcontents, but did not yet despair. He proceeded to erect two towers, which might command the burgh, and from which the latter might be effectively shelled. While this bold idea was in progress, however, winter set in; and, the health of Morosini giving way, he was obliged to seek relief from his trying post. The Doge returned home to obtain such repose as his restless and adventurous character was ever likely to admit, and to receive official investiture with the berretta. The occasion was without precedent, and this great man experienced in the fourth year of his tenure of office the ovation customarily accorded to a newly elected doge. Alexander VIII., of the Venetian house of Ottoboni (1689-91), a personage described by his contemporary Angelo Corraro as famous for his sweet and charming conversation,<sup>2</sup> but of whom Louis XIV. spoke as a true Venetian by reason of his diplomatic reticence,<sup>3</sup> was elected Pope just at the same time, and sent Morosini the Sword and Cap of Maintenance. These insignia were exposed to public gaze in the Basilica as a method of reconciling spectators to a continuance of the holy war against the infidels; and the Senate approved the issue of an osella or medal bearing on one side the normal design of the Doge kneeling before St. Mark, with the legend: *S. M. Ven. Franc. Mavroc. DVX. Anno IV*, and on the reverse Morosini enthroned amid trophies, wearing a military cap and holding a marshal's baton, with *Mavroc. Peloponesiaco. Viventi. S.C.*

The place of generalissimo had been conferred on Girolamo Cornaro, who had done such excellent service in Dalmatia; but the siege of Negropont, in which Morosini had had the

<sup>1</sup> "I Tedeschi, inesperti nella guerra, atti solo a rubare, come facevano ove cadeva una bomba. Io per me tengo che questa sia la piu vile canaglia, vale a dire in una parola la feccia di tutta Germania."—*Extract from a Diary of the Siege of Corfu* (1716), quoted by Romanin, viii. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Relation of the Court of Rome*, transl. by John Bulteel, 8°, 1668, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Saul at Endor*, 1692, p. 110.

misfortune to lose his excellent lieutenant, Count Koningsmark, who succumbed to disease, was abandoned for the present; and Cornaro addressed himself with conspicuous success to the completion of the reconquest of the Morea. He was a remarkably able officer, and was equally qualified for command by land and sea; he gained Malvasia and Valona, and routed the Turkish fleet off Mytilene. At one juncture he was in the Dardanelles unopposed, and threatened to reduce Constantinople by famine. But he was unfortunately struck down by fever at Valona, and still more unfortunately succeeded by Domenico Mocenigo,<sup>1</sup> a personage wanting in decision of character and rapidity of judgment.

The costly and continuous operations in the Levant did not preclude the Signory during these years in exercising the utmost activity and vigilance in protecting Venetian interests and rights in Dalmatia, and in studying the happiness and welfare of the inhabitants. A proveditor-general, in his official report on his return home in 1692, testified to the improvement, which had taken place in the internal conditions of the province even during his tenure of the post. The population had increased, and a wider area of land was under cultivation. Instead of depending for supplies from the home Government or providing the means of purchase in Albania and elsewhere, the province produced sufficient to meet the local demand, and to export. Better laws were introduced, and not only were the Venetian administrators capable persons, but a periodical system of official inspection tended to check abuses and oppression. A more general feeling of security was inspired by the politic desire of the Government at once to promote all useful and necessary institutions and to resist hostile attacks by sea or by land, where the ablest commanders were selected for the duty. The hilly character of the region offered a different source of difficulty and danger in the facilities which it afforded to banditti and the impediments which it involved to communications. It seemed as if a new era might have been inaugurated, had the Signory been allowed by circumstances

<sup>1</sup> Entries in diaries are contributory evidence of the constant and keen interest felt by England in what was passing in Venice or in the Venetian territories. Referring to the arduous campaign in the Morea from 1684 to 1718, the first Earl of Bristol notes under 1st October 1690: "Died y Venetian Captain-General Cornaro *anno ætatis* 59; Mocenigo succeeds him."



sufficient time to carry out their plans and to consolidate their position.<sup>1</sup>

The ground maintained by the Venetian arms in Dalmatia, and by the imperialists in Hungary against the Turks, afforded some consolation for the disappointment elsewhere; but the incapacity of Mocenigo promptly betrayed itself in his failure to seize an unique opportunity of becoming master of Canea, persisting in the belief that the Turks were close at hand with large reinforcements, when his officers were tolerably confident of success by a *coup de main*. The Captain-General was recalled and degraded; and in the Senate, when the votes for supplying the vacancy were counted, the Doge was at the head of the list with ninety-five suffrages. His Serenity was approached, and declared himself willing, old and infirm as he was, to do the bidding of the country; and, a second ballot in the Great Council having been waived, the election was confirmed. The Doge spontaneously rose from his chair in the Upper Chamber, raised the berretta,<sup>2</sup> and thanked the assembly for the honour which it had vouchsafed to pay to him.

On the 24th May 1693 Morosini embarked, at the conclusion of an imposing ceremony in the Basilica, to which the public bodies, the clergy, the ducal household, and the relations and friends of the hero, went in solemn procession, the Doge between the Papal nuncio and the French ambassador, wearing the grand mantle of captain-general, of superfine cloth brocaded with gold, and holding in his hand the marshal's baton. The whole city was in holiday humour and attire; there were crowds on the housetops shouting applause and God-speed; and the route to the Cathedral and to the place of embarkation was decorated with triumphal arches and banners. The Grand Canal was brimming with life and resonant with notes of rejoicing; there were salvos of artillery, and cries of *Viva il principe e capitano!* ladies and strangers crowded the quays, as the Doge and his retinue mounted the Bucentaur to proceed to Lido, where, after a second religious service, they took their final departure for Malvasia. Two councillors formed part of his staff, to assist the veteran in any official details or correspondence arising from his dual

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 544.

<sup>2</sup> This was the sole instance in which such a course was taken under similar circumstances. It was only usual when the election of a Doge was formally ratified by the Great Council.

functions; and Francesco Mocenigo was assigned to him as his lieutenant.

The Doge, in consequence of advices received by him on the way to the Morea, hastened to the defence of Corinth, and obtained a few advantages, withdrawing into winter quarters at Nauplia, where, on the 9th January, 1694, one of the most impressive, most patriotic, and most valuable careers in the whole Venetian story was unexpectedly brought to a close. Morosini, with generous unselfishness, had sacrificed his life to the public service; and his grateful country could only pay the last honours to his remains, and do its part in preserving the recollection of such unparalleled devotion and such commanding gifts. The Senate decreed the erection of a marble arch in the Sala dello Serutinio with an appropriate inscription and trophies; the tomb of this magnanimous and successful soldier may be still seen in the Augustinian Church at San Stefano; and his nominal representatives cherish, after two centuries, in the old Morosini Palace near at hand the objects which the great Doge collected around him, and on which his eyes must have often rested.<sup>1</sup>

By a singular caprice of fortune the descendants of the man, whose genius so long protected his country from the Osmanlis, became, under fundamentally altered political conditions, trusted and distinguished servants of the Porte. It is so far without success that search has been made for the exact particulars attendant on the latest moments of the hero.

As a successor in the ducal office the Republic chose Silvestro Valiero; and the new Captain-General was Antonio Zeno, who had served as a youth of seventeen in the Candiot campaign, and who had afforded excellent promise for the future by his naval achievements, but who laboured under a natural disadvantage in immediately following such an exceptional precedent, and being overshadowed by such trying prestige. For the fourth and last time the Dogaressa received the honour of coronation; it appears to have been a compliment offered by the courtesy of the Signory, where a lady or her husband, or both, were unusually popular; but the most recent object of favour had been the consort of the Doge Grimani nearly a hundred years before. The chronic peril

<sup>1</sup> An account of the Palazzo Morosini and its historical relics will be found in a later chapter.

and tension from the incessant aggression of Turkey yielded their natural fruit in strengthening the desire of Venice to preserve and extend her northern alliances, and in 1694 the ambassador of the Signory at Vienna, Carlo Ruzzini, concluded a treaty with the Czar Peter, a step which was followed, three years later, by the appointment of a Venetian Resident at Moscow.<sup>1</sup>

During the same autumn (September, 1694) the Venetian forces, under the supreme command of Zeno, succeeded in gaining possession of Scio, situated between Samos and Mitylene, and in repelling a Turkish fleet, which approached to the relief of the garrison.<sup>2</sup> But the hour was already late; and the Captain-General hesitated to proceed, and the next day pleaded to those about him the expediency of awaiting reinforcements. The fleet retired toward Mitylene, and subsequently moved in the direction of Smyrna, which the joint solicitations of the English, French, and Dutch consuls deterred him from bombarding. He then returned to Scio, and eventually advanced to engage another Turkish squadron, which, in spite of the most heroic efforts of some of his officers, compelled him to fall back once more on the island with severe losses. In the course of the next few days he met with a second reverse, and determined, in opposition to the views and entreaties of others, who held that the citadel was capable of defence, and offered to resist the enemy, to abandon the struggle, and return home. The evacuation was accomplished in the night of the 21st February, 1695; and it is said that the Turks themselves were equally astonished and delighted at the ease with which they won so strong a place.

There was a good deal of noisy and indignant declamation in the Senate on the receipt of these bad news. Speakers lamented the degeneracy of the times, the absence of due attention to discipline, the want of care in the choice of commanders, and the special incapacity of Zeno, who had lost the respect and confidence of his subalterns. An inquisitor was dispatched to make full inquiries on the spot; and Zeno and thirteen of his staff were remanded in custody to Venice, and imprisoned in the Lower Dungeons pending their trials;

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii, 517.

<sup>2</sup> *Vera e Distinta Relazione dell' acquisto fatto dall' Armì della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia dell' Isola, e Città di Scio. . . .* 4<sup>o</sup>, 1694.



but the Captain-General, who had shown the most deplorable irresolution, died in confinement in 1697, before his case was heard. He left a vindication of his conduct, which was printed with official sanction, and in which, after dwelling on his antecedents and motives, he protests that the cession of Scio was supported by the unanimous voice of a council of war.<sup>1</sup> The whole tenor of the circumstantial evidence, taken with what succeeds, convicts the writer of misconduct and breach of trust, which, had he survived, would have rendered him liable to a heavier punishment than he experienced. The acquiescence of the Government in the publication of his apology bespeaks a sense of the weakness of that document, if not of indifference to the case after the lapse of three years, and in the face of more important and more satisfactory events.

The Republic, in fact, had the almost incredible good fortune to secure the services in the room of Zeno of Alessandro Molini, who proved almost a second Morosini; and concurrently with him Girolamo Dolfino achieved successes which his employers deemed sufficiently momentous and gratifying to communicate officially to the European Courts. Molini himself not only protected the Morea, but beat the Turks in a great battle off Scio; during the years 1696-7-8 there was one unbroken series of triumphs, revealing the possibilities of Venice under efficient leadership; and on the 11th September, 1697, Prince Eugene of Savoy gained against the army of the Porte the decisive battle of Zenta in Albania, where the Sultan narrowly escaped capture, where the grand and four other viziers were among the twenty thousand dead, and where the immense booty included the great seal of Turkey and the military war-chest.

Some years since, the Senate had been invited to act as mediator or umpire between Parma and Tuscany in a question, which was not a new one, of respective boundaries. The august body, to which those disputants resorted, enjoyed the credit of being equitable and unbiassed, at least where its own interests were not immediately touched; and in 1696 an infinitely more flattering proof of the high estimation of the Signory, not merely as a diplomatic medium, but as a weighty belligerent force, was furnished by the conference which the

<sup>1</sup> The document is given *in extenso* by Romanin, vii. 513-15.

French Secretary of State, Pomponne, sought with the ambassador of the Republic at Paris, Nicolo Erizzo, with a view to the general pacification of Europe through Venetian instrumentality, as in the case of the Treaty of Westphalia. The interview between these two public men was remarkable as shewing the straits in which incessant hostilities had placed Louis XIV., and the general feeling of confidence in the political address and integrity of the Venetian representatives abroad. Pomponne assured Erizzo that his master and himself earnestly desired peace, and were prepared to confide to the Signory the task of settling all Italian questions now at issue. The French minister expressed the opinion, that passed experiences should have taught the States of the Peninsula the necessity of guarding against future dangers; and he suggested that they ought to take steps to organize a confederation among themselves on the German model, with the obligation to contribute their several quota of troops in the event of war, so that there might be no difficulty in protecting by joint action any given points of attack. He proposed that the Republic, as by far the most potent and enlightened of the Italian communities, should be constituted the head of such an union; and he dwelt on the particular interest which the Venetians had in drawing their neighbours together in close defensive alliance, seeing that the Emperor might at any moment renew his pretensions to portions of their continental territories. Erizzo could only reply, that the Most Serene Republic ardently sought a cessation from war, and was always aiming at such an object, as it was difficult for the Signory to contend with a Power which had at its command such large forces by sea and land. This was in 1696; and in 1699 the ambassador of Savoy spoke in nearly identical terms at Fontainebleau to the successor of Erizzo, his persuasion that a new Italian League was expedient and practicable under Venetian control being not less distinct. But Pomponne had a second conversation with Erizzo himself in 1697, and referred to the Swedish offer of mediation between France and the Emperor, which had miscarried on account of the unreasonable demands of Leopold. The Signory, however, had accredited to the court of England their own diplomatic representative, who arrived in London at the close of April, 1696, and who, in the words of Evelyn, "made

a stately entry with fifty footmen, many on horseback, four rich coaches, and a numerous train of gallants." It was evidently judged expedient to have some one on the spot to second the efforts of Erizzo at Paris.<sup>1</sup> In the conversion of Northern Italy into a free battlefield between the French and Imperialists the Venetians might naturally yield a preference to the latter who were farther from their base, and less likely to establish themselves in the Peninsula, and the final triumph of the arms of Prince Eugene over the forces of Louis XIV. afforded a satisfaction and relief to the Signory only second to that derived from his successes over the Turks.

The Peace of Ryswyk, the way to which was partly opened by the death of the Duke of Luxembourg in 1695, as well as by the valuable offices of Sweden and the Signory, was ultimately concluded in the same year (May–October, 1697) after difficulties and objections on the part of some of the parties, which long appeared insuperable. The signatories were Great Britain, France, the Emperor, Spain, and Holland; and Venice was a gainer by the release of the Imperial arms from service against the French, and by their employment under Prince Eugene against the Porte, which sustained in consequence the crushing defeat at Zenta, even before the diplomatic arrangements had been actually completed. Two years later, followed the even more important and significant Peace of Carlowitz, which was retarded by the obstinate resistance of the Turkish plenipotentiaries to conditions which they considered to be inadmissible; and the conference was more than once on the eve of being dissolved. At last the representatives of the Porte left for Belgrade and the others for Peterwardein, whither Carlo Ruzzini, who was acting for the Republic, followed them. Ruzzini combated all the points on which he was instructed to insist; but, seeing the inutility of farther opposition, and not caring to incur the responsibility of continuing the war, he gave way, and the articles were signed on the 21st February, 1699. Certain supplementary clauses were afterward added at the instance of the Senate through the able management of Lorenzo Soranzo, in regard to navigation and other matters, but not affecting any main principles. The Treaty of Carlowitz went a long step farther

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, April 28, 1696.



than the Turkish loss of Buda in 1686 to liberate Hungary from the rule of the Porte.

The attitude of Venice before the Congress was not unnaturally influenced by the proud exploits of Morosini and some of his successors in the field and at sea. For the Porte the settlement was far from gratifying; and its terms, by which the Emperor resumed all the Turkish conquests in Hungary and Transylvania, and the Republic the greater part of its possessions in the Morea and Dalmatia, explain the hesitation of the plenipotentiaries of the Sultan to affix their names to it. His Majesty obtained no indemnities whatever for his enormous losses of all kinds; he had had the mortification of accepting Christian help in extricating him and his subjects from an extremely difficult and damaging position; and his ministers, if not himself, must have appreciated the dangerous developments in the North and East of Europe, which promised to relieve the Venetians not a moment too soon from an oppressive single-handed struggle, and at no remote date to readjust the European balance of power.

The Doge Valiero was succeeded in 1700 by Alvigi or Luigi Mocenigo. It was in perfect keeping with the constitutional spirit and the Venetian humour, that the Correctors of the Oath recommended and carried a new and peremptory clause to the effect that no Dogressa was henceforth to be invested with the berretta, that honour having been accorded to the wife of the late Serenissimo, and it being perhaps apprehended that the next Doge might look for a similar compliment; but at the last vacancy in 1694, on the death of Francesco Morosini, a far more curious provision was made on the ground of expense, by which the holder of the ducal office was absolutely debarred for the future from accepting the post of captain-general, and the mode of proceeding to the election of the latter was surrounded by additional safeguards. The precaution was surely superfluous; and Morosini himself undertook the charge in the absence of any fitter candidate and at the peril of his life in response to an enthusiastic vote of the Great Council. Nor was it more than an accidental circumstance, either that another Dogressa was not crowned, or that another Doge was not appointed to the command of the forces.

The brilliant successes and chivalrous exploits of some of

their commanders in the Morea and elsewhere, especially of Lazzaro Mocenigo, Francesco Morosini, Girolamo Cornaro, and Alessandro Molini, had exercised on the mind of the Venetians an effect, which was not free from disadvantage. For this evidence of a power to resist the Porte by land and sea, and to maintain or restore the integrity of the Levantine portion of the empire, was so far imperfect and delusive, that a continuance of good fortune seemed to depend, not on the Government at home so much as on the ability to rely on a constant renewal of capable leaders; and such an expectation was obviously vain. The Republic had not the benefit, which we enjoy, of surveying at our leisure events as they unfolded themselves; it did not know that Morosini was almost the last of its heroes; it never despaired of driving out the Turks from its possessions, looking at the prodigal manner in which they were exhausting their resources; and it probably never occurred to Venice, that the relinquishment of the Levant, with the reservation of full trading rights, which an uncommercial people might have been readily induced to concede, would have been in the seventeenth century a wise departure. But the vacillating and inconsistent policy toward the Porte from the beginning indicates the excessive difficulty and delicacy of the question, to which its religious side imparted additional complication; and it can only be said, that the Republic paid the penalty of having endured long enough to see acquisitions, which at first appeared so covetable, prominently contribute to its ruin.

## CHAPTER XL

A.D. 1699–1762

War of the Succession—Overtures to the Signory from both sides—Venice remains neutral—The consequences—Preoccupation of Venetian forces in the Morea and Dalmatia—The Venetians join France—Unsuccessful siege of Turin by the Allies—Terrible winter of 1709 and general misery in Europe—The King of Denmark at Venice (1709)—Three Guns cast under his own eyes, and presented to him—Anxiety of France to secure Peace—Venice sought as a Mediator—Louis XIV. appeals to England, which declares for him—Quarrel of the Signory with France—Renewal of friendly relations—Treaty of Utrecht (1713)—Talk of an United Italy—Changes in Europe (1701–20)—Diplomatic activity and prestige of Venice—Decline of its resources and distress among the people—The Morea once more in danger—Loss of the Morea—Defeat of the Turks by Prince Eugene at Peterwardein (1716)—Retirement of the Turks from the siege of Corfu (1716)—Inclination of the Porte to Peace—Treaty of Passarovitz (1718)—Its terms—Venice adopts a policy of Neutrality—Relaxation of Customs Tariff (1736)—A great Empire reduced to a great City—Differences with the Holy See and other Powers adjusted—Clement XIII., a Venetian, becomes Pope (1758)—He sends the Doge the Golden Rose—Internal resources of Venice—Succession of the Doges (1700–62)—Projects and Reforms—Commercial activity.

THE death of Charles II. of Spain without issue in 1700 was destined in the year immediately succeeding the Treaty of Carlowitz to plunge Europe once more into war, and to involve in a costly and destructive contest all the Powers affected by the last testamentary dispositions of that monarch. The interest of Venice was really limited to the security and protection of its own dominion in Lombardy and Dalmatia; and there was the strongest desire to observe a strictly neutral attitude in a question which it might, according to precedent, demand years to bring to a settlement. The complex relations which the French and Spanish acquisitions in Italy had created for all the independent States, the Republic inclusive, imparted an entirely new character to every political and belligerent movement, while the extension of Venetian territory over a large and important portion of the Peninsula, and the claims of the Holy See to what were known as the



Ecclesiastical States, were two other agencies perpetually tending to make dissensions more frequent and serious, and their adjustment more difficult and unstable. The constant jealousy and animosity between France and Spain in regard to the Milanese had become the greatest source of anxiety and peril to the Venetians, not only from the comparative proximity of the dukedom to the lagoons, but owing to the support lent to the Spanish pretensions by the Emperor Leopold and the brilliant military talents of his generalissimo, Prince Eugene of Savoy, whose prior offer of service to France it was one of the numerous errors of Louis XIV. to have spurned.

Whatever its inclinations might be, the Signory soon received the most pressing overtures in succession from France and the Imperialists to take a side. The Government of Louis XIV. sent the Cardinal D'Estrées to Venice to do his utmost to persuade the Republic to support the French cause in the impending operations, and to close the passes of the Tyrol against Prince Eugene. The Executive committed to the Cavaliere Benedetto Cappello the task of conferring with the envoy; and they held their parley in a cell at the Frari. D'Estrées employed all his eloquence and dexterity in endeavouring to prevail on Cappello to see the matter with his or his master's eyes. He dwelt on the solicitude of the King to preserve the peace of the world, which his Majesty had proved by his moderation in the Treaty of Ryswyk; and his Eminence farther pointed out how Louis, instead of placing the crown of Spain on his own head, had given it to his nephew Philip; and now the Emperor was advancing inadmissible pretensions, particularly on Italy, and menacing that country with a cruel war. The King his master, he said, had 30,000 men in Dauphiny, ready to co-operate with the Republic at any moment; he was prepared to enter into a sincere and steadfast alliance with it on the part alike of France and Spain; and his Majesty fully acknowledged the glorious courage with which Venice had at all times defended and preserved Italian liberties. As for his master, the latter did not covet a foot of ground in the Peninsula, as he had demonstrated by ceding Casale and Pinerolo. And he asked the Republic whether it thought it better to leave the frontier open to the inroads of a ferocious and undisciplined soldiery,

which would plunder, wherever it set its foot, or to embrace the friendship of the loyal and orderly French. Cappello could only reply in general terms, that his countrymen wanted peace, that they should do what was possible to shield their fellow-subjects on the *terra firma* from attack, and that they must leave the rest to God. The French King at this juncture, and indeed during many passed years, found himself in a position of the utmost difficulty and peril, owing to the altered conditions of Europe and the rise of new interests and claims, and the literature of the time discloses his keen and painful sense of more than possible contingencies, when he had lost the services of Louvois.

The question was debated at considerable length in the Senate, where there was, as usual, a war party and a peace party. The main and central difficulty was the provision of means of defence for the provinces against the early possibility of an invasion by one or both of the belligerents; and there might have been a disposition to take part with France, had not that country proved itself on all occasions fickle and treacherous. Cappello was directed to inform the Cardinal that the Signory could not comply with the demands of the King without offending his Imperial Majesty, with whom it was not merely at peace, but in actual alliance against the Porte, and that if it supported France, the Emperor might retaliate by attacking the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia; and at the same time the attempt of Leopold to win over the Republic to his side met with no better success. The result was that the Austrians under Prince Eugene poured into Italy, and that the Venetian provinces became the common battlefield and foraging ground. The soldiers at first paid for their requisitions, but soon learned to adopt a cheaper method; the losses and sufferings of the population were frightful; the Republic complained and protested in vain; and so affairs proceeded in this deplorable manner during 1701 and the following years, success almost invariably attending the Austrian arms. The whole country between the Adige and the Lago di Garda was overrun, and the French governor of Milan spoke of coming to eat a trout in the lake. The enemy reached Rivoli. The Venetian provveditor at Verona kept his Government informed of all that passed; but nothing decisive was done, till an Austrian vessel, crossing

the Gulf in search of provisions, was pursued by a French flotilla into the very port of Chioggia. This outrage led to angry representations at Paris, and to a rejoinder that if the Republic would take steps to prevent Prince Eugene from obtaining supplies in this way, France would be happy to withdraw its ships; and a squadron was therefore fitted out with the double object of patrolling the Gulf and protecting the islands.

It was very well for the proveditor at Verona to blame the central authority for not immediately acting on the offensive, and almost to upbraid it with merely parleying and expostulating; but that functionary could hardly be unaware in the first place of the exhaustion of the national finances by the prolonged Candiot war, or secondly that it had till quite recently maintained two armaments, one in the Morea, the other in Dalmatia; and consequently the War of the Spanish Succession came at a most inopportune juncture, when the advocates of neutrality and passive observation were able to justify their counsel by pointing to a depleted exchequer, as well as to the faithlessness of Allies. The Austrians had hitherto maintained the ascendancy; but fortune proved rather variable; and neither side had, at the end of six years, secured any permanent or distinct advantage. It was the prevailing Venetian view that, if the Republic became a party to the war, its true policy was to espouse the French cause, to throw its weight into the scale, as it had previously done, on the weaker side. In fact, a Venetian contingent marched on Turin to take part in the siege. The place was saved from falling by a surprise only through the heroism of a soldier, who blew up one of the gates, and perished in the ruins; and the French were utterly routed under the walls of the capital by the allied Savoyards and Austrians under the command of the Duke Vittorio Amadeo and Prince Eugene, members of the same house, who met in a pleasant meadow at Carmagnola, and there planned together the battle, which was to prove for them so signal a triumph.

The most trustworthy contemporary evidence clearly establishes the fact that military insubordination in those days was universal and unlimited, and that, even where explicit instruction had been received from headquarters, they were frequently treated with total disrespect by the troops,



who took it in turn to levy contributions, and to plunder, wherever they went, as the fortunes of war fluctuated, the spoils doubtless in the case of the French and Germans alike being realised to make good arrears of pay.

The war continued with unabated vigour, and the French, whom their Venetian allies no longer supported, lost ground day by day. The Austrians invaded the dukedom of Parma and the States of the Church: and Modena only saved itself from a similar fate by trimming with the victorious side, and admitting the temporary occupation of the troops of Louis XIV., who during 1704 and 1705 caused money to be struck of the lower values in his name. Italy was torn and impoverished from one end to the other by these operations; and the whole of Europe was equally unsettled and distracted. A winter of unexampled severity came in 1709 to intensify the difficulties and the misery everywhere; it was what was long remembered as the *Anno del Ghiaccio*. Venice alone stood aloof, painfully sensible of the humiliating straits to which circumstances reduced her, yet scarcely in a position to refer to any Power, which was just then more or even so fortunately situated.

The frost took possession of the lagoons and canals; and pedestrians could reach Mestra on foot. It was a spectacle which had been very rarely witnessed before; and the King of Denmark, who paid a visit to the capital at the end of February, was perhaps as greatly surprised at the aspect of the place (so unlike what he might well have anticipated) as he was enchanted by the splendid reception, by which he was honoured. The Doge presented his Majesty, when he left on the 6th March, with three cannon, expressly cast for the purpose under his eyes, with appropriate and complimentary inscriptions. The royal guest belonged to that group of Northern Powers, which it was the wise aim of Venice to conciliate as counterpoises to Turkey.

All Europe was in arms, and no Power was perhaps more desirous of repose than Venice, or in greater want of it. The geographical situation of the capital happily limited the primary requirements of the Republic to the protection of the Gulf and a vigilant control over the river traffic of the immediate *terra firma*. But the great continental States, possessing extensive frontiers constantly exposed to attack, and

multiplying their responsibilities by unprofitable conquests, were in a far less secure and enviable condition; and France, above all, operating on so many points at a distance from its base, was exhausted by the disastrous and barren campaigns of Louis XIV. and his lieutenants, especially where they had to cope with such leaders as Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough, the former <sup>1</sup> of whom virtually brought to a close the French domination in the Peninsula. The French Minister of State, the Marquis de Torcy, represented to the Venetian ambassador at Paris the view of his royal master, that the Signory might beneficially and effectually intervene; and the Cavaliere Sebastiano Foscari was accredited as a plenipotentiary to see what could be accomplished. The French Government highly approved of the appointment of Foscari, and again dwelled on the possibility and value of an Italian League, of which Savoy should form part; De Torcy said that his master was willing to place himself, to a certain extent, in the hands of such a personage as the Signory had selected; but the great difficulty lay in the extravagant demands of the Emperor. Foscari, however, in a communication to his own Government, stated that the Holy See seemed to be indifferent to any interests but its own, and that the terms of the Allies were exorbitant, ostensibly growing more so, in proportion as Louis betrayed his anxiety for a settlement by enlisting the mediatorial offices of the Venetians on his side.

Foscari found that he was powerless, more especially when fresh reverses befell the French arms in 1709; and the King, as a last resource, appealed to England. The Tory Ministry of Queen Anne decided to support him; and the personal visit of Prince Eugene to London, in 1712,<sup>2</sup> failed to shake the resolution. This change of front, and accession of at least moral influence, were favourable to the cause of peace. But just at that moment occurred a diplomatic rupture between France and the Signory in consequence of the Venetian Cardinal Ottoboni, a personage of great mark and of wide culture, having accepted without the sanction of Venice the

<sup>1</sup> At Höchstadt in 1704, usually known as the Battle of Blenheim, where the allied French and Bavarians were signally defeated.

<sup>2</sup> The first Earl of Bristol in his Diary, Jan. 8, and March 3, 1712, notes having had the Prince to dine and sup with him at his house in St. James's Square, on the former occasion the Duke of Marlborough being also of the party.

post of French representative at the Vatican. It had long been a strict rule, that no Venetian subject should enter into the employment of a foreign Power, unless the proceeding was first submitted to the Senate, and approved by that body; the lengthened absence of any breach of the law perhaps led to its lapse into oblivion; and in 1699 the necessity arose for its re-enactment owing to the strange case of the Abbot Vincenzo Grimani. This nobleman, during the carnival of 1690, had secretly arranged at Venice an accommodation between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy; he subsequently removed to Vienna, where, deaf to the summons of his country to return home, he so ingratiated himself with Leopold I., that he obtained through his Majesty a cardinal's hat, and in 1708 was sent by his august patron as Viceroy to Naples, while it was in Austrian hands. As a consequence his name was removed from the Golden Book, and his property was confiscated, nor was the intercession of the Court of Vienna of any effect till the conclusion of the Treaty of Carlowitz, when the Signory condescended to readmit him to favour. The Senate, on the commission of the same constitutional misdemeanour by Ottoboni, at once took action, and called on the Cardinal to renounce his new functions at Rome. Instead of complying, he sought refuge in France; whereupon he experienced a similar treatment. Louis was highly incensed at a measure which he chose to interpret as an affront to himself; and the Venetian ambassador vainly endeavoured to convince him, that the laws of the Republic were entitled to obedience. The French envoy at Venice was recalled, and the Venetian one at Paris received his passports. The Republic, however, was too valuable an ally to be long out of favour. The French Minister shortly signified (December, 1712) that his master was desirous of the re-establishment of friendly relations, and that the advantages to the Most Serene Republic of a close alliance with the Most Christian King were, moreover, manifest.

No direct result followed these overtures; but meanwhile Carlo Ruzzini had succeeded the Cavaliere Foscari as the Venetian plenipotentiary to the congress, which was now appointed to assemble at Utrecht. The countries represented were England, France, Austria, Savoy, Holland, and Venice. Other Italian States sent envoys to the conference; but only



Savoy and Venice had seats at the board. The most active and influential member of the diplomatic corps was probably Ruzzini, who tried to approach all his associates in turn, and arrive at some practical basis of negotiation. He had an interesting conversation with one of the English delegates, Lord Strafford, who reflected the prevailing opinions at home, and spoke very frankly of the selfish ambition of Austria and its aim at aggrandizement in Italy, which should and could be resisted by an union of the Italians among themselves. Ruzzini testified his warm appreciation of the sympathy and goodwill of England; he similarly approached his other colleagues; he found the French ambassador earnest and cordial enough in his wishes and hopes for Italian happiness and tranquillity and a general European concert; but when he came to the Italian diplomatists themselves, there was little else than irresolution, timidity, and mutual distrust. The bias of the English sovereign and cabinet was adverse to Austria; Lord Strafford told Ruzzini that his country had spent immense sums in these wars, which seemed to promise the acquisition of preponderance either by the French or the Austrians, but that the object of the Queen was to secure a general peace, and to maintain the balance of power for every country, Italy included. After all, however, the grand obstacle to success lay in the reconciliation of the respective claims of France and Austria. Savoy had every disposition to make common cause with the Signory; and the friendly leaning of England toward France had its obvious utility. The probability was that in whatever arrangements the Venetians and Savoyards were able to make, the rest of the Italian Powers would sooner or later acquiesce.

Ruzzini perceived, and advised his Government, that France did not (he thought) really wish to see an united Italy; and even England, when the congress actually met in the spring of 1713, treated that point with an indifference and lukewarmth suggestive of inspiration from Paris or of a fear on the part of the Tories, lest their impatience for a pacific arrangement might be disappointed by the conflict of opinion among so many independent princes.

The Treaty of Utrecht, for which Europe was unquestionably indebted in a very large measure to the indefatigable

exertions of Ruzzini,<sup>1</sup> who more than once almost despaired of success, and who had lavished all his eloquence and tact in bringing over to his side Lord Strafford, Lord Peterborough, the Bishop of Bristol, the Abbot of Polignac, Conte Maffei (the Savoyard envoy), and everybody calculated to promote the desired end, was at length signed on the 11th April, 1713, by France, England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy, with power to Spain to join hereafter. But Austria withheld its cohesion till the following year, when, the French under the Maréchal de Villars having obtained some successes over Prince Eugene, the two commanders concluded an armistice at Rastadt (March 6, 1714), which was confirmed by the Peace of Baden (September 7). These dispositions, apart from other points, affected Italy in more than one material respect. The greater part of the Milanese, Naples, the *Porti di Presidio* in Tuscany, and Sardinia, were adjudged to Austria, which also gained Mantua, Monteferrato, and Mirandola. The rest of the Milanese went to Savoy, which offers itself to our view in the closing years of the seventeenth century as a Power unsettled in its destiny, and as turning toward the State or States affording for the time the fairest promise for its security and advancement. In 1691 the Swiss Cantons and the Vaudois are found courting the Duke in order to enlist his sympathy with the Protestant cause. A few years later, just as the Peace of Ryswyk was in course of conclusion, a contemporary writer lays it to the charge of the Savoyards, who were not directly interested in that treaty, that they had clandestinely made a separate one with France, and betrayed the Swiss.<sup>2</sup>

The Venetian secretary of legation, writing home in the absence of his chief, did not express himself very sanguinely as to the likelihood of prolonged benefits from all these laborious parleys and discussions. The treaties of Utrecht and Baden, so far as Italy and Venice were concerned, were too much on existing lines and too remote from any attempt or approach in the direction of Italian unity and welfare, to last very long. There was usually a considerable distance even in these comparatively modern times between the text and execution of

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes absurdly described as "Matt's Peace," allusively to Matthew Prior. It has been also termed the masterpiece of the administration of Lord Treasurer Harley!!

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of the Transactions in Savoy*, 1697.

compacts among States. In 1716 the Porte had not yet fulfilled some of the clauses of the Treaty of Carlowitz, then seventeen years old. Historians seem to have agreed in ignoring the unquestionably influential share which the Signory had, through its able diplomatic agents, in promoting the treaties, not only of Westphalia in 1648, but those of Ryswyk in 1697, of Carlowitz in 1699, and of Utrecht in 1713.

The year 1714 witnessed, in the accession of the House of Brunswick to the British throne, a great political and constitutional change; and another twelvemonth brought to a term the extraordinarily prolonged and checkered career of Louis XIV. From the century also dated an event, of which the ultimate importance was not at first appreciated, in the erection of Prussia (1701) into a kingdom under the Margraf of Brandenburg; and the day arrived, when Savoy, united to Sardinia, reaped the reward of many years of trimming and temporising by its erection into a kingdom in 1720 under Vittorio Amadeo II. The Cavaliere Tron was sent to London in 1715, probably in some measure to congratulate George I. on his accession. The Earl of Bristol was commissioned to wait upon his Excellency at Greenwich, and to conduct him to London, accompanying him to his residence or quarters at St. James's Square.<sup>1</sup>

The prominent part readily conceded to Venice in the recent transactions was a flattering tribute to its diplomatic energy and its living political force, yet the nearly chronic neutrality, which partly commended the Republic as a mediator, partly implied its wane as a Power. New conditions and new principles were springing up on every side. The maps of Italy and Europe had been again and again reconstructed. That of the world was periodically receiving fresh and strange names; unknown lands began to occupy places where the earliest draughtsmen recognized only an unbroken watery expanse; and the merchant and the traveller ploughed unknown seas. To the discovery of the Indies other marvellous extensions of geographical science had been periodically added; nor was it to be long before the much more than suspected existence of a new continent southward of the Straits of Magellan received definite confirmation. New

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of the First Earl of Bristol*, 1894, p. 62.



channels of industry had been opened. Portugal and Spain had enjoyed a transient ascendancy, and had made way for England and Holland, of which both had their companies trading to the Indies; and the State which was the pioneer and model of them all and the oldest mercantile community in Western Europe, played the part of a retired capitalist of an anterior school, whose experience and impartiality were held in general respect.

But while commerce and the revenue were constantly suffering a decline, private expenditure did not seem to abate, and with a luxury and splendour, quite vying with periods of infinitely greater prosperity and affluence, there had in the eighteenth century set in a corruption of manners, a less keen sense of honour, and a less strenuous patriotism. In the closet and at the council-board wise views and lofty sentiments were expressed by certain distinguished men; but the interests of the public service were neglected; money grew scarcer and scarcer; private subsidies, once so prompt and so abundant, were grudgingly contributed in a constantly reduced ratio; additional taxation was resented by the people at large, spoiled by the immemorial and exceptional lightness of their burdens; and when from diplomacy the Government found itself obliged to turn to a different sphere of activity, where men and material of war, instead of speeches and arguments, were demanded, the cry was raised that the Arsenal was nearly denuded of ships and that the Exchequer was nearly destitute of specie.

The Republic, while its Government accepted the position of umpire or referee between the Western Powers, a function which it exchanged for that of active belligerent interposition, and while every effort was being made on its own part to avoid war, had been strongly befriended, so far as the relations with the Porte went, by the aggressive and successful movements of the Imperialists and the Russians from different points on the Turkish frontiers, and the heavy and continuous losses of the Sultan; and the opportunities afforded by these diversions should have enabled Venice to organize its resources and place its outlying territories in a posture of defence. It might already be perfectly possible to foresee the not very remote consequences of the reckless policy of Turkey; but at present that empire merely emerged from one war to plunge

into another. The Grand Vizier had concluded peace with Russia. The Emperor Charles VI. was growing tired of the struggle in Hungary, aggravated by the disaffection of Transylvania. Poland was absorbed by internal discord; the Swedes were directing their arms elsewhere; and the juncture appeared to be altogether propitious for returning to the Morea, where Venice was unprepared for attack, and where no Morosini stood between the Porte and so coveted a possession. The Senate had ordered new fortifications in that peninsula in 1712, and some progress had been made with them; but the province was in a deplorable state owing to the vicissitudes of war and rule; the garrisons were inadequate; and ammunition and money were short. The local representatives of Venice were not deficient in energy and goodwill; but their employers failed to render them the necessary support.

Heavy armaments had been during some time in progress at Constantinople, and were said to be destined for operations at Malta and in Montenegro; but the Venetian Bailo advised the Signory what their real object was; and the authorities in the Morea equally put the Government at home on its guard by reports of movements evidently threatening the same point. The Signory sought with the usual result to enlist in its cause some of the other Christian communities, with which it had so recently been in active and amicable diplomatic correspondence; and it was therefore vain to reckon on allies in the evidently forthcoming collision. If a pretext on the side of the Porte was deemed necessary, it soon existed in the seizure of a richly laden Turkish vessel and its detention by the Venetian commandant of Cattaro; and the Bailo of the Republic at Constantinople, after a sharp and bitter reprimand by the Grand Vizier, was committed to the fortress of Abydos as a hostage for the Turkish residents at Venice. The Porte notified to the court of Vienna the fact of the rupture; and Prince Eugene offered his intercession, which was refused. Meanwhile a fleet, which had been placed under the command of the Captain-General Dolfino, was found incapable of facing the superior strength of the enemy, and the reinforcements asked and expected never arrived. The consequence was that, the naval squadron being involuntarily passive, and the fortresses being ill-protected, not only the Morea, which it had cost the Republic at the end of the preceding century so much

labour and skill to recover, and particularly Corinth, which defied the summons of the Grand Vizier to surrender,<sup>1</sup> but after a gallant defence was stormed and sacked, but the reserved places in Candia were, in the course of two years from the outbreak of hostilities, entirely and permanently lost (1714-16); and Corfu narrowly escaped capture by the Turks, partly owing to a successful sortie, and partly to the effect of the total defeat of the army of the Sultan at Peterwardein by Prince Eugene (5th August, 1716).<sup>2</sup> The Venetians, it is true, had in the previous April entered into a treaty with the Emperor, renewing that of 1684; but the sole advantage reaped from this arrangement was the goodwill of the Prince and his master, and the indirect service involved in the late important military diversion. The want of a capable leader, added to that of the stimulating and sustaining influence of a strong central power, largely explained this capital disaster; yet there seems to have been some sheer cowardice or fatuity, where so impregnable a position as Malvasia surrendered without waiting for the fleet and without firing a shot. Such pusillanimous and unsoldierlike behaviour filled Venice with indignation and the Turks themselves with amazement.<sup>3</sup> The commandant of Malvasia ended his days in prison.

The Austrian victory at Peterwardein probably, however, saved Corfu itself, and animated the Republic with courage to resume the offensive. The gratification on the receipt of the news was intense. The Government displayed characteristic gratitude toward those who had contributed to redeem the national honour; to Marshal Schulemburg, leader of the heroic sortie which turned the scale at Corfu, it granted an annuity of 5000 ducats for life, presented him with a jewelled sword, and erected a statue to him in the old citadel, with an inscription, in which he was called the general-in-chief, not of

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian provveditor extraordinary responded to the Turkish demand as follows: "A voi primo Ministro della Porta Ottomana da noi comandante con tutta la milizia ed abitanti di Corinto, siamo risoluti di sostenere la difesa di questa piazza. Son pero inutili le vostre minacce le quali non minorano punto il coraggio con qui siamo pronti di respingere ogni vostro tentativo. Iddio è con noi, e principalmente con suo santo aiuto confidiamo di conservar questa posta alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia. Dalla fortezza di Corinto il 29 giugno 1715 s.n. Giacomo Minotto prov. straord." Romanin, viii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> The evacuation by the Turks of Corfu was immediately succeeded by a tremendous thunderstorm, in which their fleet suffered great damage.—Romanin, viii. 51, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. viii. 45, 46.



Venice, but of the Christian commonwealth. The battle of Peterwardein and the relief of Corfu, to which the Venetians now brought provisions, stores, and money, were followed by a series of advantages at sea over the Porte and by the invaluable concurrent repulses of its arms on land by Austria and Russia. The Venetian naval commanders displayed equal judgment and heroism; and a contemporary authority<sup>1</sup> celebrates the exploits of two vessels engaged in one of the numerous conflicts with the enemy, the *Salute* and the *Madonna dell' Arsenale*.

The Turks found themselves environed by hostile forces on all sides; and the tide of fortune was turning against them. They opened negotiations for peace with Vienna, and even solicited the good offices of England and Holland in a similar direction. At first the Austrians sought to exclude Venice from the operation of any arrangement which might be made, and protested that the fall of Corfu was only averted by the victory at Peterwardein; but Carlo Ruzzini, commissioned by the Signory as its plenipotentiary, with his secretary Bianchi,<sup>2</sup> eventually joined the other delegates at Passarovitz. There was some farther delay in consequence of informalities on the part of the Sultan, who also placed difficulties in the way, as regarded the concession of a seat to the Venetian representative at the congress, pleading that the Signory had been the main cause of the war; and the Venetians, seeing this state of feeling alike at Vienna and Constantinople, resolved to fight and treat at the same time in the hope, that by the maintenance of a belligerent attitude better terms might be obtained. Ruzzini indeed spared no exertions to secure honourable and advantageous conditions; and the Austrian envoy on his side was not wanting in courage. He demanded the restitution of Moldavia and Wallachia and other territory. But the reported disembarkation of a large Spanish force in Sardinia moderated the tone of the Imperialists, and inspired the Grand Vizier with a determination to make peace as hard as possible for the Power which the Sultan had already stripped of some of its fairest and dearest possessions, and toward which at the same time his Majesty cherished the most cordial animosity.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Romanin, viii. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Bianchi subsequently wrote an account of the transactions connected with this important diplomatic business.

Ruzzini had asked for the retrocession of the parts of Candia reserved under the treaty of 1699, and of Morea, Cerigo, and Tino, or, as an alternative, the enlargement of Venetian Albania, so as to include Dulcigno, with certain territory in Dalmatia and Herzgovina; but he was obliged to surrender the Morea, and to be content with a few strong places in Dalmatia, Albania, and Herzgovina; and on this basis, so far as the Signory was affected, the Peace of Passarovitz was concluded (21st July, 1718). Upon the exchange of the ratifications, the representatives of the Powers embraced each other, and there were salvos of artillery to celebrate the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Venice had thus lost since the second half of the fourteenth century an important part of Dalmatia, Zara inclusive, Negropont, Scio, Cyprus, Candia, and the Morea, after the expenditure on their acquisition and preservation of an incalculable amount in life and money. Venetian Lombardy, portions of the Illyric Dominion, and the Ionian Isles, still remained; but as if there had not been sufficient reverses and sacrifices, in the same autumn, on the night of the 21st September, the powder magazine in the old castle at Corfu was struck by lightning, and immense damage and loss of life followed. The place was restored as promptly as possible to even more than its former strength and capability of defence.

The desire of the Signory to gain possession of Dulcigno principally arose from a hope of extirpating the piratical element, which so strongly prevailed in that vicinity; and it happened about three years after the pacification of 1718 that a hostile collision in the port of Venice between a Venetian barque and one belonging to Dulcigno nearly involved a fresh war with the Porte. Terms of accommodation were, however, arranged; and on the side of Turkey it was admitted that the Dulcignots were folks not easily kept within moderate bounds. They were officially enjoined to refrain for the future from frequenting any Venetian ports, and from molesting the subjects of the Republic. It was a position, situated on an inaccessible rock, offering peculiar facilities for attack and

<sup>1</sup> Lady Bristol, writing to her husband from Richmond, Surrey, July 25, 1718, says: "The King had an express to-day at twelve o'clock, which brings word that the peace is signed between the Emperor and the Turks for twenty-four years, instead of twelve (which was the first agreement) and the Venetians included in the same agreement."

retreat to the natives, and its notoriety in this respect long survived Venetian independence.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty of 1718 is remarkable as the last active diplomatic intervention of Venice in the affairs of Europe. Thenceforward the Signory, unavoidably sensible of the steady development of new forces, with which, apart from decadent prosperity and resources, it was growing more and more unable to cope, relapsed into a neutrality, which was never again to be interrupted, save in one or two instances, where a special circumstance or an individual of strong character temporarily roused a State, once the most energetic and even aggressive among its contemporaries, from its involuntary apathy.

The loose and imperfect principles of Levantine colonization or feudal dependence, as distinguished from the more regular government of the possessions in Venetian Lombardy, assist in explaining the comparative ease and celerity with which the Republic lost them in succession, when the failure of her military and even naval capacity rendered it more difficult to maintain an adequate armed power to protect them from attack or from seizure. Except in Candia, where the revolt of the Calergi and others resulted, in the fourteenth century, in the influx of a more or less numerous Venetian element, the Government had done little in the direction of consolidating its influence, and had been content to plant garrisons in the fortresses with a military commandant and a civil podesta and his staff; and, looking at its prolonged duration and tolerable success, it is difficult to blame the Venetians for following a plan which had the Greek and Roman practice as a precedent, and which failed only, because a people, as dissimilar from them as possible in every other respect, but gradually acquiring, like them, both military and naval ascendancy, unexpectedly interposed in European affairs, and after a time, when Venice was no longer the mistress of large and elastic resources, wrested from them, one by one, at immense sacrifices of life and money, the territorial appurtenances of ages.

The neutral attitude of Venice was greatly and happily facilitated by the perpetual dissensions of those Powers, which lay more or less at a distance from her frontiers, and par-

<sup>1</sup> Dulcigno now forms a valuable seaport of the kingdom of Montenegro.



ticularly by the almost incessant wars between Turkey on the one part, and Persia, Russia, and Austria on the other; but she occasionally suffered the inconvenience and indignity of a violation of her territory by the passage of troops or even by hostile operations within the lines of the Dominion. The main and central aim of the Signory in the first moiety of the eighteenth century was to avoid expenditure, and to endeavour to retrieve in some measure her commercial rank. A report of the Savii alla Mercanzia (Board of Trade), drawn up in 1733 by direction of the Senate, placed before the eyes of public men of all shades of opinion the facts relevant to the withdrawal of business from Venice, which had been in progress since the commencement of the preceding century, when Sir Robert Dudley, that many-sided man of genius, was instrumental in inducing the Grand-duke of Tuscany to make Leghorn a *scala franca* or free port, during his long residence at Florence, and the drift of trade to Trieste, Ancona, Leghorn, Genoa, and elsewhere, independently of the vast damage accruing from the great fair at Sinigaglia established by his Holiness Clement XII. As far back as 1588 England, which had been so valuable a customer to the Republic, is found placing orders with the Hollanders for bows and arrows, swords, armour, provisions and other necessities to the value of nearly £21,000. It was a nearer and probably a cheaper market. The matter was of the highest moment and urgency, yet years elapsed without any definite conclusion. In 1736 the Senate fixed the import duty at a ducat per bale and the export at half a ducat on all goods whatever, with the understanding that the limits of a bale were to be defined. At the same time, the mercantile community was reassured and conciliated by more active proceedings against the buccaneers of Barbary, Dulcigno, and other points.

Venice might have ceased to be a Power of imperial rank and weight; but her Government was still composed of men, who personally or by immediate tradition recollected prouder and happier times, and who were reluctant enough to submit to affronts or injuries, nor indisposed, if the means were available, to support legitimate grievances by force of arms. The old martial impulse was not quite extinct. The Signory, deposed from its exalted position as a first-rate European Power, remained the first sovereign city in Europe, if not in

the world, with no inconsiderable realised wealth and an almost superstitious prestige, partly due to passed achievements, and partly to an aptitude for administrative management, which survived to the very last. So we find the Venetians taking a high ground in passing differences with the Curia, with Ferrara, with Ragusa, and even with Austria; threatening the last Power with active resistance to one proposal in regard to the ecclesiastical government of Aquileia, and declining a second, addressed to it by Maria Theresa, with a view to an exchange of territory not disadvantageous to either party. But the most serious and protracted controversy was with the Holy See, in consequence of the opposition of the Senate to the mischievous practice of granting indulgences, dispensations, and other acts of favour to Venetian subjects direct, instead of such privileges being accorded by or through the Patriarch of Venice. There was a suspension of diplomatic relations, offers of intercession from France and Austria, and a long correspondence, when the Pope died (1758), and was succeeded by Clement XIII. of the Venetian family of Rezzonico, who addressed a most gracious epistle to the Doge, and upon a rejoinder in a corresponding spirit from the Senate there came to his Serenity the Golden Rose. The actual outcome of the dispute was the same as on so many previous occasions. The Signory remained mistress of the situation.

While the volume of trade centring in the lagoons had undoubtedly not only shrunk, but was steadily continuing to diminish, considerable activity was visible among the industrial classes; large numbers were employed in remunerative and permanent callings; in 1512 the operatives in the woollen business alone had been estimated at 30,000, and in 1517 the manufacture of cloths of this material is said to be one of the chief employments of the poorer people. The population, which had never been great, was maintained at the standard of the sixteenth century; and the capital was the perpetual resort of thousands bent on profit or pleasure. It was a feature in the Grand Tour, which no foreigner of family, who prized his reputation, could omit; and down to the end the periodical visits of crowned heads gave additional zest to the spot and a farther stimulus to local commerce. The *Sensa* was still held, and in 1730 Venice commemorated by general

rejoicings the centenary of the deliverance from the horrible plague, which exterminated a third of the entire nation. So extravagance kept pace with any amount of income, public and private. The cry of the Progressionists was, *Moderate luxury, moderate luxury!* But the bent was all the other way. The noble Venetian of the later type was an irreclaimable prodigal. Even the ducal election expenses had increased from reign to reign; in 1732 they were four times what they had been in far more prosperous days; and in 1763 they were double the amount incurred in 1732.

The succession of Doges<sup>1</sup> during this interval exercised no perceptible influence over the course of events. Not their deficiency in merit and character, for they were without exception tried servants of their country in various capacities, but the changed relations of the throne to the constitution, and the absence of any critical episode and commanding personality since the death of Francesco Morosini, united to effect a difference in the aspect of affairs and the treatment of the subject. But it was the fortunate lot of at least one (Francesco Loredano) to witness unbroken tranquillity, which had grown tantamount to life, and which was largely promoted by the universally welcome peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). These intervals of repose were wisely dedicated to works of utility and reform at home, especially at the Arsenal; and attention was given to the woods and forests, on which the Admiralty depended for its supply of timber. But it was an era of projects and reforms of all kinds—legal, economical, constitutional, educational, mechanical. The minds of men seemed to have been diverted from foreign concerns to internal affairs, and the best methods of reanimating a moribund political patient. Attention was directed to the navigation of the Brenta; and a scheme for its improvement was promoted by an influential private syndicate. In the Padovano agriculture of all kinds was encouraged; and the Government is found in 1739-40<sup>2</sup> protecting that province from the troublesome and illegal incursions of cattle from the Seven Communes. One of the Grimani family proposed to shorten the transit to and from the Grisons by tunnelling or piercing

<sup>1</sup> Luigi Mocenigo (in succession to Silvestro Valiero), 1700-1709, Giovanni Cornaro, 1709-22, Sebastiano Mocenigo, 1722-32, Carlo Ruzzini, 1732-35, Luigi Pisani, 1735-41, Pietro Grimani, 1741-52, Francesco Loredano, 1752-62.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation of the Podesta of Padua, 23 January, 1739-40.



Monte Martarolo, and conveying goods by the Lake of Como. The expedient promised to save twenty hours; but Austria looked unfavourably on it, and it dropped, whereupon the Signory was prompted to scrutinise an old treaty with the canton made under different commercial conditions in 1706, and to revoke it as almost exclusively to the advantage of the Swiss, a circumstance made more probable by the earnest representations of the alleged beneficiaries. This was in 1766, and three years later a postal service was established for carrying passengers and mails once a week from Verona to Vienna by Milan and Mantua. New roads were formed on the skirts of the lagoons in the direction of Mira, Padua, and Treviso, with a view to expediting the transit between the capital and the provinces. The waste of time under the old state of affairs is barely credible. Coryat tells us in 1610 that he left Padua for Venice on a Friday in June about seven o'clock in the morning, and reached his destination about two in the afternoon, accomplishing a distance of five-and-twenty miles in seven hours or thereabout. At Lizza Fusina (he calls it *Lucie Fusine*), he was transferred from the barque, in which he had descended the Brenta, to a gondola, which conveyed him the rest of the way. When he started on his journey home on the 8th August, 1610, after a stay of six weeks and two days, he went in a barque at eight in the evening, and reached Padua at nine the next morning. Of course the swift and strong current on the Brenta was against him the whole way from Lizza Fusina.

In 1755 the journey from Milan to Venice occupied about seven hours, and at the same period that from the capital to Mestre was not accomplished by gondola in less than fourteen. In 1756 Casanova embarked at the Porta della Carta, passed the Custom-house and Giudecca, reached thence Lizza Fusina, and finally came to Mestre, where he narrowly escaped recapture.

There had been a few years before a plan for building a viaduct to connect the city with the mainland; but it was postponed. The communication between Venice and Germany, however, was facilitated and expedited by a new route with an outlet at Portogruaro. So far back as 1716 Vincenzo Coronelli had in his *Giornale Veneto* urged the permanent protection of the *lidi* by facing them with marble and placing landing-stairs

of the same material at intervals; and in 1744 the construction of these murani commenced under the superintendence of the engineer Zendrini, and was carried on year by year at great expense. It is surprising that it should have been reserved for so advanced a period to undertake this work; but it is the more creditable to the country that it should have incurred so interminable an outlay for the benefit of after-comers.

Throughout 1761 and the succeeding year the question of the authority of the Council of Ten and Inquisitors of State was again energetically canvassed; but no practically important fruits resulted from a controversy which retraversed much of the old ground. Even the expulsion of the Jesuits, in conformity with the course adopted by other countries and other Italian States, became the motive for placing the teaching system in popular schools on a better footing, and introducing new text-books.

There was quite a commercial revival. Fresh treaties were concluded with different Powers in Europe and Africa; the intercourse with Holland grew more and more regular and constant; additional consular establishments were opened;<sup>1</sup> and seeing the inability to prevail on other countries to join in repressing the Barbary pirates, the Signory deemed it best to continue the annual tax of 10,000 ducats, in addition to 70,000 more distributed in gifts or bribes—a proof that the profits on trade were yet tolerably handsome. A Chamber of Commerce on the model of that instituted by Colbert in France was mooted in 1763; but the existing authorities (*savii alla mercanzia*) disapproved of the idea on the ground that the interests of merchants were better safeguarded by independent officials.

Whatever might be predicated or augured of all these tardy movements, they were more profitable than a participation in the endless feuds of the continent of Europe. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was scarcely more than a recent recollection when the Seven Years' War broke out between Prussia and Austria. Venice remained absolutely aloof, nor did the operations affect her interests or her territory. The Peace of Hubertsburg was concluded in 1763.

<sup>1</sup> Nicolo Veniero, writing from Antwerp in 1783 to Caterina Cornaro, stated that he had been making at Amsterdam observations likely to be useful to the Republic, and that the latter ought to have a consul at that port.—Molmenti, *La Vie privée à Venise*, 1882, p. 430.

## CHAPTER XLI

A.D. 1762–1797

Marco Foscarini, Doge (1762–63)—Antecedents of Foscarini—His share in the constitutional agitation of 1761–62—His literary tastes and productions—A favourable type of the latter-day Doge—His sudden death and last moments—Inauguration of his successor, Luigi Mocenigo (1763)—Diplomatic arrangements with Tunis, Tripoli, etc.—Constitutional agitation continued—Giorgio Pisani and Carlo Contarini—Their arrest and expatriation—Their final fortunes, and those of Angelo Quirini—A curious episode in 1774—The case of Pier Antonio Gratarol—Danger of a war with the Netherlands (1772)—Distinguished guests at Venice—Angelo Emo and his extraordinary triumphs at sea (1784–92)—Paolo Renier and Luigi Manin, Doges (1779–97)—Approach of the end—The French in Italy—Negotiations of the Procurator Pietro Pesaro with Bonaparte—Correspondence of Pesaro with Caterina Cornaro (1795–96)—Last Act of the Venetian Senate (1797)—Surrender of the city to the French—The one hundred and twentieth Doge abdicates—Farewell of Pesaro to his country and to La Corner before his departure for England.

THE Doge Marco Foscarini, who was born in 1696, and who crowned a distinguished and active career as a public servant by succeeding to the throne in 1762, had borne a prominent share in the constitutional and parliamentary battle of the day on the jurisdiction of the Decemvirs and the Inquisitors of State. In 1744 he was sent as ambassador to the Court of Turin, and in his Relation at his return entered into a full account of the royal house of Savoy, the policy and government of the Sardinian ministry, the principal public buildings, and the commercial state of the then young kingdom. The experience of Foscarini, his discharge of the highest official functions, and his ability as a speaker, united to render him an influential advocate and partisan; and he had thrown the weight of his opinions and character into the scale in favour of the existing order of things, and against the revival of the movement for modifying the powers of the oligarchy. The new Doge was not therefore the popular candidate; for although as the descendant of the unfortunate Antonio Foscarini, who owed his violent death in 1622 to an egregious miscarriage of justice on the part of the Inquisitors of State, he had the



strongest private reason to look with dissatisfaction on that body and institution, he insisted that it was one peculiarly adapted for the purpose which it fulfilled, and was an indispensable element in the Executive. Having received his earlier education under the paternal roof, he completed his studies at Bologna, and throughout his life he continued to devote all available intervals to the cultivation of his mind and to literary work. In a letter written by Marco Forcellini, April 6, 1747, to his brother Egidio the lexicographer, he observes: "During the passed month I have visited Foscarini, sometimes after dinner, sometimes in the morning, and ever discover new motives for blessing the happy fortune so unexpectedly afforded me. He has an exquisite politeness and an equally gracious affability. He comes round to the views of others with an admirable readiness. He listens, he stimulates, he draws. I find him incapable of becoming reproachful and of low thoughts. His study is very fine, and his library excellently furnished, so that I have spent much time in it. He is, besides, so indefatigable in his literary work, that it would be ten persons' work to keep pace with him. I do not know what sort of brain he can have, or what soul, to be so passionately absorbed in the quest of glory."

His most celebrated performance was his unfinished *History of Venetian Literature*; but he produced many other *opusculi*, which remain in manuscript.<sup>1</sup> He offers himself to our view as an individual of ancient lineage, wide political observation, eloquent address, refined tastes, and easy manners; and he may be accepted as a highly favourable type of the latter-day Doge. He signalized his accession by two public allocutions, in which he referred to his forty years' arduous services in various departments of the State: the first was delivered in St. Mark's, the second at the head of the Giants' Staircase on the following day after the coronation.

But his health soon gave way, and his physician, it

<sup>1</sup> Some of his writings may be at Vienna among the Foscarini MSS., which were sold in 1799 to the Austrian Government for 10,500 *lire Venete*. Romanin, viii. 143, note. A list of them is given by G. Dandolo in his *Caduta della Repubblica di Venezia*, 1855-7. The treatise *Dei viaggiatori Veneziani* was printed in the 4th volume of the *Archivio Storico Italiano*. Books with the Foscarini arms in gold on the sides occasionally occur.

appears, failed to warn him of the imminence of his danger, and, as he thought, did not treat him with much skill. He had presided over affairs barely ten months, when he died on the last day of March, 1763. He had taken down from the shelf a book, *De arte bene moriendi*, and tried to dictate some notions which he derived from it to his doctor Signore Calza; but he was in a high state of fever, and he spoke incoherently. He had desired to provide for his servants; and the last intelligible words on his lips were, *Povera servitù*. He had neglected his private concerns to such an extent that he left debts amounting to a quarter of a million of ducats; and it was with difficulty that his creditors were induced to refrain from hindering the funeral arrangements. During his tenure of office his person was exempt from arrest and process; but under the canon law the remains were liable to seizure. Of prepossessing appearance, of suave and courtly manners, a ready and pointed speaker with a peculiar affection for anecdote, and perhaps a tendency to garrulousness, yet a man not only of remarkable culture, but of enlarged views on many public questions, Foscarini seems to have paid no attention to practical matters, and to have permanently impoverished his family; but from a historical point of view his interesting personality stands conspicuously forward, and in an age which has become indifferent to temporary considerations, he is recognizable as one of the most interesting figures and brightest ornaments of his era and country.

His brief term of rule interposed itself between the comparatively long reign of Francesco Loredano from 1752 to 1762 and those of Luigi Mocenigo and Paolo Renier, which covered the period between 1763 and 1789. The entrance of Mocenigo on office on the 19th April 1763 is described by an anonymous contemporary.<sup>1</sup> On the 22nd the Dogaresa proceeded by water to the palace, accompanied by her mother, sisters, nephews, and other relatives, with a numerous retinue, and having seated herself on a raised dais, supported by her friends, received the congratulations of the electoral college and all others present. The festivities extended over three days, and there was a ball in the evening, which her Serenity opened with one of the procura-

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Romanin, viii. 147, 148.

tors of Saint Mark, and in which she danced only one minuet. Her outer robe was of cloth-of-gold similar in texture to that worn by the Doge; the under-petticoat (*sottana*) was sufficiently visible to display the floral sprays of gold lace with which it was smothered; and on her head she exhibited a veil with lappets so disposed as to resemble a berretta. The display of gold lace and jewellery seems to have shown no diminution; and the outlay on these occasions betrayed a continual upward tendency.

The time has been reached when the foreign policy of the Signory advisedly restricted itself to diplomatic correspondence and to the protection of commercial rights by alternate treaties and conflicts with the pirates of Barbary, Dalmatia, and other coasts, and when the central topic in domestic affairs during a long series of years was the obstinately and stormily debated question of constitutional procedure.

The unabated attractions of the city as a place of resort and amusement and the permanent interest of its public edifices and establishments, the unique charm of the site and the perpetual succession of novelties, made Venice the destination of every traveller of taste or means down to the very last moment of independent existence, even more than is now the case with increased facilities for locomotion. The Englishman, the Frenchman, the Spaniard, the German: pope, emperor, king: the statesman, the ecclesiastic, the merchant, the gentleman of fortune: considered their experience or their education incomplete without the power of saying that they had visited this remarkable spot—this unparalleled corner of the earth—a place which seemed only made for pleasure, yet where a larger amount of business had been transacted in the course of ages than in all the other capitals of Europe combined.<sup>1</sup> Hither came the scholar to examine rare books and manuscripts, the political economist for the study of institutions, and the exile in quest of an asylum. Even that much misunderstood celebrity Faust of Knütlingen is made by his biographer to take the Queen of the Adriatic in his way to see the wonders of the world, and to admire the water running through every street, the beauty of Saint

<sup>1</sup> A more particular account of distinguished visitors to Venice will be found in a later chapter.



Mark's, and the cheapness of food, although nothing grew near at hand.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, St. Hugh, a prince's son (as they say) turned shoemaker, when he travelled for his pleasure in his youth, or rather (as some think) to aid him in forgetting a disappointment in love, avoided Venice as a place of dangerous temptation. But perhaps this virtuous resolution was posterior to a shipwreck, in which all his money disappeared.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed a renewal of the martial exploits and triumphs of Morosini in the Peloponesus on other ground and under different conditions and prospects. In 1769 Angelo Emo, born in 1731, the second son of the procurator Giovanni Emo,<sup>2</sup> an eminent soldier and diplomatist, by his wife Lucia Lombardo, appears on the scene as the successor of Jacopo Nani, who had contributed to repress the pirates of Algiers and Tunis without bringing the war to a definite conclusion. Emo, now in his thirty-eighth year, had distinguished himself from his earliest youth by his fondness for mathematical and geographical studies, and was a keen admirer of the great deeds of those Venetians who had gone before him by sea and land. In 1758, before he was thirty, he was sent to Cadiz to negotiate a new commercial treaty with Spain, and on his return would have been lost in a hurricane, after passing the Straits of Gibraltar, had he not stimulated the crew by his directions and example. It was the ambition of this extraordinary young man to restore the maritime ascendancy of his country, and to replace the Arsenal on its former efficient footing; for he perceived with sorrow and shame the decline in the resources of that noble institution, and the neglect of the Republic to avail itself of the improvements periodically introduced into the English and French naval systems. His career, however, was destined to be that not of a reformer, but of the last, and one of the most illustrious, of the long roll of heroes who had made the Venetian name feared and respected on all waters; and he displayed his qualifications for the first time in 1768,

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's *National Tales and Legends*, 1892, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> His elder brother Alvigi was a distinguished statesman and lawyer. Emo himself was a worthy successor of Robert Blake, who, more than a century before, had made the English name dreaded in the same waters under similar circumstances.

when he compelled the Algerines under the treaty of 1763 to surrender certain prizes, to set at liberty the captives whom they had reduced to slavery, and to pay 14,000 ducats for damages.

There is in a somewhat unexpected quarter a valuable illustration of the character of Emo and an interesting light on his movements, and on the general esteem in which he was held, and on the peculiarity of Venetian institutions. In a newsletter of October 6, 1784,<sup>1</sup> we read as follows:—“Admiral Emmo, with a large part of the Venetian fleet under his command, sailed from this port (Tripoli) a few days since. It is the first visit he has paid to this part of Barbary during his expedition against the Tunisians. From the custom he has adopted of distinguishing himself on these occasions, he has entertained on board his ship the sovereigns of most of the courts in Europe. He has been lately in Leghorn, where he gave a dinner, and was honoured with four crowned heads at his table: the King and Queen of Naples, and the Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany. He has given a splendid entertainment during his stay here. The immense quantity of plate and valuable ornaments he has on board is owing to a singular custom, not unusual at Venice, to display the extreme grandeur of their richest houses. From the different branches of his family he has received for this expedition the most costly plate and valuable decorations they possess, which added to his own, and what the States of Venice afford him, enable him to display a sideboard which, for elegance and value, is allowed to be only equalled or surpassed by that of a sovereign. Piles of silver plates were placed on it, each amounting to many dozens, to supply the guests, who partook of three courses served in gold and silver only. The dessert exhibited a service of the finest porcelain, presented to Admiral Emmo by the Queen of Portugal, representing the history of the heathen gods, executed by the first artists.”

From 1784, when hostilities broke out again with the Bey of Tunis, till 1792, when Emo died at Malta after a brief illness, to the inexpressible grief of all his countrymen, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Jacopo

<sup>1</sup> Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli in Africa, from the Tully correspondence; 4<sup>o</sup>, 1816, p. 72.

Parma and certain accomplices,<sup>1</sup> the life of the great soldier was devoted to maritime enterprises, in which his success recalled the days and fortunes of Morosini the Peloponesan. His splendid services in clearing the seas and in humbling the Bey were universally appreciated. The inhabitants of Zante presented him with a gold sword, and struck a medal in his honour. Eulogiums in prose and verse on his victorious progress, wherever he turned his arms, freely flowed from the press. In 1786 he was created a cavaliere, and subsequently a procurator of Saint Mark; and in 1789 the unique distinction befell him of becoming the immediate subject of a communication from the Government of Louis XVI. to the Senate, where the benefits accruing to French subjects and commerce by the enfranchisement of navigation from the Corsairs are signalized, and where the credit is exclusively ascribed to the Venetian Admiral. The minister of Louis concludes by saying that if the usage of the Signory had permitted such a course, his Majesty would have caused the Cavaliere Emo to be personally addressed, and that he hoped that the Senate would be pleased to communicate to that personage the sentiments of the King.

The remains of Emo reached Venice on Thursday, 24th May, 1792, in his beloved flagship *La Fama*, and were followed to the grave by an immense procession of every class of the community, in which the public officials, the mariners, the sea-gunners, and all who desired to mark their professional admiration and sympathy, were conspicuous. On the funeral bier was the inscription: *To Angelo Emo, Cavaliere and Procurator of Saint Mark, Admiral of the Venetian Fleet, the Senate*; and for the armoury at the Arsenal Canova executed a design shewing an obelisk, against which the raging billows dash in vain, while a maiden occupies herself in writing upon it the name of the departed, and a genius descends from heaven to lay on the apex an immortal crown.

While Emo missed the opportunity of accomplishing at home those changes in the management of the Admiralty, of which he so well understood the necessity and value, he did not fail to utilise his experience where the occasion arose

<sup>1</sup> Although Parma, Emo's adjutant, pronounced at Malta a funeral oration on his chief.



in the course of his own campaigns; and in 1785 we find him bringing into play with immense advantage the floating battery which had been used by the Republic as far back as the fifteenth century on the Po.<sup>1</sup> He was a man of genius born out of his time, when the country of which he was so bright an ornament was beyond salvation, itself an anachronism. Emo had during some years made the most emphatic and practical of all protests against the blackmail exacted from his own country, only in common with France, England, the United States,<sup>2</sup> and other governments, by the Algerine and Tunisian pirates in the shape of 5 per cent. on the value of cargoes.

His portrait has been drawn by more than one of his fellow-citizens, who paid tributes to his glorious career: a man of moderate stature, slight frame, and somewhat inclined to stoop; of a pale complexion; his forehead broad; large blue eyes, and black, long, shaggy eyebrows; a wide mouth and thick lips. He was active in his movements, and had a retentive memory.

The concluding sixty or seventy years of Venetian independence by no means exhausted the succession of capable and patriotic public men, whose experience and character qualified them to conduct affairs in every department of the service with distinction and success, and whose polished breeding and persuasive address proved everywhere particularly winning. Girolamo Dandolo has amply shown how, both at home and in the Dalmatian colonies, there still survived in the second moiety of the eighteenth century, noble and patriotic spirits in almost all departments who, under normal conditions, might have united to save the country.<sup>3</sup>

The ambassador at Vienna, Paolo Renier, afterward Doge, whose portrait Molmenti furnishes, was a remarkable illustration of this union of sterling qualities with the charm of the *dolce maniera*. The Emperor Joseph II., as a young man, when he was proceeding on his travels before his accession, was so impressed by the accomplishments of Renier, that he asked

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 132. This invention has been usually ascribed to France, and has been said to have been first introduced by that country at the siege of Gibraltar in 1782!

<sup>2</sup> American merchantmen in 1787 were obliged to provide themselves with a passport from the pirates, it appears. See W. C. Hazlitt, *Four Generations of a Literary Family*, 1897, i. 56, or *The Hazlitts*, 1911, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Caduta della Repubblica di Venezia*, 1855-7.

him to become his companion ; but the Signory intimated its inability or unwillingness to dispense with his services. There had even long existed a far-sighted party of progress, which, as the changes in Europe and the world made the ancient conservatism of Venice more and more out of harmony and sympathy with surrounding conditions and sentiments, vigorously supported the entrance on a more modern and contemporary policy. But the progress of commercial, in common with that of political, reform was nowhere so languid and so insincere as here ; concessions, in themselves inadequate, were more than once made, and as often withdrawn. There was an almost unconquerable prejudice against the proposition to remodel a Government which had been gradually and thoughtfully framed by the wisest heads of centuries, and which had admirably answered the peculiar wants to which it was adapted ; and the minority in favour of compliance with manifest and inevitable changes never acquired sufficient influence at a date when, by judicious and gradual modifications, much might have been done toward rendering Venetian autonomy possible in some shape or other.

At the same time, in an economic direction, many useful improvements and progressive measures conducive to the public convenience became law, and the spirit of invention was continuing to multiply facilities for internal comfort, trade, and intercourse with distant places, unimagined by former generations. We find Alvigi Zenobio,<sup>1</sup> the friend of the late Doge Foscarini and a man of liberal ideas, realising his estate, engaging in trade, and shipping produce to America, and in numerous other ways members of noble houses encouraged and promoted literature, art, and science, and even displayed symptoms of the old heroism, which had overcome in bygone years such stupendous difficulties and dangers. This tendency, late as it might be, was the wholesomest and most beneficial, which we are able to note in the life of the time, and certainly bears very favourable comparison with the factious and futile controversy about the relationship of the Ten and Inquisitors to the constitution, which occupied so much of the foreground in the agenda of the Great Council,

<sup>1</sup> This was probably the same gentleman who is described as residing in Piccadilly, London, in a note to him from John Horne Tooke, apparently sent by hand, and undated.

in the thoughts of the Government, and in the conversation of political circles, from 1761 to 1779. The details, as we shall hereafter see, and the principle involved, have their political and constitutional importance, and more immediately illustrate the private histories of three or four more or less celebrated men and women, whose names and transactions were introduced into them.<sup>1</sup>

Concurrently with the crusade against the Inquisitors of State, rather (after all) than against the Ten, circumstances occurred about this time, which farther tended to create friction and discord. On the 6th March, 1774, one of the Quarantia, Pietro Semitecolo, passing along the Fondamente Nuove, observed the maltreatment by a butcher named Milani of a poor itinerant hawker of books, and remonstrated with the assailant, whereupon Milani dealt Semitecolo himself a violent blow with his fist in the cheek, drawing blood, and necessitating the withdrawal of the magistrate into a neighbouring house. An application was addressed to the Ten for the arrest of the offender; but Pietro Barbarigo, one of the chiefs, pointed out that the council could not act till a full and formal statement of all the facts was before it; and meanwhile Milani escaped. There was a general clamour, and the case was the topic of conversation in every café and restaurant in the city; the Government was bitterly abused, and the Ten, instead of improving the position, rendered it worse by ordering an earlier closing hour for all the coffee-shops and eating-houses, which were supposed to be the focus of popular and seditious cabals. The step produced farther irritation, and a lampoon was found in one of the public thoroughfares, thanking the Capo Barbarigo in the assumed name of the night thieves for enabling them to get their crust of bread a little sooner.<sup>2</sup>

Another grave misadventure, which involved the Executive in unpleasant consequences and exposed it to hostile criticism, was of a different and more complex character. Pier Antonio Gratarol, secretary to the Senate, a married gentleman, was the rival of Carlo Gozzi in the affections of an actress named Teodora Rizzi; and Gozzi resented the intrusion by drawing

<sup>1</sup> See farther particulars in ch. xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> "La compagnia dei laddri notturni ringrazia l' eccellentissimo capo Barbarigo per aver somministrato ad essi il modo nella corrente carestia di procacciarsi un pane in ora molto più discreta e comoda."—Romanin, viii. 196.



one of the characters (M. Adone) in his *Droghe d' Amore*, first performed at the San Luca theatre by the Sacchi company on the 10th January, 1777, so as, with the clever impersonation of the actor Vitalba, to leave no doubt on the mind of the audience who was intended. Gratarol complained to the Inquisitors of State, who did not see their way to interfere, and thought that the secretary was too imaginative; but he was neither to be pacified nor reassured. Visions rose before him of ridicule and banter wherever he shewed his face; and he was a man who from his official rank was admitted to the highest circles. He was one of the set which frequented the drawing-room of the procuratessa Tron, then the leader of fashion, as her husband, Andrea Tron, procurator of Saint Mark, was the leader of political society and ideas. The unfortunate man was not free from a suspicion that the lady in question had had a hand in the mischief. All his prospects in life seemed to be suddenly blighted. He was only just over thirty, a person of culture, with a reputation for talent and amiability; and he was on the point of receiving a new diplomatic appointment at Naples. He wavered in his resolution, and went to Padua for change of scene, and to be better able to decide on a course. But on the night of the 11th September, 1777, he quitted Venice and his official post without notice, proceeded to Ceneda, where he stayed a few days, thence travelled to Germany, and so on to Stockholm, where he published in 1779 an *Apologetical Narration*, seeking to vindicate his conduct.

The Government does not appear to have acted with any particular promptitude, although his absence from his duties must have been equally inconvenient and notorious; and it was not till the 6th November, when he had long removed himself beyond Venetian jurisdiction, that the Inquisitors submitted a report on the subject to the Ten. The latter, on the 22nd December, passed a sentence of deprivation and forfeiture of goods, and set a price on the head of the fugitive, who, in deserting his employment without leave, had violated a rigorous ordinance passed in 1665, in view of the danger calculated to arise from indiscreet or malicious political disclosures. Meanwhile Gratarol had crossed over to England, where he was treated with much kindness, and from England went to Lisbon. He subsequently travelled in the United

States and in Brazil, and finally undertook with the Count and Countess Adelsheim a voyage to Madagascar, where he and his companions met with misadventures, and where he himself died (October 1785).<sup>1</sup>

This affair, so far as the immediate penalty attached to the misdemeanour of Gratarol in quitting Venice *proprio motu* went, created a great stir and consternation, owing to the social status of the offender and the supposed complicity of La Trona in procuring his disgrace; and the *Apologetical Narration* and the accounts of the unhappy business which found their way into the press contributed to lay the oligarchical authority and the barbarously drastic code which it administered open to fresh animadversion, if not odium.

But such unbending sternness and stringency had not been thought unsuitable to the public welfare even by a personage so relatively progressive and modern in many of his opinions as the late Doge Foscari; and when the Inquisitors, after the culmination of the constitutional difficulty, laid before the Great Council on the 4th June, 1780, a statement of the case and of their method of dealing with the culprit, the assembly on the 21st of the following month resolved that, having regard to the passed danger, the triumvirs had deserved well of their country. What more can be said?

A singular instance of the evolution, from an apparently trivial and a purely private incident, of an international rupture which lasted four-and-twenty years, and almost threatened to become of European character, occurred about this time—in 1772—through the nefarious proceedings of a certain Albanian adventurer named Zanovich, who, partly through letters of recommendation procured under false pretences from Simone Cavalli, Venetian resident at Naples, succeeded in obtaining a heavy credit from the firm of Chomel and Jordan of Amsterdam. As soon as that house discovered the fraud, it appealed for protection and redress to the Dutch Government. Zanovich had alleged that he had a valuable cargo of oil, on which he desired an advance; and he represented his brother as the head of a wealthy mercantile establishment. The Signory recalled Cavalli from Milan, whither he had been transferred, and instituted an inquiry,

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, viii. 214-219.

as the matter began to assume serious proportions, and the States of Holland were trying to induce the Emperor to support the claim, through a select committee of the Senate. But the result was that Cavalli was judged to have been simply very credulous—the firm at Amsterdam was surely not less so—and that process was issued against Zanovich and his brother, whose property was confiscated. When the correspondence had continued some time longer, the Government even offered, in the interests of peace, to pay, not officially but on the part of Zanovich, 10,000 ducats in full satisfaction of all claims. The affair was acquiring meanwhile wide notoriety, and the general consensus of opinion was adverse to Holland. This did not deter that State from deliberating, when 1785 had been reached, on the propriety of suspending diplomatic relations, of ordering an embargo on Venetian ships, and of instructing the commander of the Dutch squadron in the Mediterranean to be prepared to take the offensive. The French minister, M. de Vergennes, solemnly warned the Court of the Hague against the grave responsibility of taking the initiative in disturbing the peace of Europe; the prospect of difficulties with the Emperor was increasing; the ambitious projects of the Stadtholder were productive of internal disagreement; and the views and demands of Holland were not shared by the other members of the Union. The Venetian Senate took no farther cognizance of the matter, and it resolved itself into a desultory negotiation, which survived the removal of the house of Chomel to France in 1791, the French Revolution, and the conquest of Holland under the Directory. In 1796 Chomel addressed a memorial to the Doge, ten years after the conclusion of the career of Zanovich, who subsequently posed as an Albanian prince, in the dungeons of Amsterdam. He was tenacious even for a Hollander. His suit had enjoyed a duration of nearly a quarter of a century; it was wholly due to the greedy credulity of his firm; and it was not his blame that it did not involve costly and sanguinary hostilities on an extended scale.

The Doge Paolo Renier, who succeeded in 1779, entertained the view that the primary need of the country was peace—a consummation at that point of time less difficult than it had before been or afterward became. For it was





TEN-DUCAT GOLD PIECE OF PAOLO RENIER, 1779-1789.



a matter of possibility, with a narrower territorial interest and diminished expenditure, to play a passive part, so long as all ideas of conquest were abandoned, and the dominion which remained to Venice was substantially intact. Yet to careful observers the political horizon was already far from reassuring or comfortable. The advanced French school had spread its influence over Europe, and had its pupils even at Venice; and in 1777 Angelo Quirini had travelled to Switzerland with his friend Dr. Festari of Valdagno to make the personal acquaintance of Voltaire, and to offer to his acceptance a medal struck in his honour, in which Philosophy was represented overthrowing Superstition; nor was it likely that in literary circles at Venice the deism of Rousseau and the free thought of the Baron von Holbach would be without their influence on their disciples, not only in England, but elsewhere. One of the earlier acts of the Americans after the Declaration of Independence was a proposal of alliance from Benjamin Franklin and his fellow-delegates at Paris between the United States and Venice, in a letter to the Venetian ambassador at that court, representing the step as one of mutual advantage. But the Senate thought that as the States had previously entered into treaties with other Powers, and the distance was so great, it would be better to study the Eastern trade by way of the Black Sea. The American Union was a republic too; but beyond the name there was little in common. The Americans were removed out of the sphere of revolutionary agencies, which were soon to alter the political face of Europe, and to uproot or dislocate nearly every constituent of the old regime.

Some Venetians discerned the coming hurricane. The Doge Foscarini, who died in 1763, already foresaw that an appalling experience was awaiting the new generation.<sup>1</sup> A secretary of the Inquisitors of State, writing to his brother in France in 1779, expressed the opinion that, unless the Signory was forearmed against contingencies, all would be lost, not in a campaign, but at one blow; and the Doge Renier did not hesitate to proclaim from his seat in the Great Council that the lot of Poland seemed likely to become that of his own country. The governing body was kept well

<sup>1</sup> His words were: "Questo secolo dovrà essere terribile ai nostri figli e nepoti."—Romanin, viii. 302.



and constantly informed of the progress of discontent and anarchy in France, and of the approach of a financial and constitutional crisis. At Venice statesmen knew more about French affairs than the French themselves outside Paris;<sup>1</sup> but neither here nor anywhere else probably was any correct estimate formed, or capable of formation, during the preliminary stages of the ultimate dimensions and range of the movement.

One of the most interesting illustrations of the approach of the crisis is the intimate correspondence of the Procurator Pietro Pesaro, ambassador of the Signory at Rome, addressed in 1795 and 1796 to the same Caterina Cornaro who had some years before been in receipt of communications from Nicolo Veniero. Pesaro pictured the French descending on Italy by rapid marches: Sardinia prepared to make peace on any terms from inability to resist: the Signory inclined to go to war, but without the means: and amid all the uncertainty the certainty that nothing would be done. On the 31st May, 1796, the Procurator writes to La Corner, that there is no talk but of war, that it is difficult to extract the truth from three hundred contradictory rumours, and that at Rome everything is in confusion. "O," he ejaculates, "the terrible time!"

Unfortunately a lugger carrying the French tricolor, and commanded by an officer named Laugier, was just at this juncture pursued by two Austrian frigates, and sought shelter in the port of Lido, after giving the Fort of San Andrea a salute of nine guns. But the commandant signalled to him to withdraw, and it has been alleged that he was preparing to comply; and before he could carry out the plan, his vessel was riddled with shot, and he fell dead on his quarter-deck. The French accounts go so far as to state that those who were not killed by the cannonade were massacred by wreckers, and the vessel completely dismantled, and that the commandant of San Andrea received the thanks of the Senate.

On the 2nd of June, 1796, the veteran Jacopo Nani, a naval officer of long experience, whom we have seen serving in the operations against the Algerine and Tunisian corsairs

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Young in his *Travels in France*, while the Revolution was in progress in Paris, refers to the ignorance of those in the provinces of what was going on.

as far back as 1769, was appointed by the Government to take all possible precautions for the safety of the metropolis; but he died shortly after, and his successor not proving efficient, the chief command of the forces devolved on his lieutenant Tommaso Condulmer, who found it, however, his painful duty to advise the Senate that it was out of his power to resist the enemy for more than four-and-twenty hours. But this forecast was premature.

A Venetian deputation had waited on Bonaparte at Gratz in Styria, and found him at the outset tolerably moderate in his tone, and willing to listen to what they had to say. But he insisted on the release of all political prisoners, and upbraided the Republic with having perpetrated every species of atrocity. He became more excited and vehement, as the conference proceeded, and complained of Venice having troops under arms, and not having made its choice between France and England. He would make war against it. He had come to an arrangement with the Emperor on this account. He had 80,000 men and 20 gunboats. He would have no Inquisition; he would have no Senate; he would be an Attila to the Venetian State. Such language could scarcely fail to encourage a feeling, that Bonaparte looked on the reduction of the City as an enterprise of considerable magnitude and difficulty, more especially as there was room to apprehend the existence among the Lombard and even the Dalmatian dependencies of a strong Venetian bias, which merely awaited a signal to assume an operative and dangerous form. The military strength, which he described as behind him, was more than sufficient to have overrun the entire Peninsula, and was just what he had under him at Austerlitz in 1805. The Republic, on the other hand, possessed 184 vessels, including 35 carrying heavy guns, and the flotilla under Condulmer was in the lagoons for the defence of the islands, but gradually falling back on the capital. On the 5th May, 1797, the situation was already growing critical.

Pesaro, who had been charged with the equally delicate and unpleasant duty of treating with Bonaparte, was obliged to exercise the utmost self-command, and to be prepared with replies to all the charges put forward by the general-in-chief as so many pretexts for seizing the City, and annihilating its freedom. He accused the Republic of

raising troops to oppose him, of surrounding him with spies, of spreading disaffection, of having shot a French naval officer, and so on; and his language and attitude were full of bluster and menace. In the course of his interviews with the Venetian representative he exhausted the vocabulary of reproach and impeachment, and, even when he invited him to take some refreshment, he availed himself of the opportunity to ask a variety of questions respecting the institutions, prisons, punishments, and secret practices of the Government, about which the French press and literary world had disseminated all sorts of fables and exaggerations; and at the same time, as the French gained a footing in Lombardy, their commanders and emissaries spread all sorts of stories, and proclaimed that the Italians at large were ripe for liberty under French auspices, cajoling the people into subscription of voting papers for union with the Cispadan Republic, yet concurrently levying heavy requisitions for military purposes.

It was a season of painful and humiliating suspense. On the 19th March, 1797, the Inquisitors of State laid before the Senate for its information an official statement, shewing the condition, temper, and possibilities of the Dominion outside the Dogado or City itself, and the sole conclusion derivable from this report was that, with the exception of Brescia, the prospect of loyal and effectual help was eminently discouraging. The Doge, who was a rich man, and who, it seems, was more concerned for his delightful villas of Maser and Passeriano in Friuli than for a virile and patriotic attitude in the hour of danger and at the call of duty, declared that they were no longer safe in their beds, so long as the French had begun to construct works on the skirts of the lagoon with a clear intention to command and intimidate, if not to storm, the capital. His pusillanimity was deplorable, even assuming the ultimate futility of self-defence. He placed himself, he declared, weeping, under the protection of Our Lord and His Most Holy Mother. How different from the language and action of former days in the presence of crises scarcely less acute.<sup>1</sup> Yet at an extraordinary meeting of the Great Council

<sup>1</sup> Hippolito Nievo, in his *Confessions of an Octogenarian*, 1867, observes that Manin dishonoured by his vacillation himself, the Great Council, and the country, and yet found no one to snatch from his shoulders the ducal robes, to strike his head against the marble floor, on which heretofore had bowed theirs the ambassadors of kings and the legates of popes. Quoted by Molmenti, 1882. It was a case of abject fanaticism.



held on the 30th April, 1797, when 547 members attended, to consider how the French should be approached with a view to a change in the Government, the Procurator Pesaro echoed the same feeling, when he said with tears in his eyes: "I see that there is an end of my country; I can do nothing more for it."<sup>1</sup> To a man of spirit every land may be a country; one may go to Switzerland, and live there."

On May 1, Bonaparte issued at Palma Nuova, near Udine, a manifesto setting forth the grounds which justified him in declaring war against Venice, and treating all Venetians as enemies of France. Before he took this step, he had violated the continental territory of the Republic.

On the same day (May 1, 1797) he was at Treviso, where the proveditor Angelo Giacomo Giustiniani waited on him, and protested the friendship existing between the French and Venetian Republics, whereupon Bonaparte angrily retorted that the acts of the latter contradicted such a view, and that unless Giustinian took his departure in ten days he would be shot. The proveditor undauntedly persisted in the unswerving neutrality of his country toward France, and alleged that whatever had been done in attacking or resisting aggression, had been purely in self-defence, and that the incident at Lido was due to the attempt of the French to enter after a warning to the contrary. Bonaparte declared his intention to overthrow the Republic, and that if Giustinian would save it, he should produce to the Great Council, and cause to be kept in evidence, the heads of the *ten* Inquisitors of State. Giustinian indignantly refused so ignoble and revolting a duty; but, laying his sword at his feet, offered himself as a hostage for his country, and Bonaparte, deeply impressed by such patriotism, assured his visitor that, whatever happened, his property should be unmolested—a proposal which Giustinian proudly declined. The proveditor had no one to whom he could delegate the task of acquainting the Government with what had passed, and therefore proceeded personally to Venice, but was surprised on his arrival at Malghera to find Bonaparte there, whereas he had stated that he was going

<sup>1</sup> "Vedo che per mia patria la xe finia; mi non posso sicuramente prestarghe verun ajuto; ogni paese per un galantomo xe patria, nei Suizzeri se poi facilmente occuparsi."—Romanin, x. 139. The speaker recollects the Roman aphorism: "Omne solum forti patria." Pesaro, however, came to England. See Molmenti, *La Vie Privée*, 1882, p. 435.

to Mantua. Two representatives of the Signory were also there, and it appeared that a four days' armistice had been concluded.

While Bonaparte remained at Treviso, the Venetian Government received from their ambassador at Vienna (May 1, 1797) advices throwing light on the secret negotiations in progress between the French general and Austria, the unwillingness of the Emperor to see the Venetian dominion of the *terra firma* under French rule, and the existence at Venice of a Society, supported by the French representative, for the promotion of revolutionary principles, at the Casa Ferratini at S. Polo, recalling the militant democratic symptoms which had betrayed themselves thirty years earlier.

A variety of schemes for the partition of the Venetian Dominion were formed and discussed, and there were even propositions, by which its independence might be preserved. All these negotiations failed, and were in fact only on paper.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, a party at home was found to advocate resistance to the last moment, and to make the French success a costly one, and the end of liberty a noble; and the Venetian proveditors in Udine and the Trevisano informed Bonaparte that they disregarded threats, and that they took orders from the Senate alone. Brescia expressed itself prepared to send 8000 men to the front to oppose the invader, and in April of this very year the Zaratines had officially signified their grateful and filial affection for the clement rule of the Signory, and had applauded, as a special blessing of Providence, the action of their progenitors in placing themselves under the most serene Venetian Government. There was a large reserve of ready money in the Treasury (1,321,140 ducats), which might, by an appeal to a few wealthy houses, have been doubled or trebled. The returns of revenue and expenditure during 1788-92 exhibited a steady surplus.

There was slight room, after all, to doubt what the issue would be; the Venetian possessions on the *terra firma*

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ix. 413 *et seqq.*, x. 282-9. Romanin, x. 126, remarks: "Molto si è parlato altresì d'una alleanza proposta anche dall'Inghilterra. Non pare: anzi dalle lettere del residente Giacomazzi da Londra se ne caverebbe tutt'altro." It appears that Great Britain was in favour of a league between the Italian States and the Emperor against France, but left the matter in the Emperor's hands.

successively fell into the hands of the enemy; but the Government, as a final and desperate precaution, laid in stores of all kinds, and secured a constant supply of fresh water. Pesaro had assured Bonaparte that nothing had been done beyond what was needful for self-protection; and a Frenchman (Lallement), writing from Venice on the 25th July, 1797, corroborates this statement, so far as any aggressive movement was concerned. But Bonaparte had it equally within his power to destroy the Republic, whether it was defenceless or created a *casus belli* by defending itself. The provision against a blockade and a vote of 2000 ducats to the Commune of Pordenone as an indemnity for damages sustained through the French invasion formed the last act of the Venetian Senate—of a body, which had sat uninterruptedly almost eight hundred years, and had, on the whole, discharged its functions with equal efficiency, dignity, and success. The negotiations between Venice on the one hand and the French Directory and Bonaparte on the other had been as resultless as they were probably insincere. The Directory might pronounce sentiments and opinions; but the decision manifestly rested with the General-in-Chief.

The Republic composed its own epilogue. At the sitting of the Great Council on the 12th of May, 1797—present the Doge Manin, who was visibly agitated and depressed, the Signory, and 537 members *ex officio* and otherwise—it was resolved by an overwhelming majority to submit to the force of circumstances by accepting the provisional government proposed by General Bonaparte.<sup>1</sup> On the 15th the French occupied the forts, and on the next day, under the alleged apprehension of a general rising, they took possession of the City—the first foreign feet to tread that ground as conquerors since the fifth century. The anarchy and tumult grew worse and worse; but the Government to the last moment did all that was possible to protect life and property. The Mint, the public buildings, and the embassies were specially guarded.

On the 17th of the following October the Treaty of Campo Formio transferred the Venetian territory in Lombardy

<sup>1</sup> There were only twenty *Noes* and five *Neutrals* or *Not Sinceres*. It is a curious circumstance that in the struggle and confusion at the bridge of Arcola, when Bonaparte fell from his horse, he was helped to remount by a Venetian in the French service.



(including the Adriatic Islands and the Capital) and Dalmatia to Germany. The latter took formal possession on the withdrawal of the French (January, 1798). But how brief a term elapsed before Napoleon tore up the treaty, drove the Germans out of Italy, and dissolved the German Empire (1806)!

When the Doge returned, after the momentous sitting of the Great Council on the 12th of May, 1797, to his apartments, he removed the bonnet, and, handing it to an attendant, said: "Take it away; we shall not want it again." Precisely eleven hundred years had come and gone since the first brand-new Ducal cap was made for the first of the Doges in Heraclia, centuries before even Malamocco became the capital. What acted drama has the world to shew so long in its duration, so varied and checkered in some of its scenes, with so many splendid and fascinating passages, and with so melancholy a close. States, like individuals, may live too long. The fall of Venice made it possible in the next century to speak of Italy as "a geographical expression."

The last of the Doges, of whom Venice had seen one hundred and twenty since 697, retired to his own house near the *Fabbriche Vecchie*, a mansion originally built by Sansovino, but of which the interior was restored by Selva in the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> He was of Friulan descent, and of a relatively late aristocratic stock; he had succeeded Paolo Renier in 1789; and his accession cost the country or him more than it had ever defrayed on any previous occasion in festivities and largesse. The Oriental profusion, the lavish hand, the humour of the spendthrift, were yet there, when the national life and the national purse were alike on the ebb; the Republic could not renounce the proud traditions of her prime even with a failing recuperative faculty and the recognized imminence of an acute political crisis. He has been described as a personage of the most sensitive patriotism, and of the highest respectability, without much energy of character. Had the latter been stronger, it is possible that he might have assisted in committing his country to a vain and ruinous struggle against that new and strange force, which the rest of Europe found irresistible. It is a tradition

<sup>1</sup> He died on the 23rd October, 1802, at this residence, leaving a fortune of 110,000 ducats, entirely devoted to charitable purposes.

that, on the announcement of the choice of Manin in 1789, Pietro Gradenigo Dal Rivo Marino exclaimed, "I ga fato Doxe un frioulan; la repubblica xe morta." The speaker meant to convey that, at such a juncture, the State demanded a man of allodial and ancestral prepossessions, not a seventeenth century emigrant from Udine.

So we see that it was from the same Power, which the Venetians had so successfully withstood in other days, that, under totally changed conditions on both sides, the death-blow was at last, as it seemed, to come.

On the fall of his beloved country, that Pesaro, of whom mention has already more than once occurred, left Venice and Italy, and settled, not in Switzerland, but in London. Before he went, he wrote a touching note to Caterina Cornaro, in which he said: "I go, Madam, because I cannot do otherwise; it is written in the book of my destiny. I do not come to see you, in order not to renew your sorrow and mine, and in order to lend me better courage to depart. I still have the echo in my ear and in my heart, the *Caro ti*. I commend myself to your remembrance; you will ever be before my eyes. Your image is deeply engraven in my mind; it is ineffaceable. I kiss your hands. Adieu." This was the language of a Venetian gentleman toward a lady for whom he entertained a warm and chivalrous regard; the wax seal which fastened the sheet of paper shewed the device of an expanding leaf with the French motto: "*je ne change qu'en mourant*";<sup>1</sup> yet there is no



suggestion of a possibly tenderer tie. La Corner had rejected a proposal of marriage from Veniero. She is said to have been in love with Pesaro who perhaps did not afford her the chance of refusal. As letters were already passing between Veniero and herself in 1783, she could have been no longer

<sup>1</sup> The gold signet which seems to have been used on this occasion was purchased (after probably passing through many hands) from Messrs. Catchpole and Williams by Mrs. George Leveson-Gower, who presented it to her husband. The latter was so kind as to lend it to me (14 Oct., 1903). It is surmounted by a passant lion, but not a winged one.

very young, when she was in correspondence with her later admirer.

The surrender of the Republic was immediately followed by an unscrupulous confiscation and transport to Paris of all the objects of value and interest which the Venetians had gradually accumulated and affectionately preserved during centuries, and all the towns throughout the Dominion shared the same fate, the heirlooms of the churches not excepted.<sup>1</sup> The plunder, removed to France and deposited in the Louvre and elsewhere, the Horses of Saint Mark included, was restored in 1815 to its Venetian and other Italian owners.

Almost three centuries since, so far back as 1525 and about the time of the Battle of Pavia, the possibility of taking forcible possession of Venice had been discussed and credited by a general officer of Charles V. Yet, with the development of naval, military and engineering appliances of every kind, no enemy succeeded in all the intervening time in setting foot on that soil. At length it was not the statesman nor the soldier, but the thinker, the spirit of intellectual emancipation which, in the person of Bonaparte, to the accompaniment of the cannon and the drum, dissolved this link, nearly the last between ancient and modern history, although, during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) which reduced so much of Europe to a desert, the foreign invader was more than once perilously and alarmingly close to the Lagoons.

<sup>1</sup> Yet fifty of the so-called worst delinquents, convicted, after the revolution, of robbing public buildings and churches, were deported to Cayenne. They acted without official authority. See Romanin, x. 148, 304, 389 *et seqq.*, where the inventory drawn up in 1797 is printed entire.



## CHAPTER XLII

The Foundations—Primeval Venice—Letters of Cassiodorus (520-23)—Their unique value—Traces of the earliest Venetian life—The original Walled City—The great Abbey of San Zaccaria—Different aspect of localities—Solidification of the Islands or *lidi*—Servile labour.

THE traveller who disembarks at Venice to-day, and brings with him a knowledge that the earliest history of the Republic was one of humble endeavours, severe trials and slow evolution from barbarism and insignificance, into wealth, splendour and power—even such a person as this is apt to form a fallacious estimate of what Venice and the Venetians anciently were: how far removed from the picture which fancy draws of them, both in their prime of life, yet possessing within, already in adolescence, all the elements which made them strong, and nearly all those which took that strength afterward away. Some of the oldest topographical data have outlived the government and the order of things with which they were so long associated. The modern visitor to the city passes along the Riva degli Schiavoni, and crosses the Ponte della Paglia, names and spots sanctified by a thousand recollections. He sees the Calle delle Rasse, now silent and listless enough, where the murderer of a Doge was hanged before his own door in 1172, and where the government printing-office was situated in 1477, and at least down to 1549. His foot touches, at every turn, ground which has been trodden by still unforgotten men and women of all nations and every century. He may plant himself on the Piazzetta, and repeople it in thought with some of the proudest scenes, and some of the saddest, which make up the annals of that State. The imagery which rises up before him is almost too rich for use, almost too bewildering for realization.

The Lagoon has been described as a vast morass of about a hundred miles in circuit, irrigated by the sea through five channels or *ports*, namely (commencing at the eastern extremity), Porto di Tre Porti, Porto di Sant' Erasmo, Porto di San Nicolò, Porto di Malamocco and Porto di

Chioggia. Each has, says Temanza, its own particular lagoon which it alone waters and feeds, and, according to the same author who is seldom so imaginative, the current which flows through the respective channels has a special colour or tint which it preserves with its own individuality, so as to be easily distinguishable for a considerable distance. Hence the Porto di Tre Porti was known as the *yellow*, Sant' Erasmo as the *azure*, San Nicolò as the *red*, Malamocco as the *green*, and Chioggia as the *purple*. Such phenomena are far from unusual, either where fresh and salt water come into contact, as at the confluence of the Adige with the Adriatic, or even where two rivers of different tidal and other conditions meet (like the Mississippi and Missouri to which Pitt was indebted for one of his rhetorical figures, the Ganga and the Jumna, the Rhone and Saone, and the Dee and Lake of Bala in Wales); but there is no apparent physical agency by which any permanent peculiarities of the kind could have been produced at Venice itself. Many changes occurred in the Middle Ages, not only in the course or direction of the navigable channels of the lagoon, but in the roads on their skirts; and in 1474, after more than one postponement, the Port of Sant' Erasmo was dammed up to improve and deepen that of San Nicolò del Lido, familiarly known as Lido and as the modern bathing-resort.

It would be of course worth a good deal to be able to recall, even for a few moments, as it were, the city and the surrounding islands, while primeval types of building still abounded; to be enabled to approach within sight of the domestic life and housing of the remote forefathers and foremothers of that strange new tribal community, which gathered itself together in the fifth century on the accumulated silt, and there unconsciously commenced the work of preparation for an inscrutable future. Both body and soul, mediæval Venice has disappeared; for, although from local exigencies the modern city stands approximately on the lines of the ancient, yet, politically and socially, it is not less distinct from its predecessor than the London of to-day is distinct from the London on which the eyes of the Norman first rested, or than the Paris of Philip Augustus from the place for which the same name now passes current.

For a few valuable hints illustrative of the subject, we are

indebted to two of the well-known letters of Cassiodorus, written between 520 and 523. The Minister, who, as *Præfectus Prætorio* under Theodoric the Great, occupied a position of the highest dignity and authority, speaks, in one of these addresses to the Maritime Tribunes, of a famine which had visited the locality, and which was averted by the liberality of his master who allowed the Venetians, and perhaps their near neighbours, to apply to their own use the stores which they had collected for the royal larder or wardrobe. In the second, Cassiodorus indicates the trade in salt and the carrying business as two of the staple industries of the sea-borderers. He refers to their dwellings, all built alike and scattered here and there over the wide terraqueous expanse. He specifies their method of resisting the incursions of the ocean by dykes and fascines of interlaced vine-stems; and he acquaints us that the inland navigation, when the wind blew heavily, was conducted by means of towage. But, unluckily, the Prefect of Theodoric does not do what he might so admirably and graphically have done. He omits to tell us in what fashion their habitations were constructed, what they ate and drank and what they wore. Nor was it to be expected that Cassiodorus should do anything of the sort. The miracle is, and the good fortune too, that, to flatter their maritime as well as perhaps his own literary vanity, he said thus much; that he drew these few sharp and firm outlines, leaving the rest to us; for of no other mediæval place can its people point to such a vivid monument.

Cassiodorus, however, casts some light on the scene which preceded by so many ages that with which we have grown familiar. His account helps us to judge what the general condition of the islands was at the commencement of the sixth century. We realize with his aid a sparse and poor population, subsisting on its fisheries and salterns and its carrying trade: a society which, when he roughly painted it, had not yet had sufficient time from the birth of the settlement to rally sensibly from the involuntary brotherhood wrought by a common disaster: roofs of approximately similar material and elevation, sheltering the heads of men and women in whose veins ran the utmost diversity of blood: boats of primitive form their sole machinery for traffic, and



local productions their only mediums for barter, probably their only substitute for money. We see, under imposing designations, borrowed from the flourishing period of Rome by Romans in the lowest stage of national decadence, a political organism of the feeblest and most empirical kind, yet maybe sufficient for the immediate needs of a country too young to have framed for itself any definite ideas of government, and too full of the bitter past, too poor and too anxious, to have any stomach for internal disagreement. Cassiodorus depicts the Republic of Venice as it appeared to him, nearly two hundred and fifty years before the choice of the first Doge.

We must figure to ourselves a phase of life not very different from that which we know more or less certainly to have prevailed at this period, and to have continued far later elsewhere among free European societies; a rude system of warfare in which the maturity of the Roman discipline was altogether lost, and a scheme of fortification as imperfect and barbarous as the architecture of the time. The Venice with which we are immediately dealing was, we may feel sure, substantially similar to all other coeval places with possibilities for the support and protection of life equally straitened; and, as one stood on the summit of the old Campanile, one had to substitute for the busy and conventional scene below, another to the anthropological student perhaps not greatly inferior in interest, but of course unspeakably humbler and less artificial—insulated clusters of huts or wigwams composed of wood, thatch and mud within inclosures of wattle, forming little townships, of which the indigent and scanty population surrounded themselves, in lieu of walls, with stockades, and waxed great and powerful in spite of disunion within and aggression without, by virtue of some force as mysterious as it was proof against resistance.

There is one point in the second letter of Cassiodorus which seems to demonstrate, with tolerable plainness, the Prefect's personal knowledge of the customs and habits of those who, from first to last, made the sea so much their study and their home. It is by no means too much to take it for granted, that the Minister of Theodoric had often set foot on the islands and trodden Venetian soil, before Venice had afforded the faintest sign of what she was going to be or to

do; and he may be treated as the earliest of a long series of travellers who have left behind them a record of their feelings and impressions. But it is to the concluding sentence of his epistle that we wished to solicit attention, to the place where he alludes to the mariners' having their boats, as if they had been living creatures, tethered to the walls of their dwellings, ready for instantaneous use.

Cassiodorus does not specify what class of craft the Venetian carriers employed to bring up the king's goods to Ravenna or elsewhere; seaworthy vessels were imperative for all purposes when a more or less distant passage was involved, for the Adriatic (the *improbis* and *iracundis* *Hadria* of Horace<sup>1</sup>) was subject to severe stress of weather at seasons. But, whatever provision might be made for a service of this kind outside the lagoons, there is no doubt that the necessity for resorting to vessels of the shallowest draught soon brought into use some prototype of the keelless gondola with its covered deck-cabin. The nature of the waters governed the construction of the vehicle upon them in the same manner as among the Hindoos who, from generation unto generation, build on the same lines their flat-bottomed dingies and penchways to accommodate the conditions of their own peculiar river traffic. We see that the Prefect alludes to the habit which the islanders had of mooring their boats to their own premises; but he does not, of course, help us to understand how they housed them in a hard winter or during disuse, or laid them up for repairs, or what rudiment they had of a dock. From an independent source, however, comes to us an intimation of a system of primitive boat-shelters (*cavane*) at different points along the shore. These humble refuges were most probably basins roughly fashioned by servile manual labour of embanked earthwork, strengthened by piles and fascines; they were to the first Venetians at once arsenal, dock and boat-houses. Temanza enumerates two or three of which the precise situation is definable and which were subsequently converted to other purposes; the site of one was occupied by the Hospital of San Giacomo del Palude at the back of Murano; and it is by no means unlikely that, at first, each man built, mended and painted for himself, like the Red Indian and the Briton of a parallel antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, too, the poet was an indifferent sailor.

The archaic form of vehicle for passage by water seems to have been universally composed of leather or hide, stretched at need by a transverse internal apparatus of wood or wicker. This is the medium which the fisherman on the coast or on the fresh-water course has employed in all ages and regions, from the most ancient records of Egypt to modern days, when those engaged in this branch of industry may yet be seen employing boats which are at once portable and independent of external accommodation. Such was the practice followed beyond doubt in *Venetia Princeps*, where the most ancient vestiges in this direction seem to ascend no higher than the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> But for longer and more distant journeys other means of conveyance or transport necessarily existed—such, in fact, as the settlers had used in their old homes; and it was by means of this larger and more capacious craft that, not only the salvage from the ruined cities of the mainland was carried to its destination by river, but even portions of buildings and stores of material, for replacement in course of time on the new site.

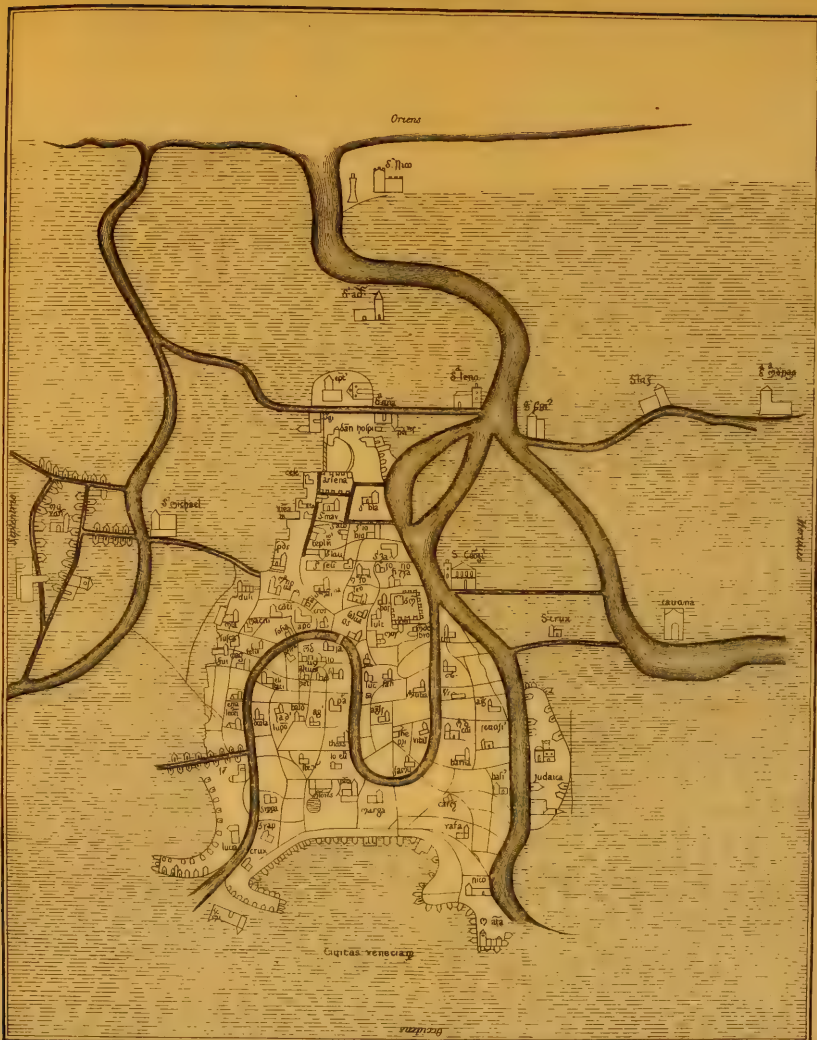
A second very acceptable witness, and presumably the second distinguished guest of Venice, was the imperial exarch Longinus who found himself here forty-five years later, and whose tangible footprints and first-hand evidence are of unlimited worth, in disclosing to us the immense progress achieved by the Republic in less than half a century. An account of this incident has been narrated elsewhere, and it offers to our consideration a society already arrived at a considerable measure of power, repute and self-dependence, and in possession of copious means of rending the air with discordant music which, with flags, is the inseparable companion of a nation from its infancy to its dotage.

The gondola, which Professor Friedrich Diez traces from the Greek *κόνδυ*, a drinking-vessel, and which, like most of the ancient water-carriages, was high at bow and stern, somewhat crescent-wise, seems to be first mentioned by name in 1094. The low Latin form *gundula* is as exactly correspondent as possible with the modern one; but in the tenth century there were *lintre* or small open boats for personal traffic—the *lynter* or cock-boat of the early English vocabulary of John Stanbridge—

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *La Vita Privata*, i., 123, reproduces a fishing-boat from a bas-relief of or about this date.



VENICE AND THE LAGOONS  
FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN PLAN



Engr'd by Corbellini del.

Paulo Jacchini fecit.

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et in Publicum producta Curante Thoma Temantia*

A. R. S. CIOIICCLXXX.



and *barche* which must have been of more than one kind and size. A *lintra* is specified as the conveyance in which the corpse of Domenico Morosini was allowed to drift from San Pietro di Castello, in or about 980, to the water-gate of San Zaccaria below the Piazzetta. The author of a poem on the Northmen, Gulielmus Apulus, speaks of being obliged, when he was at Venice in the eleventh century, to employ barques in his excursions. In 1328 one is mentioned as employed to bring the Doge's daughter secretly to Venice, and as being covered, and this answers to the description of the more modern *peota* which was capable of accommodating many sitters. Lassels, in one of his three visits to the city about 1670, hired what he calls a *Piotta* at Padua, and was towed by horses along the Brenta till he arrived within five miles of Venice, the rest of the journey being accomplished by the rowers or punters. This mode of conveyance he expressly prefers to the tilt-boat, in which he says that "all sorts of lousy ruffians and idle people crowd you up." Possibly he refers to the public *burchiello* which plied, at all events in 1687, between the two points, a distance of five and twenty miles—and in which the passengers often beguiled the time by playing at cards or telling stories. This formed a topic for the muse of Gozzi and Goldoni. But there was a different type of *burchiello* for private and strictly local use, elegantly upholstered and appointed. During the war of Chioggia (1379–1380), *ganzaruoli* or long barks are cited in an official minute; but these were constructed for belligerent purposes, and received detachments of arbalisters or crossbowmen. Prior to the introduction of tolerably ample facilities for locomotion to all parts of the city, the communication of the islands with each other must have been seriously restricted, since, before bridges of any kind connected the metropolis and its more immediate environs, pontoons or *soleole* were the only resource. Of these primitive contrivances we have traces so far back as the eighth century. They were probably superseded by wooden bridges, when the advent of the Lombards brought into the region, ever after to bear their name, the art (among many others) of building in its various branches.

In Venice itself and its suburbs, horses, asses and mules were extensively employed by persons of rank. Temanza draws an edifying little picture of the members of the Great



Council coming from different points to attend the meetings on horseback, and fastening the animals, until the sitting was over, to trees, and of the sloughy state of the thoroughfares, before pavements came into vogue and the quays and canals were dressed with masonry. The mules of which the same author tells us were perhaps chiefly used by ecclesiastics and ladies; but the latter, and women in general, had recourse to pattens so constructed as to lift them out of the mud and the street refuse. A mule was provided in 1177 for the use of Pope Alexander III.

The practice of riding on horseback in the public thoroughfares was probably more or less habitual on the part of privileged personages, so long as the state of the traffic and of building permitted. In 1292, a decree of the Great Council reciting an earlier order, exacted from all who rode to or from Rialto by San Salvador a penalty of 20 *lire di piccoli* instead of 25 *lire*. The object was clearly to discourage the use of that approach. It was found necessary to prohibit it at last when, in fact, circumstances made it impossible; and, during a length of time, the regulation that equestrians should hang a bell round the neck or on the collar of the animal denotes the survival of a usage when it had become inconvenient and even dangerous. It would be a picturesque spectacle scarcely accordant with the ordinary notions of such matters, when the Doge Celsi entered the city after his election in 1361, escorted by twelve noblemen, all, like himself, on horseback. But even at that date the practice was beginning, except on ceremonial or special occasions, to decline, although the Doge Steno who survived till 1414 also prided himself on his stables. The *Serrar del Gran Consiglio* in 1298, in restricting the eligibility to seats in the Assembly, contributed to such a result. It is curious, however, that the bell which rang to summon the legislators was long known as the *Muletta*, and that *Trottiera*<sup>1</sup> was the designation conferred on the route habitually taken by the equestrian members arriving from a distance. Considering that, down to the eighteenth century, horses were to be seen here, it is strange that Evelyn in 1645 should speak of them as almost non-existent, and even adds that many old Venetians had never beheld one. In 1698 we hear that Sir William Wyndham was here, and stopped

<sup>1</sup> The prototype of the more modern French *trottoir*.

his carriage in the Piazza of St. Mark to look at the performance of a mountebank. In the eighteenth century the sedan-chair or *portantina* was introduced—perhaps from the birthplace of Turenne.

Of the founders of Venice, their habitations and manners, we know nothing more than is to be gleaned from a collation of Cassiodorus with one or two early charts. Still, there is only the obscurity which surrounds the beginnings of London and Paris, of Moscow and Berlin; and no contemporary letter-writer or mediæval cartographer has illuminated the darkness for these in any manner. No Cassiodorus had these.

The men who created Venice did their grand work step by step, adding and altering, first of all as their wants dictated or their means allowed, but ever slowly and of forethought, as if they had the faculty of knowing how long the power which they contributed from life's end to life's end to lift and to widen was to be a living fact in the world, and how durable correspondingly it should be rendered. Century after century, the narrative penned by the Prefect of Theodoric continued in the main to be a faithful view of the condition of the lagoon and its colonists. Only by the most imperceptible degrees at first was this haven of shelter, this miraculous sanctuary, converted into a new world's wonder.

Before the great fire of 1106, many relics of the past or mechanical reproductions of ancient human dwellings, agreeably to the conservative temper of the Italians, doubtless existed. But when we have exhausted the suggestions and twilights of the Gothic documents of 520–3, there is little enough beyond analogy and conjecture to assist us in an inquiry of the present character.

The plan of Venice, published by Temanza in 1781 from a MS. draft in the Marcian Museum, shews, in a certain measure, the aspect presented by the Dogado from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> This excessively important coadjutor requires a certain degree of caution in its use, however; for it is both imperfect and inaccurate. It appears to be an unrevised reproduction in the fourteenth century, yet with additions, of an original design belonging

<sup>1</sup> It is not much more rudimentary than the engraving in Ratdolt's edition of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, 1480.

to the twelfth and now unknown. The later artist has inserted names and localities which could not have existed in the prototype, but has retained certain characteristics which had actually disappeared in his own time. For instance, the Piazza of Saint Mark is represented as walled round, while beyond the Arsenal occurs the hospital of the surgeon Gualtieri, not erected till after 1334, and, in the direction of Chioggia, the Lova Fort built in 1379. A large number of churches and secular edifices had then been rebuilt in stone or even possibly in marble, rather as a precaution against fire than from any arguable taste for elegance or luxury. But whatever new opulence and beauty architecture might by that time have disclosed was almost exclusively reserved for God and His saints. A certain share of solicitude was undoubtedly bestowed on rendering the walled and fortified inclosure, which comprised the ducal residence with all its appurtenances and muniments, secure and commodious; and the bulk of the population did what the bulk of the population does everywhere still. But, comparatively speaking, the peculiar circumstances to which the Republic owed herself, and the original disparity of her inhabitants with their unusually wide range of callings and associations, helped to influence the development and character of building, just as it accelerated the formation of an orderly society and a stable rule. It was, perchance, an ultimate benefit, that the fire of 1106 was closely succeeded by others of a more or less grave character in 1115, 1120, 1149 and 1168. These consecutive disasters condemned the general employment of timber and thatch and made a new era in architectural development. But, owing to carelessness and other causes, serious conflagrations were, down to the last, periodical, and did not spare the sacred edifices or the ducal residence. Negligent use of candles and torches and overheated flues have also contributed to these disasters.

London and Paris have witnessed extraordinary changes; but neither can for an instant be put in comparison in this respect with Venice. The metamorphosis which the latter underwent at the hands of its makers is barely credible. Where the incomparable Piazza of Saint Mark at present lies before you, with its princely colonnades, its dazzling Basilica and its noble Campanile, there existed in the days



of which we are thinking a naked unpaved plot of ground, girt by a massive and lofty wall pierced with loops,<sup>1</sup> and down the centre ran the stream Batario (a branch of the Rivus Altus, the *Præaltum* of Livy) to its point of egress in the modern Rio di Palazzo. At the top, where the Cathedral now is, on the right and left banks of the rivulet, were the Oratories or small primeval churches of San Teodoro and San Geminiano, the former the tutelary saint of a nation which yet knew not Saint Mark. Both these of timber with roofs of straw thatch, like the savage heterogeneous dwellings to be seen at intervals, some standing apart within a fence of wattle or fascines to protect the property and its tenants against the sea, a more dangerous enemy than man; and for a vast extent of time nothing more hereabout. No public offices, no palaces, no prisons, no monuments, no Saint Mark's.

Although Heraclia and Malamocco were the earliest titular capitals of the Republic, we have to look for the oldest landmarks elsewhere, in Rialto itself and in Dorsodurs or the Giudecca, where the subsoil, as the ancient name proclaims, was exceptionally solid. It requires a vigorous effort to conceive that once, the whole area at present occupied by the Piazza, the Cathedral, the Government buildings and the Palace, constituted the temporalities and grounds of the Abbey of San Zaccaria, the first and for a long time the only conventual institution in Venice. It was established and the site appropriated before the settlers in the lagoon had had leisure to form any plans for the future, in what was recognized as the district of Gambarere, an appellation which is familiar to the topographer from certain localities in the neighbourhood of Florence, and which must have been bestowed on this spot and on those other Tuscans, when they were only the desolate resort of the shrimper.

Where the stupendous and venerable brick Campanile of Sansovino<sup>2</sup> continued till its fall in 1902 to raise itself up against the sky, a huge elder once spread its branches; it originally lay within the wide boundaries of the mother abbey

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *supra*, i. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The illustration of the building of the Tower of Babel in Molmenti, i. 78, was probably a loan by the original artist from the Campanile before him. It has been rebuilt in brick, and piously and conscientiously restored on a more solid and a broader foundation. The new tower was completed from national funds in 1912 at a cost of £88,000. Portions of the wreckage, particularly the

of San Zaccaria. At San Salvatore the arms of a luxuriant fig were in the old time used for tethering horses; and, as had been the case in prehistoric Rome, many trees grew in the Merceria, where, however, as the traffic increased, no stray beasts were permitted. Even the Grand Canal, which is supposed to have originally branched off from the Adige not far from its outfall, was unknown under such a name. At the very first outset, it was the Rivus Altus, which ran like a girdle round the cluster of islands, which we identify only as Venice, unconscious of being destined to give its name, first to a township, then to a bridge, and finally to the square on which that bridge abuts—the Piazza of San Giacomo. For, even in the early Middle Ages, it was called *Canale della Zirada* as far as San Andrea, and *Basinaco* or *Businaco* as far as San Benedetto, while the Canale della Zecca, an arm of this same Rivus Altus on the other side, would only have been recognized as the *Canale Vigano*; and the site of the Rialto was occupied by no marvellous piece of masonry, by not so much as a timber Bridge of Money—even that had not yet come—but by a rude structure which is mentioned as a kind of pontoon resting on barges. A person had only to thread a few tortuous lanes in any direction to find himself in the open country, among plantations, in a jungle, or on the skirts of a morass. The wars of the Factions in the seventh century had been fought, not on the water nor in the streets or squares, but amid pine-forests, not free from the presence of the wolf, the fox and the bird of prey, traces of which lingered long after the multiplication of buildings and the rise of demands inseparable from more populous and practical requirements. It is apt to take a casual reader or a fresh student by surprise, to learn that the mediæval Doge, when leisure or opportunity served, followed the chase in the neighbouring woods of Loredò. His Serenity, as we augur from a document of 1255, was permitted to import or export his own hawks and hounds duty-free—a necessary faculty on account of the old hunting and sporting grounds lying outside the Dogado.

terra-cotta group of the Virgin and Child with the Baptist, were pieced together with infinite pains from hundreds of fragments. The Pope contributed to the cost of refounding the bells and restoring the bronze angel at the top of the tower, and his Holiness' effigy and signature were engraved on the second bell. Altogether a highly patriotic and honourable achievement this.

Much of Venice overlies the frowning cypress-grove, the sunlit pasture, the dense coppice and the bog; the name of Canareggio imperfectly suggests the former existence of a marsh where the sole product was the reed utilized for a variety of purposes—for building, for articles of dress, perhaps for musical instruments of a rude type. So late as A.D. 982, San Giorgio Maggiore (or the island of cypresses as it is named in a mediæval plan), directly facing the Piazzetta, had no inhabitants and no abbey, merely a vineyard and a wind-mill. The twelfth-century map of Temanza shews nothing there but a church of primitive fabric though of large dimensions, with a Campanile which is probably a copyist's addition. Even in the thirteenth century the vicinity was open and lonely, and, in spite of continual drainage and inclosure, we become aware that the salterns and fish-ponds remained at Chioggia and in many other outlying portions of the Dogado, for centuries, the former constituting a large source of income to the proprietors who, if they did not work them, let them on lease at a royalty; though some, as the terms of the Loan of 1187 establish, were public property, and contributed to swell the national revenue. During a very protracted interval, space was of secondary moment, and extensive areas were capable of appropriation to viticulture. Numerous references to this subject occur in the present pages. In the thirteenth century, the vineyards and chapel of St. Mark, belonging to the Ziani family, were bequeathed to the minor Observant Friars of St. Francis who erected there a new church of their own order, later known as San Francesco delle Vigne. These vineyards were regarded as the most extensive in Venice, but we equally hear of those of San Zaccaria and of Comanzo in Chioggia, the latter appurtenant to the Doge or throne.

Sundry entries in the archives of the Republic from 1170 downward point to disputes and legislative interference in the interest of health and general convenience, in connection with the piscine or fish-ponds, the owners of which sometimes resisted the adoption of sanitary measures on the part of Government officials. It is more than possible that these stagnant pools of water experienced organic pollution, as anything less serious would scarcely have attracted the attention of the authorities. The question of sewage was one which



never entered into the thoughts of the Venetians, as they derived their drinking water from deep-sunk wells. Nor does the Italian to this hour concern himself with it; the canals received all. For fourteen centuries the daily needs of a great city, and every species of rubbish and offal, have been committed to the assimilating agency of the sea and its omnivorous freeholders; and the visitor to-day partakes for his breakfast of a particular fish (*aguglia* or mullet) which has thriven from this source all the time.

The greater part of the future capital was a marshy and sterile waste broken by sheets of brackish water (*lagi* and *piscine*), many of which were subsequently converted into fish-ponds for monastic and abbatial institutions, while the larger proportion were gradually filled up and levelled. The general surface must in many places have been incapable of sustaining any considerable pressure of brickwork and masonry. It seems from the archives, more especially from a decree of 1303, that, before the *lidi* or *tombe* which compose the city were covered with buildings, a great deal had been accomplished in the way of deepening the channels and utilizing the material to fill up some of the smaller water-courses, or to prepare the foundations of the *lidi* for their lifelong burthen. The general process of embankment, the stone facings and other artificial expedients which were employed at a much later era to beautify Venice and, at the same time, to guard her at all points from the action of the sea, obliterate the archaic lines of the shore, and make it nearly impossible to judge what the mediæval levels were; but repeated entries in the proceedings of the Great Council, particularly in 1303 and 1305, prove that the Government spared no trouble in securing a firm bottom everywhere, and that a considerable part of the capital and the adjacent islands rests on made ground of a date much posterior to the natural uprise of the lagoons. This may be taken to be the true interpretation of the terms *fundamentum* or *fondamento*, and *dosso* or *dorso* which we find so frequently applied in documents to prepared sites for building as well as established routes, and of which the latter only survives in the modern nomenclature. Casanova tells us that in March, 1755, he hired an apartment in the *Fondamenta Nuove*, which lay a little out of the city, because the situation was more

airy. This was a quarter which had been made possible for building long before the days of the writer, but still retained its original name. It was in the middle of the thirteenth century, as Temanza clearly shews, that the eastern part of the Giudecca (Giudecca or Zecca Nuova) was rendered to some extent fit for habitation, by the deportation of immense quantities of soil in 1339 from the Puncta Luporum on the mainland; and certainly the earthquake of 1221 proved more destructive to the monastery of San Giorgio than to the metropolis exactly opposite. The Government was very energetic here from 1252 to 1340 in raising and levelling, and carried out its object by concessions to individuals on terms which were regarded as acceptable, but which, inclusively of the construction of any new bridges, involved no charge on the general community.

Here it seems in place to suggest that the notices of earthquakes with which we meet in the early chroniclers, coupled with the comparative absence of such natural phenomena at later epochs, are possibly explainable to some extent by the periodical recurrence of settlements, owing to the great weight laid on foundations imperfectly and unscientifically knit together, rather than to ordinary subterranean agencies. But modern observation shews that, even in the case of the Basilica, the ground has imperceptibly yielded, so as to communicate to the floor an undulating aspect, once taken<sup>1</sup> to have been an intentional treatment by the builders, emblematical of the broken surface of the circumambient waters. The collapse of the Campanile in 1902 was unquestionably due to the twofold agency of settlement and vibration; but the unhappy destruction of that valuable piece of architecture indirectly revealed the fact that, when the adjacent Basilica was gradually erected on part of the precincts of the Abbey of San Zaccaria, the space beneath the central dome had been used as a burial ground—probably on special occasions, since excavations undertaken in 1903 brought to light traces of a sarcophagus of Byzantine workmanship. An alternative theory is that this tomb lay beneath the church, partly destroyed in the Palace revolution of 976, as round about the sarcophagus were remains of charred wood and calcined or fire-cracked bricks, buried when steps were taken to restore

<sup>1</sup> Even, I think, by Ruskin.

the building in the tenth century. Considering, however, that the Byzantine remains were found not more than three feet or so beneath the present pavement, the conclusion may be hazarded that there is very slight difference between the existing levels hereabout and those of the Middle Ages, and that the surface was raised and consolidated before the older church was built upon it. The palace<sup>1</sup> is stated on excellent authority to have been only partially lost in the troubles of 976, and probably the theory of the total ruin of the church is an exaggeration.

In 1334, at San Clemente, on the Rio di Castello between the old Arsenal and Sant' Anna, an enlightened and philanthropic surgeon named Gualtieri obtained a grant from the Government for a hospital which has long ceased to exist, but may be seen in the Temanza chart with a Sailors' Infirmary attached to it; and it is interesting to hear that the allotment comprised the necessary ground for a Physic Garden for the founder's professional purposes, where he kept an assortment of sweet herbs, medicinal plants and other specialties comprised in the fourteenth-century pharmacopœia. This was probably the first of its kind in Europe, and preceded those established at Hackney by Lord Zouch and at Oxford by the Earl of Danby by about three centuries, but the Botanical Garden at Padua is also very ancient. The Gualtieri establishment was subsequently converted into alms-houses, and the site was at last cleared, the proceeds of sale being invested for the benefit of poor mariners.

It was almost certainly after 1421 that, the Glass Works having been formally suppressed at Venice itself, and Murano having been selected as the future seat of the industry, the necessary measures were taken, before any buildings were erected, to rectify levels and consolidate the foundations, doubtless, as elsewhere, at the cost of the professors of the Art.

Till 1332, there was no dwelling of any kind on the eyot of St. Christopher between Luprio and Zimole; in that year, a windmill was erected by Bartolomeo Verde on the site when the bottom had been rendered sufficiently firm; but the speculation proved a failure and was converted into a Magdalen. This was the precursor, however, of other experiments

<sup>1</sup> See ch. xliv.



which had a happier fortune. The island was considerably amplified by excavations from the canals, and, whatever the inconvenience and cost might have been, proved a perfect cornucopia for the first race of Venetian builders, as it is yet doing for their successors. At the same time, we do not fail to perceive how, down to the fourteenth century, parts of Venice remained uninhabitable or insecure, while, through much of the earlier times, when the Republic was already advancing in power and wealth, wide tracts of land on some of the islands and even a few of the islands themselves were haunts only of the fisherman and waterfowl. Toward the close of the ninth century when almost five hundred years of political freedom had elapsed, it was thought sufficient to banish accomplices in the murder of a Doge to these low and desolate spots washed by every flood-tide; and to-day an open locality (Sant' Elena) has been selected as the site of a new shipbuilding establishment.

Many remarkable transformations have taken place at different times in the local topography of the city, and its confined area has seemed to necessitate the application of space, formerly devoted with enthusiasm and without inconvenience to religious purposes, to objects more in consonance with modern requirements. The Public Gardens occupy the site of ecclesiastical buildings, and the Cemetery was formed by the drainage of a canal and the junction of two islands (San Michele and San Cristoforo della Pace), on one of which had long stood a church and a monastery. In its periodical enlargements, the Arsenal swallowed up the burial-place of the great Carlo Zeno, as well as the church and dwelling of the nuns or *verzene* at Castello, the latter having been twice rebuilt.<sup>1</sup>

It is curious enough that, in the accounts of laborious operations which must have extended at intervals over centuries, we meet with the term *scavare a mano*. Like the navvies who helped to make St. Petersburg, and like the modern Egyptian fellah, the workmen scooped out the canals with their hands. They had no suitable implements, or their employers, to whom they stood in a servile relationship, were indisposed to furnish them with any. They did not fare

<sup>1</sup> For the second time in 1487. Its restoration was defrayed by subscriptions and indulgences.

worse, perhaps, than the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman serfs whose collars and chains have been found buried in the peat of the Cambridgeshire fens.

The true foundations of Venice were laid by men who ate and slept like the beasts of the field and whose wages were their daily bread and the grace of life. The free work we see; but the other lies beneath us wherever we move: a gigantic task of preparation by such as knew not for what they were making ready, nor cared. But, in the early years of the fourteenth century, hydraulic machinery was brought into service for these and other similar purposes, and, in the case of water-ways, the cost apportioned between the riparian owners and the State.<sup>1</sup>

We find on excellent authority that, in the seventh century when Venice was advancing toward the completion of her second centenary, the water nearest to the *terra firma* was sufficiently shallow to allow horsemen to cross over to Luprio and other contiguous points; and the accumulation of river-drift was necessarily increasing, so that the insular safeguard would, in the absence of permanent precautions, have been gradually destroyed. The government engineer Zendrini, in his elaborate monograph on the Lagoon, affords an insight into the vast labour and outlay which the Republic bestowed on the canals; a distinct departmental function, even in the fifteenth century, was the proveditorship of the lagoons; but, apart from the inherent tendency of the river-ways to become choked and unnavigable, there is a very serious possibility to be received into calculation, for it was the opinion of Zendrini, as well as that of his pupil Temanza, that, in the sixteenth century, the sea was shewing a tendency to gain at Venice, and that such continued to be the case in the eighteenth. So long as a vigorous system of dredging was observed and steps were taken at intervals to deepen the channels, this encroachment was not so grave a source of peril as now, when the languid action of a municipality is substituted for the old strong hand and the hot restless pulse beats no longer; yet Temanza testifies to the damage which occurred in his day (1720-80) from the periodical visits of high spring floods. Thus the city and State lay between two grave dangers of a diametrically opposite nature.

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. 349.

## CHAPTER XLIII

Circumstances which led to the final choice of a Capital—Rialto the ultimate Venice (809)—Indications of the growth of a City and of a distribution into thoroughfares—Feudal life—Afforested condition of Venice and its environs—Communications established between the Islands by wooden bridges—Bridge-toll—Bridges of boats—Saint Mark's a feudal fortress—Changes in the appearance of the central part of the City in the twelfth century—Removal of the wall round Saint Mark's and provision of an Arcade round part of the Piazza—Paving of the Broglio—Preservation of open spaces (*campi*)—Erection of the Red Columns—Want of Police—Horses and pigs allowed a free range in the Capital—Earliest vestige of places of business—Markets, fairs and auctions.

TILL the irruption of the Franks in 809, the great centre of action and movement lay at Heraclia or Malamocco. Of what eventually grew into the Venice of the Crusades, of the deadly Chioggian struggle, of Titian, of ourselves, the men of whom and of whose time this immediate page treats knew positively nought. The timber residence of the Doges, embracing within its compass all the varied requirements and accessories of the old Palace life and the whole machinery of the Government, political, judicial and financial, was pitched on a far more exposed and far less happy site; and around its walls lay dispersed the not very ambitious mansion-houses of the wealthier, sundry places of worship, as we see them dotted about on the plan of Temanza, and the sleeping-cabins of the labouring population who then, as now, chiefly used their dwellings as dormitories or stores, and conducted the business of life *sub dio*.

But of Heraclia, the first metropolis to which we are introduced, and the seat of the earliest Doges, we remain without tangible information, unless one classes as such the miserable story of discord and bloodshed which was the almost unvarying characteristic of its flourishing era. It had lost its importance in 742 when the ducal residence was removed to Malamocco, and the sole surviving vestige of any definite architectural theory or scheme at the latter, while it still retained its political rank, is the casual allusion to the



Strada of San Martino there in the ninth century. It was in this street, perchance in front of his ancestral abode, that the head of the ex-Doge Obelerio was exposed about 830, and the place was also the theatre of the periodical silk fair, even when Malamocco had long parted with its original consequence. The annihilation of this antique township and second capital of the Republic by the combined action of earthquakes and floods in 1110 was so utter, that even its position is not with certainty known, though Temanza was of opinion that Old Malamocco lay a little beyond the island of Santa Maria in Nazzaret. Some of the valuable remains were transferred at the time, partly to Chioggia and partly to Rialto or Venice.

It was a rupture between the eastern and western emperors, occasioned by an attempt on the part of the former to acquire possession of Commacchio, which is to be regarded as the proximate cause of what appeared to the Venetians a terrible calamity at the moment, and, when they could look back upon it, something very like an immense and enduring gain. They had furtively helped the Greeks to hold Commacchio; but Charlemagne, either not fully aware of this or desiring to put the policy of the little Republic to a practical test, now asked her succour in an expedition which his son Pepin was instructed to make into Dalmatia. Venice refused the demand, and Pepin, perhaps not displeased at the pretext, resolved to turn the forces which he had at least ostensibly levied for service elsewhere against the recalcitrant people in the lagoons. It is commonly asserted that he commanded the enterprise in person, but this statement is as unlikely as that the armament itself was of formidable proportions.

It is better to confess that a collation of the writers with maps of mediæval date leaves it extremely doubtful by which route the enemy penetrated into the heart of Venice; the enterprise was all the more difficult and hazardous, because certain parts yet remained in their primitive condition; Olivolo was still little more than a marish tract. But as they are said to have passed Pelestrina, Albiola and Malamocco, all of which they found deserted, it is probable that they entered by the *Portus Rivoalti* which was then an open water-way. The Venetian leaders had not had time

probably to sink hulks or piles here; but the Franks, on their side, had not taken into account the long distance to be traversed, before they reached the point whither the islanders had sagaciously retreated; and their progress was presently arrested by a natural, yet unforeseen, difficulty. The receding water was becoming at length too shallow to admit the somewhat heavy draught of the vessels which brought the troops from Ravenna, or to allow their retreat; the invaders hereupon seemingly adopted the unfortunate project of disembarking before the flotilla was stranded by the ebb; and it was only then that they discovered that their access to Rialto was barred by a canal which emptied itself just below Rialto into the lagoon. It was at this point that the Venetians stood at bay, some in their shallow skiffs, ready to act at any moment, some on the Rialto shore of the canal, prepared to resist to the last man any farther advance. The situation of the Franks was growing desperate. They were exposed to a destructive fire of stones and arrows, both from the water and the shore; their vessels were tide-bound, and many of these the Venetians succeeded in reaching with lighted tow. There seemed to be no alternative but to throw a temporary bridge over the canal, and take the position by storm.

This structure promptly yielded to the pressure; the greater part of the assailants were drowned or suffocated in the ooze, and the remainder were soon overtaken and slaughtered by the alert and experienced islanders.

A comprehension of this remarkable affair might be assisted by a conversance with the topography of the vital hand-to-hand struggle. It seems evident from the common language of history that the enemy advanced beyond Albiola, and penetrated into the inner lagoon in search of their opponents who had advisedly retired on Venice. The supposition that the conflict occurred at Albiola (the modern San Pietro in Volta) or, as Temanza appears to have thought, in the vicinity of Poveglia, is not supported on geographical grounds, as, in either case, it would of necessity be implied that the Venetians advanced a long distance and into deeper water to meet the aggressors; whereas we know, and it is indeed obvious, that their cardinal object was to draw the latter into the shallows, and that with this motive they concentrated themselves on Rialto. It seems, then, that in the

neighbourhood of Rialto we should seek the spot where the conflict occurred.

It is certain that the Canal Arco, the Low Latin appellation of which was *Archimicidium*, has been named, in the first place, as the battle-field, and, secondly, as identical with the modern Canal Orfano. Blondus of Forli, a writer of the fifteenth century, affirms that the name Orfano was substituted to commemorate the mortality on this very occasion; but of that there is no convincing proof, while the locality itself does not apparently answer very well to the conditions of the encounter so far as they are known. On the other hand, the Canal Arco, judging from analogy, owed its designation to the character of its course; it was bow-wise.

Standing on the Ponte della Paglia which did not then exist, and looking toward the Riva degli Schiavoni, one may speculate whether this was not the scene, whether the Rio di Palazzo, undoubtedly broader in its unenclosed state prior to the reception of a frontage of stone-work, and very possibly deepened on the emergency by the defenders, was not the Canal Arco. For, as to the inapplicability of the name, it should be recollected that the most extensive changes were made in the Middle Ages in the lesser water-ways of the city, and that the Canal Arco of 809 may very well have altered its aspect without relinquishing its name, as the Fleet in London dwindled from a navigable river, first into a brook, and finally into a ditch. We have to remember that the Venetians fell back on Rialto or Venice, and that the theatre of operations was upon the banks of a canal, sufficiently narrow to inspire the Franks with the idea of bridging it with casual appliances; these two accepted facts contract very much the range of inquiry. It might be too adventurous to identify the name of the *Riva degli Schiavoni* with this critical event; it would more probably refer back to an earlier hostile irruption by Hun or Goth. The Canal Arco was of such a span, as to allow, for the purpose of a simultaneous assault, the construction of a rough temporary causeway. That it was positively the present Rio di Palazzo is a mere theory, only warrantable, perhaps, by the interest attendant on the precise ground where a momentous issue was decided eleven centuries ago; but that



it was the Canal Orfano does not strike one as moderately probable.

The selection of Rialto as the capital was dictated purely by a persuasion of its exceptional security, for otherwise, as Temanza suggested long ago, there were respects in which Torcello might have been preferable.

There was no city or even town, strictly speaking, anywhere, till the transfer of the seat of administration to Rialto in consequence of the Frankish invasion. From the ninth century (814) may be reckoned the first serious attempt at centralization and unifying order: the rise of a new palace, the choice of a new patron saint, the development of thoroughfares converging from the various churches or from the ducal home: the binding together of Venice and its environs by tentative bridges: the establishment of a police, ancestors of the Sbirri: and the relief of the leading *contrade* from utter darkness after nightfall by the agency of dingy oil lamps. It was about this time, one apprehends, that an effort was made to lay out a city on what appeared to be a convenient model. There are contemporaneous documentary vouchers for such thoroughfares as the Calle delle Rasse, mentioned in 1172, the Calle del Perdon at Sant' Apollinare referable to the same remote period, the Calle dei Fabbri, the Calle dei Zoppi or Zotti, the Calle San Zuane adjoining the *Scuola* of that name, and apparently nicknamed *Del Bo*; the Calle Vallaresso, the Calle San Moisè where the Spanish embassy stood in 1539, the Calle della Casselleria,<sup>1</sup> the Strada of San Salvatore, afterward known as the Merceria, the Pescheria, the Riva degli Schiavoni, the Contrade of SS. Filippo e Giacomo where, after the destruction of the palace in 976 by fire, Orseolo I. transacted the business of the State; of San Lorenzo and SS. Apostoli where the two disastrous fires of 1106 occurred; of Santa Maria Mater Domini where a barley-factor is described as resident in 1381; of San Giuliano where the Ziani had considerable property in the twelfth century; of San Moisè, San Bragola and San Pantaleone, the freeholds of the Michieli family; of Santa Maddalena where one of the actors in the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy of 1310 was residing; of San Polo where, during the sixteenth century, there

<sup>1</sup> Even a qualification, *Calle Stretta*, is found corresponding with our English word *passage*. Of thoroughfares termed Calle della Stua (*stufa*; hot bath), the resorts of the *Stueri* or chiropodists, there were several. Romanin, vii. 541.

was an emporium for the manufacture and sale of maiolica;<sup>1</sup> and of SS. Gervasio and Protasio which is noticed in 1443 as a mixed neighbourhood, but where the home of two brothers, successive Doges, stood in 1510: of San Luca where, in 1453, there was a lodging-house with apartments let by the week: of Sant' Agnese, the presumed birthplace of the famous Veronica Franco: and, once more, of Sant' Hieronimo where, in 1608, Fra Paolo Sarpi and Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador, were near neighbours.<sup>2</sup> Then we have the Ruga degli Orefici where the goldsmiths congregated and set up above their doors their golden dragons, and the Ruga *domorum de Sergentibus*, the last not far from the courts of law, and the seat of the sponging-houses. All these foot-ways were gradually formed over irregular sheets of water or marshy areas, and obviously owed their nomenclature to the proprietor who had reclaimed them, to the church immediately abutting on them, or to the particular purpose to which they were chiefly appropriated. We perceive that the street vocabulary was already fairly varied—*strada, contrada, ruga, calle* to which such supplemental forms as *fondamento, campo, campiello* were in due course added. But we miss the Roman, Genoese and Tuscan *via*. The term *corte* was applied to a dwelling of pretensions, as the *Corte della Regina* where the Queen of Cyprus resided, or to a public place with an open frontage, as the *Corte del Teatro*. But we also meet with the forms *cortesella* and *cortile* in the same sense.

But the pace at which this development proceeded was slow, and the improvement sectional. Fifty years after the victory over the Franks, we see the Government granting concessions to persons who were desirous of bringing under cultivation the marshes in Rialto, and of building houses in the direction of Castello. A document of the year 1098 includes, in a ducal grant to the Church of San Cipriano in Malamocco, both fishing and fowling rights.

The ground-landlords or lessees of residences were invariably anxious to secure for their tenants or themselves, as an indispensable feature in the property, a free access to the nearest water or *comenzaria*, a right of entrance and outlet to the landing-stairs or stage where the occupier might moor his boat, and have facilities for transacting business or pro-

<sup>1</sup> Chaffers by Litchfield, 1901, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> The Ghetto also was here. See Coryat's *Crudities*, London, 1611, pp. 240-1.

curing supplies of provisions for his household. The topography of Venice ruled its laws; and the regulations concerning riparian easements, the use of fish-ponds and cognate matters are infinitely numerous and minute.

During the Middle Ages, or even later, there were many blind courts, leading to private residences and closed against general traffic; and it originally sprang out of the cliental system, that these alleys or avenues were occupied by the dependents of the master of the *casa* or *palazzo*, who thus often lived in a manner surrounded and protected by his clan. The introduction by degrees of a municipal government tended to modify such an archaic and inconvenient state of society, and the noble, when his feudal environment was withdrawn by legislative changes, was glad to answer a gradual demand, by converting his old-fashioned tenements into handsome shops, and to take high rents in lieu of the barren homage of his forefathers' tenantry.

A glance at a mediæval map of Venice and the adjacent *terra firma* is sufficient to satisfy any one, that the supply of fuel for domestic purposes and of timber for building was probably in excess of any early demand. Even where other materials had come into use for the latter object, the growth of manufactures, particularly of glass, tended, however, to the exhaustion of the local supply; and an ignorance of the law of renewal, and the absence of facilities for importation from the more remote timber-yielding regions must have prevailed long enough to disafforest the Venetian territory to a considerable and serious extent. But the woods within the frontier of the Republic were at one time tolerably extensive, and the Marches of Padua and Treviso abounded with forest-land, where the boar, the wolf and the fox had ample cover and lair, and where, subject to the laws, wood of various kinds might be had. One of the large coppices near Venice was the *Lovo*; and a primitive bridge, leading to the capital, was called the *Ponte Lovo*. The names of the islet *Luprio*, the Priory of Lovoli and of the fort, christened the *Lovo* and erected at Fossone in 1379, were due to the same traditional circumstance. A point on the Paduan coast opposite Castello was known, we see, as *Vulpegus* or Volpadego; and farther up, a good deal nearer Rialto, the *Puncta Luporum* ran out into the sea. This headland was so dangerously close to Venice, that the idea of destroying



it in order more thoroughly to isolate the capital gained strength, until in 1339 the design at last was carried out, and the soil applied to the embanking and levelling processes of which the Government could never afford to lose sight. It is at least plausible that to this epoch we should refer the commencement of a principle of sinking those piles, of which traces have been periodically discovered, and which probably underlay much of the central part of the city before the larger and heavier buildings were erected.

Turning to the actual confines of old Venice, we meet, as has been elsewhere universally the case, with such forms as "In the Marsh," "In the Wilderness," "In the Vineyard," "In the Seaweed" (*In alga*), applied to localities while such a nomenclature was literally exact, and retained by them when it had merely a traditional value.

Before any regular system of communication by bridges was undertaken, a series of ferry-boats, stationed at specified points, had enjoyed the important monopoly of conveying passengers from island to island, and even when the new facilities were afforded, they never completely superseded the ferries or *traghetti*, the owners of which constituted independent brotherhoods (*fraglie*) under their own overseers or *gastaldi*. In 1663 a tariff was officially established, and a copy of it was attached to a point adjacent to each landing-place for the information and protection of passengers.<sup>1</sup>

The Board of Works, instituted between 809 and 827, threw certain bridges of timber across some of the leading thoroughfares, and to these the allusions are not infrequent. The Ponte della Paglia, between the Palace and the Abbey of San Zaccaria, formed successively the scene of two acts of regicide. The Doge Tradenigo was assassinated there in 864, and a second Doge in 1172. Temanza fixes 1360 as the date of its reconstruction in stone much in its living form; but he, at the same time, offers an explanation of the name which can hardly be accepted. He desires us to believe that eighty of the members of the Great Council left their horses at this point at bait, while they were engaged in their official duties. But the appellation seems to have existed long before

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *La Vita Privata*, 1908, parte terza, p. 188; Romanin, vii. 542, note. Some of the lapidary inscriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries once attached to these landing-stages are in the Civic Museum.

the Great Council was organized, and before the city was knit together by bridges; and by far the more reasonable hypothesis is, that the Ponte della Paglia was originally built and maintained out of the duty on straw, of which large quantities were used in mediæval Venice for thatch and litter, in the same way that, the cost of old London Bridge having been defrayed out of the wool-dues, it was popularly said to be built upon wool-packs. Between 1172 and 1178 the Government found it desirable to rebuild many of these primitive structures; and the Ponte della Moneta or Bridge of Money, so called from the toll levied on passengers, presumably to defray the cost of construction or repair, superseded the rude contrivance laid on hulks which had been the earliest experiment where the sixteenth-century erection at present overarches the Grand Canal. The bridge-toll here apparently shadowed is the earliest example of the kind, and it possibly represented the tariff of the ferryman, but the latter continued, even when the capital was amply furnished with intercommunication of this kind, to find plenty of custom.

The bridge by no means displaced the gondola; even the steamer cannot do so. Lacroix engraves part of a painted window in the Cathedral of Tournay, illustrating the levy of a toll, but it belongs to the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In the will of the Doge Ziani who died in 1178, the Ponte dei Barretteri is cited as situated somewhere in the vicinity of San Giuliano. In 1310, the singularly minute details which have been transmitted to us of a great political plot bring to light the Ponte Lovo (already mentioned) and the Ponte del Malpasso, the latter between San Matteo and the Square of Saint Mark, and identifiable with the present Ponte dei Dadi. In 1379, we are apprised of a drawbridge over the canal of Santa Caterina between Great and Little Chioggia (or Brondolo), and in such a manner as to make us surmise that it was then hardly a novelty. The canal behind San Moisè was perhaps spanned by a second communication of the same class, so long as the Piazza preserved its feudal cincture. In the sad incident of the son of the Doge Veniero in 1388, in which an offensive lampoon was attached to the door of a house, the latter is described as being built on a bridge—that of the Holy Trinity. Criminal proceedings

<sup>1</sup> *Mœurs et Usages*, 1872, p. 341.

in the court of Quarantia in 1397–8 specify the bridges of Orto di Castello and San Basilio; and, through the case of Bianca Cappello in 1563, we become aware of the Ponte Storto near the Casa Cappello at Sant' Apollinare. In 1607 the Bridge of Santa Fosca is mentioned as the scene of the murderous attack on Fra Paolo Sarpi.

The number of conveniences of the present kind was of necessity exceptionally large; many of them were of minor proportions and girth; and many, again, were popularly, if not otherwise, recognized under designations due to local and accidental circumstances, such as the Ponte della Fava, the Ponte dell' Angelo, the Ponte della Latte, and the Ponte di Lio or Leone. On the Ponte dei Carmini the annual contest took place between the Castellani and the Nicolotti. But as late as 1441, on the occasion of an important ceremony, recourse was had to a bridge of boats to transport the bridal party from one point to another. It is ascertainable from a multiplicity of sources, that the less central and frequented parts of the Dogado were furnished with regular means of intercourse only by a gradual process, and that in many cases, even where a new bridge was thrown over some canal, it was retained as private property by the individual who had built it, agreeably to the terms of the original grant of the land, in the same manner as some of the lanes or courts created under similar auspices.

A visit to the more remote islands involved, as it even now does of course, the services of a gondolier. Generations were to come and go before the canals were to see the noble architectural works which arrest the eye of the modern traveller—works which give an impression of solidity and symmetry, and sometimes of gloom. Yet, as an engineering achievement of the expiring years of the sixteenth century, the historical bridge of Antonio da Ponte (1585–8) is unapproachable in historical interest and professional merit. An English traveller in 1647 counted twelve shops upon it:<sup>1</sup> their successors were still there in 1883. Lassels seems to have heard that the total cost of the work was 250,000 *scudi*.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the earliest engraved view is on the title-page of the folio series of Venetian costumes and scenery by Franco,

<sup>1</sup> John Raymond's *Itinerary*, 1648, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, ed. 1686, p. 224.



issued about 1597, where it is termed *Il Novo Ponte de Rialto*.

One of the latest primitive survivals was the boat-bridge or pontoon at San Girolamo over the water-way which is still known as the Canale del Battello.

Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, the Republic was engaged in enfranchising itself by degrees from the narrowing and cramping influence of mediævalism, and became something more than a Bond of Villages under a chieftain, by name a Doge.

The beneficent sway of the Orseolo family from 976 to 1025 witnessed a development of the good work commenced on the final adoption of Rialto as the metropolis; and there was at that time a recognized officer or magistrate, intrusted with the superintendence of repairs and improvements in the city. But it was during the close of the twelfth century that the first marked stimulus was given to metropolitan alterations and embellishments; and, on the whole, it is to the third quarter of that century that we should date back the original production of the highly important chart of Venice, first engraved by Temanza from an augmented fourteenth-century copy in 1781. The author was doubtless an ecclesiastic, and he has done for us scarcely anything beyond the delineation of the relative positions of the churches and conventual establishments scattered over the city and suburbs. It is quite possible that he would not have included the Piazza, had it not been for the sacred edifice which formed part of one side of the irregular square. The representation of the Church of Saint Mark (originally the ducal chapel) and its immediate vicinity, the mother Abbey of San Zaccaria, the primitive San Giorgio Maggiore, forerunner of Palladio's building, and the old Arsenal—all of which he has sketched to our great profit—makes the real value of this archive.

The Marcian MS. employed by Temanza may thus be assumed perhaps to depict with tolerable fidelity Saint Mark's and its precincts, prior to the notable alterations made during the short but fruitful dogate of Sebastiano Ziani (1172–8). The Government had at this juncture the happiness to meet with a capable Lombard engineer, named Nicolò, who seems from some cause, perhaps his addiction to play, to have been

of the Venetians are taken by us into account. But the work advanced at a very leisurely pace and in a very desultory manner. It is to be borne in mind that, while the shallowness and uncertainty of the channels rendered a maritime attack on the city excessively difficult, some outlying portions of it were accessible at low or neap tides by persons on horseback, or by parties approaching the islands from the *terra firma* in boats. But of course these two sources of danger soon ceased to be very serious.

The earliest trace of any clear and definite effort to provide against invasion is the vague account, which we get, of the erection of a fort at Brondolo or Little Chioggia, in the middle of the eighth century; but the attempt on the part of the reigning prince to strengthen his subjects against their enemies was very generally interpreted, amid the bitter conflict of parties, into a desire to strengthen himself against internal disunion, and it was not till more than a hundred years after that, in consequence of a rumour of a fresh Hungarian inroad, precautionary steps were taken to embattle Olivolo or Castello, and to carry a rampart, supported on solid foundations, as far as Santa Maria Jubenigo, from which point a chain of the heaviest calibre was stretched across the canal near San Gregorio (A.D. 897-8). But the plan was never completed.<sup>1</sup> The presence, in the vicinity of San Biagio at Castello, of a turreted building which meets the eye in the Dürer chart of 1506, but which, fully a century before, appears to have been converted to the purposes of a custom-house (Dogana da Mar), prompts the speculation whether it had not been at least a fortified residence in feudal times.

In these operations, we hear nothing of the condition of the works at Chioggia and Brondolo which formed the theatre of the vital struggle in 1379 with Genoa, and witnessed heroic efforts on the part of the nation to render them impregnable. But the immense exertions which were made in that crisis may indicate that the ancient fortifications on this side—where, and not at Lido, the first citadel planted on Venetian soil by eighth-century hands had stood—were subsequently neglected, and that the Genoese selected, in fact, for attack the point from which they believed the capital to be most vulnerable. It is even a possibility that the crenellated wall

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, i. 73. The form *Jubenigo* now occurs as *Zobenigo*.

round the Arsenal, shown on Temanza's plan, had fallen out of repair in the course of more than a century. It is marked as belonging to the same school of design as that round the Piazza and may have been the work of the same hand. Elsewhere it has been noticed that the Ghetto or Government Foundry at Cannaregio was similarly protected by a strong mural girdle and a commanding tower.

Whatever its exact antiquity may have been, the Projectile and Weapon Foundry, with the smelting furnaces, first occurs to notice as seated in the suburban district of Cannaregio, and formed a walled enclosure throughout the Middle Ages, like the Arsenal and the Place of Saint Mark. It was known as the *Ghetto*, and became the Jews' Quarter somewhat later; when the *Ghetto Nuovo*, originally a swamp contiguous to the Rio di San Girolamo, was drained and colonized, this became the *Ghetto Vecchio*.

In a document of 1458, the name *Ghetto*, a Venetian corruption of the Low Latin *jactare*, seems to be satisfactorily explained. It was the "casting depôt." "It was called the Getto," we are here explicitly informed, "because there were over twelve furnaces, and the iron was founded and smelted there." But the term became, without any real propriety, generic for the Jews' Quarter in Italy and elsewhere, and its origin (like that of *Zecca* and *Archipelago*) was gradually forgotten. In the document just quoted, the Ghetto is expressly described as walled and as accessible only by a stone stairway on the side of Cannaregio. But, under 1645, Evelyn the Diarist alludes to a place of entertainment where cards were played, as the *Chetto* of San Felice, apparently a local form of *Ghetto*.

Metal was not yet demanded for building and other modern uses, yet, comparatively speaking, the mediæval foundry at Cannaregio opened to the Republic the same source of advantage as the industry at present affords to the English.

In the Temanza map the Place of Saint Mark is represented as still surrounded by a wall. Within this inclosure the Church of St. Mark is roughly indicated, and between the Place and the Grand Canal there is absolutely nothing. We are left to assume that the palace lay close beside the church, the latter being, in the eyes of the draughtsman, the more important object; but the whole plan is on a small scale, and there is no clue to the position of the gates, of



porary observer would follow the successive destruction of so many time-honoured objects: the dismantlement piecemeal of the Doge's vast and gloomy dwelling, once a feudal stronghold, and the gradual demolition of the tenth-century wall built along the Riva to keep out the Huns (perchance the very Schiavoni after whom it was named), where, instead of the broad expanse of the Molo toward the sea or Grand Canal, there was long nothing but a narrow causeway between the rampart and the water. To Barattiero, whatever the precise limit of his labours, was undoubtedly due the credit of having done more than all his predecessors to impart to Venice an architectural tone and an incipient regularity of outline. He was soon followed by men greater than himself, and the temper of the Venetians, flexible and passive enough when no dark and sanguinary passions were kindled, readily adapted itself to new conditions and demands. Subsequently to the conspicuous reforms set on foot by the rich Doge Ziani, and (obsequiously to the proprietary genius here thus early masterful) effected in no unimportant measure at his own expense, many years elapsed before any farther progress was made.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the supply of a brick pavement to the Piazza was considered a great public service, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Saint Mark's Place was, by degrees hereabout, assuming an aspect more consonant with our ideas of it, and that the colonnade on three sides of the quadrangle was gradually being constructed as circumstances allowed. But when we consider the universal tendency of customs and sentiment to perpetuate themselves, and to become contemporary with a state of manners and opinions with which they are totally incongruous, we shall be prepared to believe that at Venice there was a long survival, both within the old walled palace and without, of practices and forms which would force themselves on the Venetian mind in the light of anachronisms, only by a very slow process. Certain vested privileges had grown up round the Doge and the Constitution, and had become parcel of both; a large extent of land, of which the value could not fail to increase, was held under feudal obligations which it was perhaps the interest of the beneficiaries not to suffer to shrink into desuetude, and assessments

in kind for the body-guard, gondola service, and *bouche* or kitchen of the Court, which had at the commencement been charges on waste or worthless plots of ground, were levied, before they were discontinued or commuted, on profitable estates.

The city grew and reduced to the rank of suburbs the circumjacent islands; and the other members of the group constituting the Dogado were required to content themselves with certain local privileges and a share of municipal dignity. The population swelled, especially in the metropolis, and houses multiplied and new lanes and *calli* were formed. The difficulties of locomotion must have been at times considerable. The widest thoroughfares did not exceed twelve feet; there was no footpath, and the kennels down the middle were choked with filth, and infested with scavenger dogs and pigs, in search of food (like the adjutants of old Calcutta) among the garbage thrown at random from the ground-floors or from the casements above. In the squares (*campi* or *campielli*) which yet remain prominent features in all parts of Venice, and make an agreeable contrast to the cleft-like alleys and the creeks intersecting it in every direction, horses not infrequently ranged at will, and careered about to the constant danger of the pedestrian.

Of course, regulations were produced to check these and similar abuses, but the law was loosely interpreted and languidly enforced, unless the robbery or murder of a person of quality in one of those dark fissures, which were always, as they are now, far from safe after dusk, happened to recall attention to the subject. Nor ought we to be at all surprised to learn that, although the excursions of the pigs at large were put under restraint, the pigs of St. Anthony were especially exempted from this civil disability, as was the case in mediæval London, and enjoyed the advantage of the tradition and association of the contemporary of St. Paul with the emblem of gluttony which lies beneath his feet. The Hospital of St. Anthony in Finch Lane, London, is said indeed to have been originally a cell to the house at Venice.

The fashionable shops in the Merceria, Pescheria, and other leading commercial thoroughfares, and, still more, those under the colonnade of the Piazza. were a natural evolution from those of which we possess documentary evidence in the

fourteenth century, as existing at San Luca, San Giuliano and elsewhere, for the sale of oil, spices and other articles of daily consumption. In Venetia Princeps we have to do with an antecedent order of things, when the market-place, like the old Greek Agora, was the sole trust and resort of the buyer both in gross and in retail. The earliest spot dedicated to this object in the capital, so far as one can see (for we do not hear much of the suburban municipalities), was the space in front of the Church of San Giacomo di Rialto; in 1255 this locality, facing the spot where the Rialto bridge stands, was the chief market and the place for holding auctions. Bread, fish and poultry are specifically mentioned as commodities bought and sold; but, under *fructus*, corn, oil and vegetables, as well as grapes, apples, cherries and figs, would be embraced; and in a later document (1288) the enumeration extends to *aliae res grossae*, goods answering to the English groceries, first sold by the Pepperers of London, and subsequently by the Grocers. But it was soon found that the growth of the public traffic rendered the transaction of so much business, as the auctions and the dealers brought to the spot, a matter of inconvenience and a source of obstruction; and, in 1288, a decree of the Great Council ordered the urban authorities to pave an open area behind San Giacomo, and to transfer the market with its stalls and shanties thither, so soon as this operation was completed. But special leave was accorded at the same time to use the Piazza of San Giacomo, between the two landing-stairs, on Saturdays as heretofore, when possibly more ample accommodation was required, and when certain foreign currency—the Greek *bezant*—was permitted to pass. In the time of Casanova the Erbaria was on this ground. He describes it as a place of low character, where men and women (himself included) met and remained till very unreasonable hours, for he mentions that, on the 25th of July, 1755, he quitted the spot only a quarter of an hour before sunrise to go to his lodgings.

But to many of us, the most interesting feature connected with San Giacomo is its almost undoubted claim to have been the earliest Exchange, where the merchants met to converse and negotiate. It occupied a position parallel to that of the Bourse at Archangel (oldest of Russian seaports) in the time of Tzar Peter. This was the Rialto of Shakespear who pre-





*Feste che si sogliono fare per la Città della Gaccia del Toro, amazzar la Gatta col  
capo raso, pigliar l'anadre, pigliar l'oca nell'Acqua & altre.*

*l'acomo franco forma*

BULL-BAITING AT THE RIALTO—FIRST VIEW OF THE BRIDGE

[Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London]



sumably knew it only by hearsay ; but the grand bridge was not yet there, nor the clock-tower. The old Ponte della Moneta stood till toward 1590, and, until the middle of the fourteenth century, the bell remained in full office. But when the great clock, of which we read as in a bad state of repair in 1393, was established there, the open-air scene on a Saturday, with its stalls, its dresses and its hubbub, must have been picturesque enough ; and one regrets that Titian did not select it as an *alfresco* subject, that there was no Canaletto to hand it down to us ; and we can do no more than take the later descriptions which have been transmitted to us, and let our fancy re-edit them, until we become spectators of a richer and more populous scene set in a busier and nobler background. Round the mother-church of Venice, a building which, even in the Middle Ages, could vaunt a prehistoric antiquity and looked back to the time when it stood alone in a vast solitude, ages before Shakespear was born, when the name of Dante had not yet been pronounced, centred the bright commercial life of an early industrial people. The market is there yet, the men and women and, in the main, the surrounding costume, but with a difference ! It was apt to partake, through the earlier centuries, of the strangely multifarious and motley complexion of the ancient Greek Agora, and, down to the sixteenth, the *Sensa* at least retained this catholic character.

The topographical as well as the political structure of the Republic was perhaps inimical to the establishment of fairs on a large scale, within the limits of the Dogado itself, when the population and government had outgrown their archaic proportions and character. For, at the outset, fairs were doubtless of periodical, if not of annual occurrence ; and a long-lived tradition is preserved that, in 860, the frost was sufficiently keen (maybe in the early spring) to allow visitors from the *terra firma* to cross on foot. Subsequently, the famous yearly fair at Pavia, and those at Campalto on the Silis for miscellaneous wares, at Malamocco for silk, and at Murano for glass, afforded the Venetians reasonable facilities for trade and commercial intercourse. The great gathering at Pavia, however, must have been the principal resource of those times ; to the Europeans in the Middle Ages it stood in the same relation as that of Nijni-Novgorod to the Russians in



passed centuries. Dealers and manufacturers supplied themselves there for the whole twelvemonth, met their correspondents, bartered and exchanged, and, in the absence of facilities for regular communication, gave or received orders for goods in advance. The Market was the spot inside the walls or boundary of a city, where sales of perishable commodities were effected on a more or less limited scale; but the Fair was an institution altogether distinct, and, on account of the ample area demanded, and of the risk, both political and sanitary, attendant on the assemblage of a large concourse of persons from every known region, was held *foris*, beyond the urban barrier. Hence the French took their *foire* and *forêt*, the Italian his *forestiero* for a stranger, and we our *fair* and *forest*. The Venetians, however, waived all objections, and to their undoubted advantage admitted the institution at stated seasons.

The episode of the *Espousal of the Adriatic* constitutes part of the annals of the young Republic; but the recollection of the incident was burnt into the national mind by the yearly *Andata*, to which an official attribute was imparted and which the Doge attended in person on the Bucentaur. The custom had more than its festive and ceremonial value and significance, for it perpetuated, in a distinct manner, the tradition by which the Holy See had, in the Middle Ages, bestowed on the Republic, in the person of the reigning Doge, the eternal queendom of the Adriatic. This unique Venetian pageant immediately preceded the Fair of the *Sensa* which commenced on Ascension Day and lasted a fortnight, and was as unique as the celebration itself; for, within its radius, the exhibits were as widely diversified as those at the Russian fair of Nijni-Novgorod in its palmiest days. It has been described as the *Longchamps* and *Salon* of Venice, for, during the fortnight, the Piazza of St. Mark was the rendezvous of all the beauty and fashion of the capital, its outskirts and the neighbouring places. The greater part of the Piazza was temporarily covered with a semi-circular range of wooden shanties for the display of goods. There, not only the ordinary articles of commerce were exhibited for sale, but the costliest jewellery, costumes, cutlery, glass, armour, weapons; there (as at Rotterdam in the time of Evelyn the Diarist) artists shewed their latest canvases, and the sculptor some figure or group fresh from

the chisel; there Canova submitted to the public his *Dædalus and Icarus*, and there the second-hand dealer exposed to view the masterpieces of Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese, which, even in the latest days of political liberty, Venetian publishers were found to reproduce in a sumptuous form for general circulation.<sup>1</sup> These treasures were displayed in temporary structures of elegant design, erected at the public expense. The multifarious complexion survived to some extent in the great fair at Nijni-Novgorod during its best period, and such was a farther development of an idea looking back to 1268, both alike prototypical of the European Exhibitions of Industries and Arts, claimed as a discovery of the nineteenth century.

The Republic employed for purposes of public sale, as elsewhere, the bell and the cry (*campanella* and *incanto*), which was probably another form of the trumpet seen in old prints. The City of London from a very remote date had its analogous functionary and institution—the outroper and outrope.<sup>2</sup> To conduct an auction at Rialto was “*vendersi alla campanella*,” as in England, in the seventeenth century, the expression was “to sell at the candle”; we do not hear of the other devices invented in France and elsewhere. The inch of candle plan was practised in London in the time of Cromwell, and was merely an evolution from the timekeeping tapers employed in the absence of clocks, and apparently, outside the natural symptoms, was the only resource of many primitive communities, such as the natives of the Marquesas Islands, when they were visited by Herman Melville about 1843. In the perhaps apocryphal *Life of Alfred the Great* by Asser time-candles occur, calculated, like the modern night-light, for a fixed duration. It is possible; but it was rather early. The particulars of a Government sale in 1332 of galleys no longer required have been preserved. It took place at San Giacomo, under the supervision of the Privy Council and the chiefs of the Quarantia Civile. The vessels were sold at prices varying from 65 to 81 *lire di grossi*, and the name of the security in each case is recorded, as well as that of the purchaser. This was a periodical transaction, in the case of

<sup>1</sup> *Raccolta di Opere scelte dipinte da Tiziano Vecellio, Pordenone, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, e varii altri celebri Maestri della Scuola Veneziana.* Venezia, 1786, atlas folio, 92 plates.

<sup>2</sup> *Extracts from the Remembrancia*, 1878, p. 289.

merchants who desired vessels for their private use. They purchased them of the Executive, to which they had to be restored in proper order on demand, in the event of a war; and each buyer was required to find bail for that purpose.<sup>1</sup> But all descriptions of property submitted to public competition underwent a similar process, and even the gold and silver bullion imported for monetary and other objects was sold in this way. The law, as regarded the precious metals, however, was occasionally suspended, and persons who so desired might be exempted from the necessity of selling by auction, on payment of a duty which fluctuated from time to time.<sup>2</sup> In the case of Venice, the auction had ostensibly been an unbroken tradition from Roman times.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1864, i., lxii.

<sup>2</sup> Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 195, etc.



## CHAPTER XLIV

Venice viewed as a Fortified City—It begins to be a *Patria*—Attempt to realize the Mediæval Place—Early Historical Associations—Some of the *Palazzi*—Their Heirlooms and Vicissitudes—The Ducal Palace—Its slow Development into its present aspect—The Horses of Saint Mark.

IF there is one aspect in which the ordinary student fails to realize to himself the ancient mistress of the Adriatic, it is Venice as a fortified place. Still, few things are more certain than that, at the end of the ninth century, it was found imperative to protect the capital and its outskirts by a system of walls and chains.

In modern Europe, the theory and science of fortification and the development of the engineer's art, sprang out of the necessity, amid a general system of petty warfare and inter-tribal brigandage, of establishing some more or less efficient method for protecting the feudal lord against his own dependents or against his seigniorial neighbours. The worldly possessions of these potentates were usually of limited extent and could be embraced within the walls of a castle, and the humble buildings which lay without and around were erected and replaced with equal facility. But the rise of States which had something more than a military and political rank to uphold, and something more than the barbarous hovels of a baronial tenantry or even than the scanty appointments of a baronial citadel to lose, brought with it a demand for more elaborate measures of precaution and defence, while, with new interests and new sources of wealth, it created new dangers, new temptations. Venice, from her long and exposed seaboard, her contiguity to the mainland and the uniformly low level of her insular territory, naturally found the provision of a scheme for the public security a difficult problem. Yet its difficulty was not greater than its importance, when the lawless and rapacious character of the communities by which the Republic was environed, their indifference to the rights of property, and the rapid increase in the mercantile prosperity

of the Venetians are taken by us into account. But the work advanced at a very leisurely pace and in a very desultory manner. It is to be borne in mind that, while the shallowness and uncertainty of the channels rendered a maritime attack on the city excessively difficult, some outlying portions of it were accessible at low or neap tides by persons on horseback, or by parties approaching the islands from the *terra firma* in boats. But of course these two sources of danger soon ceased to be very serious.

The earliest trace of any clear and definite effort to provide against invasion is the vague account, which we get, of the erection of a fort at Brondolo or Little Chioggia, in the middle of the eighth century; but the attempt on the part of the reigning prince to strengthen his subjects against their enemies was very generally interpreted, amid the bitter conflict of parties, into a desire to strengthen himself against internal disunion, and it was not till more than a hundred years after that, in consequence of a rumour of a fresh Hungarian inroad, precautionary steps were taken to embattle Olivolo or Castello, and to carry a rampart, supported on solid foundations, as far as Santa Maria Jubenigo, from which point a chain of the heaviest calibre was stretched across the canal near San Gregorio (A.D. 897-8). But the plan was never completed.<sup>1</sup> The presence, in the vicinity of San Biagio at Castello, of a turreted building which meets the eye in the Dürer chart of 1506, but which, fully a century before, appears to have been converted to the purposes of a custom-house (*Dogana da Mar*), prompts the speculation whether it had not been at least a fortified residence in feudal times.

In these operations, we hear nothing of the condition of the works at Chioggia and Brondolo which formed the theatre of the vital struggle in 1379 with Genoa, and witnessed heroic efforts on the part of the nation to render them impregnable. But the immense exertions which were made in that crisis may indicate that the ancient fortifications on this side—where, and not at Lido, the first citadel planted on Venetian soil by eighth-century hands had stood—were subsequently neglected, and that the Genoese selected, in fact, for attack the point from which they believed the capital to be most vulnerable. It is even a possibility that the crenellated wall

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, i. 73. The form *Jubenigo* now occurs as *Zobenigo*.

round the Arsenal, shown on Temanza's plan, had fallen out of repair in the course of more than a century. It is marked as belonging to the same school of design as that round the Piazza and may have been the work of the same hand. Elsewhere it has been noticed that the Ghetto or Government Foundry at Cannaregio was similarly protected by a strong mural girdle and a commanding tower.

Whatever its exact antiquity may have been, the Projectile and Weapon Foundry, with the smelting furnaces, first occurs to notice as seated in the suburban district of Cannaregio, and formed a walled enclosure throughout the Middle Ages, like the Arsenal and the Place of Saint Mark. It was known as the *Ghetto*, and became the Jews' Quarter somewhat later; when the *Ghetto Nuovo*, originally a swamp contiguous to the Rio di San Girolamo, was drained and colonized, this became the *Ghetto Vecchio*.

In a document of 1458, the name *Ghetto*, a Venetian corruption of the Low Latin *jactare*, seems to be satisfactorily explained. It was the "casting depôt." "It was called the Getto," we are here explicitly informed, "because there were over twelve furnaces, and the iron was founded and smelted there." But the term became, without any real propriety, generic for the Jews' Quarter in Italy and elsewhere, and its origin (like that of *Zecca* and *Archipelago*) was gradually forgotten. In the document just quoted, the Ghetto is expressly described as walled and as accessible only by a stone stairway on the side of Cannaregio. But, under 1645, Evelyn the Diarist alludes to a place of entertainment where cards were played, as the *Chetto* of San Felice, apparently a local form of *Ghetto*.

Metal was not yet demanded for building and other modern uses, yet, comparatively speaking, the mediæval foundry at Cannaregio opened to the Republic the same source of advantage as the industry at present affords to the English.

In the Temanza map the Place of Saint Mark is represented as still surrounded by a wall. Within this inclosure the Church of St. Mark is roughly indicated, and between the Place and the Grand Canal there is absolutely nothing. We are left to assume that the palace lay close beside the church, the latter being, in the eyes of the draughtsman, the more important object; but the whole plan is on a small scale, and there is no clue to the position of the gates, of



which there must have been several. One was almost certainly on the side of the sea near the Ponte della Paglia, and very probably a second reached by a drawbridge abutted on the Rio di Palazzo behind San Moisè. A second, but not improbably connected, line of mural defences covered the Doge's palace, and extended to the Ponte della Paglia. It recommenced at the opposite side of the Canal or Rio di Palazzo, and ran the entire length of the Riva degli Schiavoni, without leaving a very wide margin or *fondamento* for passengers. This portion of the fortifications is described as crenellated and flanked with angular towers. The range of buildings devoted to the use of the Doge and to the business of the Government was thus amply shielded from external attack, and, although the wall skirting the Riva did not, in all likelihood, exist in its full integrity in the fourteenth century, the Casa Molin, opposite which Petrarch landed about 1350 on his diplomatic errand from Milan, may be securely judged to have been a castellated mansion on the skirts of the city, partly formed out of the ancient rampart. Petrarch mentions the towers, perhaps on account of their unusual shape, for otherwise the presence of battlements was not apt to strike the men who beheld them. Whoever set foot from shipboard on the Molo saw merely what he had left at home, but to us, with the city of to-day before our eyes, and with the means of studying it in the picture of 1494, as it presented itself even at the close of the mediæval era, the contrast and the change are wondrous.

Saint Mark's Church and Place and many of the surrounding objects had become, in fact, substantially as we see them, about 1494, the date assigned to the picture in the Venetian Academy which portrays a religious procession (the *Corpus Domini*) on the Piazza, if we except a certain irregularity of elevation and the protrusion of occasional outbuildings, both of which lingered yet for a considerable time, as they at once strike the eye in the view of the Piazzetta published by Jost Amman in 1565. Nor, when the picture was executed, does the Clock Tower seem to have been erected, although its completion is usually referred to this year.

The original aspect of that part of Venice which contained the Campanile was so different from the present, that it would

be impossible for any one to form a correct judgment of the circumstances answerable for the fall in 1902 (on the morning of the 14th of July), without studying the condition of the ground before any tower was raised upon it, and without remembering, that the first attempt to make this addition to the Basilica was on a scale, far less trying to the foundation than it eventually became by later embellishments and the introduction of a more ponderous bell. The calculations of the first builder were, as one may infer from the solid underlying *strata* now unfortunately brought to light, amply sufficient for his superstructure; but he did not provide for the future—for increased weight and increased vibration, and these two agencies united to achieve the fatal consummation. Yet, so excellent had been the bed on which the Campanile rested, that it withstood this twofold danger for centuries, even in the presence of an evident disposition on the part of the ground hereabout, including that on which the Basilica stands, to almost imperceptible subsidence.<sup>1</sup> So far as the vibration is concerned, there is the testimony of Casanova while he was an occupant of the *Piombi* in 1755: he says that the bell sounded as if it had been in his cell.

A modern eyewitness observes: "Digging down to the stiff clay, piles of white poplar were driven in over the whole area of the tower, and over these was constructed a level platform of oak trees. Above these rose five courses of trachyte and other granite or porphyritic rock in huge masses, and these again were surmounted by six courses of similar stone in step-like offsets forming a plinth to the Tower. An examination of the foundations in 1885 showed the poplar piles and the oak platform to be still perfectly sound."

But the mischief was clearly elsewhere—in some subsidence of the ground and in the effect of the operation of the enormous bell on a colossal structure estimated to be 325 feet in height by 42 feet in diameter. The probability is that the present is a case, one among many, in which the exact circumstances attending the origin of examples of mediæval architecture have been lost, and that the parent Campanile attributed to the tenth century was replaced by

<sup>1</sup> The present writer ascended the Campanile in 1883, and formed the conclusion that the action of the bell was apt to prove a severe strain on the brickwork. But the Italian does not usually anticipate or forestall in these matters. He prefers to regret—even with tears—afterward.

a second, built on a more scientific plan and even then not completed, as it was lately visible, till comparatively modern times—till the days of Palladio.

It is usual to regard and describe the great Tower on the Piazza as if it had been the sole monument of the kind. But others still exist, and at one period there were probably several, like the two at San Paterniano and San Barnaba, in different parts of the city itself and among the outlying islands. The cylindrical one at Caorlo is by far the most ancient now existing, and may claim a superior antiquity even to the building which stood near the Basilica. All these structures were at least collaterally designed as points of vantage, for commanding a panorama of the whole surroundings, and gaining early knowledge of the approach of danger from the sea and the mainland.

Coryat ascended the Campanile in 1608, and was powerfully impressed by the magnificent panorama visible from the summit. He says: "Such is the heighth of this Tower that in a faire season it is to be seene by sea from Istria and Croatia, which is at the least one hundred miles from Venice:" . . . At the top, he came into a little square gallery, and continues: "From every side of which square gallery you have the fairest and goodliest prospect that is (I thinke) in all the world. For therehence may you see the whole model and forme of the citie sub vno intuitu, a sight that doth in my opinion farre surpasse all the shewes under the cope of heaven. There you may have a Synopsis, that is, a general view of little Christendome. . . . There you may behold all their sumptuous Palaces adorned with admirable variety of beautiful pillars: the Church of S. Marke which is but a little way therehence distant, with the Dukes stately Palace adjoyning unto it, being one of the principall wonders of the Christian world; the lofty Rialto, the Piazza of Saint Stephen which is the most spacious and goodly place of the Citie except St. Markes; all the sixe parts of the citie . . . their streetes, their Churches, their Monasteries, their market places, and all their other publike buildings of rare magnificence. Also many faire gardens replenished with diversity of delicate fruites, . . . together with their little Islands bordering about the citie wonderfully frequented and inhabited with people, being in number fifty or there about. Also the Alpes that



lead into Germany two waies, by the Citie of Trent, and the Grisons country; and those that leade into France through Savoy, the Appennines, the pleasant Euganean hils, with a little world of other most delectable objects:"<sup>1</sup> He adds that, at the top of the Tower, was the figure of an angel in brass fairly gilt, which was put there in 1517, and that no one visiting Venice ought to omit to ascend the Campanile, as the charge was only a *gazzetta*.

Circumstances perhaps justify the transfer hither of what Evelyn says under June 1645 in his *Diary*: "After this, we climbed up the tower of St. Mark, which we might have done on horseback, as it is said that one of the French kings did; there being no stairs, or steps, but returns that take up an entire square on the arches forty feet, broad enough for a coach. This steeple stands by itself, without any church near it, and is rather a watch tower in the corner of the great piazza, 230 feet in height, the foundation exceeding deep; on the top is an angel, that turns with the wind; and from hence is a prospect down the Adriatic, as far as Istria and the Dalmatian side, with the surprising sight of this miraculous city, lying in the bosom of the sea, in the shape of a lute, the numberless Islands tacked together by no fewer than 450 bridges."

The engraving of Saint Mark's Place in Braun's *Civitates*, shewing a great fire there actually raging (? that of 1479), is very unsatisfactory, and has every appearance of having been executed at second hand or from report. Its delineations are strangely unreal. The Piazza had probably undergone very slight change since 1494, yet one scarcely identifies the old picture and the view in Braun as the same locality.

Venice had parted, notwithstanding, at the end of the fifteenth century with much of her mediæval costume, and her civil and ecclesiastical architecture had reached their highest pinnacle of glory, unsullied by the decline of political and moral power. Nevertheless, when the moment of consummation arrived, and the labour of love from sire to son many times told disclosed itself to view in all its splendour, there was something missing. The poetry of outline had been sacrificed to a monotonous symmetry and to a too stern law of order. There is scarcely enough, as one at present

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 183-5.

casts one's eyes round the Piazza, to console one for the loss of the grand old picturesque place of Titian's boyhood, with its infinite variety and liberty of form, its exemption from scholastic mannerism, and (not least) its lines of funnelled chimneys and cowl.

Venice, even at the period which we are contemplating, was no longer a City of Refuge, had ceased to be a wilderness amid the waters: it had become a home and a *Patria*. It was an empire in quite as great a degree as England and France were empires in subsequent ages. To its children and those who lived under the protection of its laws it was *La Terra*. Every intelligent Venetian entertained as passionate an affection for the land of his birth as a native of London or a native of Paris; and, in fact, the topographical situation of the capital and the thought, which must have been present to the minds of all educated men, of the difference between what the place primarily was and what their genius, their labour and their blood, age by age, had made it, was apt to kindle an interest far more cordial and vehement, than that which a Londoner or Parisian of the fourteenth century had for his home on the Thames or the Seine. Wide and extensive as the dominion of the Venetians became, their heart and treasure were still where they had been and were to be forever—in that singular congregation of islands off the Lombard coast. The loss of that confined area was bound to be the death-blow to their political existence; while the severance from them, by the fortune of war, of portions of their continental or colonial acquisitions proved nothing at worst than a temporary strain on the exchequer, or a passing source of anxiety and vexation. The enemies of the Republic knew perfectly well that her most vulnerable point was her own metropolis, her Palladium.

There are only bare casual allusions to enable us to reconstruct the Venice even of Marino Faliero, when the fourteenth century had far advanced. We have done something toward a sketch of its probable aspect at or about that remote period, when many of the primitive architectural monuments and methods of life still remained visible, when wooden structures predominated, when the thoroughfares were narrow and irregular, and shambles and shops abutted on the residences of the nobility and on the Government offices. The

epoch of prosperity and splendour left all that behind in retrospect, and some there were who, when adverse fortune came and straitened resources, alluded with a pathetic regret to the old times, when manners were simpler and expenditure more frugal, and when some of the noblest lineage condescended to sit at their counters and conduct their business in person, unless public duty called them to take their places in the councils, in the field, on the sea or on the throne. Yet, even now, in some of the poorer and obscurer parts of the city, or by reason of their survival in a book or a picture, we regain a few old landmarks and footprints—an ancient residence of the Dandoli, the homes of Titian and Tintoretto, and the birthplace of Sanudo the Diarist.

Those who have not had the supreme good fortune to look on this unique spot have at length the opportunity of doing so, in a very faithful and beautiful series of views which we owe to the enthusiasm and enterprise of a Venetian publisher.<sup>1</sup> But although here and there some of the old lines of building substantially survive, and there are yet luridly picturesque vestiges, grim in their poverty and squalor, of the dwellings of long antecedent generations of the working classes, there is an excessive difficulty in restoring the architectural picture which preceded the rise of those palatial buildings familiarly associated with Venice, when the distance between the abodes of the rich and the poor was less strongly marked, but when political agencies, arising from a feudal and cliental germ, were automatically laying the foundations of a system which was to culminate as the world has long since seen. At the same time, \*Molmenti<sup>2</sup> has done us the service of delineating quite a number of buildings, both civil and ecclesiastical, belonging to the tenth and succeeding centuries, and surviving in a more or less degraded form, yet illustrative of the relationship between the classes at the time when they first saw the light.

In the place of all those imposing edifices of stone or marble with their elegant and costly façades, of that magnificent palatial block, of that matchless Basilica, we have to conceive a city formed principally of irregular and unpre-

<sup>1</sup> Ongania, *Calli e Canali in Venezia*. Venezia, 1890-96. Imperial folio. 2 vols. A splendid collection of 200 heliogravures.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Privata*, i. 54, 305, 313-15, 343-7, 361, 377.



tending wooden tenements, grouped round occasional squares where a church of the same material was the central object of interest, or skirting numerous intricate water-lanes which washed their abutments and landing-stairs, except where a narrow footway had sometimes been reserved: at certain points pontoons to enable passengers and horses and cattle to pass from one island to another: now and then a mansion which some wealthy citizen had, amid universal admiration, erected in a handsomer and more durable material: in the very heart of the capital the house of the Doge with all its feudal appurtenances yet still of timber, but girt round with a wall of stone pierced by several gates, and commanded by towers: after sunset the curfew, and no guide to the nocturnal wanderer, save his torch and a few hundred lamps fed with olive-oil and sparingly distributed over the squares and alleys, over the porches of churches or the doors of monasteries and private dwellings.

It is difficult to reduce to an intelligible and trustworthy shape the scene as it existed in Venice itself and in the surrounding islands, where life must have been yet more primeval down to the twelfth century, side by side with the steady growth of opulence and power. It is to be recollected that, amid these humble outward environments, much of the problem of greatness and fortune was worked out; that here, as almost everywhere, the real power went side by side with the simpler life; that under those rude and even barbarous conditions the strong hand was ever waxing stronger, and the proud, indomitable spirit was already latent, for such was the Venice which the hero-Doge Enrico or Arrigo Dandolo knew, where Marco Polo drew his first breath, in which Marino Faliero passed his youth. The progress of building, more especially of ecclesiastical architecture, had been, at the very outset, facilitated by the use of the material brought down by river by the first founders from the ruins of the cities of the *terra firma*—from Heraclia, Aquileia, Ravenna and of course Padua. The fall of the Campanile of St. Mark disclosed the highly interesting fact that some of the bricks employed in its original construction were of Roman manufacture: one was stamped with the name of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and was supposed to have been removed from Aquileia.

Before the close of the thirteenth century, however, there were several places which had acquired historical celebrity, and which were pointed out to visitors as objects of varied interest and curiosity. In one quarter was shown a Church in which an Emperor had suffered humiliation, and a Pope had preached the Gospel. In another was the scene of a battle of former days, on the issue of which had been staked the national existence. Here, perhaps, was the spot where the Head of the Government had fallen by the hand of an assassin. A little farther onward was the residence of that pious and wealthy Doge of other times, who strangely forsook all the attractions of rank and homage and all the ties of a sumptuous home, to pass the remainder of his life under the austere rule of a French priory. On his right hand the guide indicated the precise locality where, not long since, had stood the oldest glass-furnace in Venice; on his left he drew attention to a house partly in ruins, yet still famous as the birthplace of one to whom the adventitious means of living in affluence and splendour had offered no temptation to ignoble repose, and who, after signaling himself by great actions, had at length died for the Republic, leaving to his descendants a name that would not die.

In the Parish of Sant' Agostino, in the Ward of San Polo, was the mansion which had been occupied by six generations of Tiepoli—Bartolo Tiepolo the Procurator;<sup>1</sup> his son Marco; Giacomo Tiepolo, the son of Marco; Lorenzo, the son of Giacomo; Giacomo Tiepolo *the Younger*, the child and grandchild of a Doge; and lastly Baiamonte, the Great Chevalier. Some remains of the house at San Luca on the Canal di Qua, where Arrigo Dandolo once lived, are said to have been discernible in a building between the Casa Loredano and the Casa Bembo, which stood there till its demolition in 1781.<sup>2</sup> But a second building appertaining to the same family appears to have existed in 1522 in the Calle delle Rasse on the Riva degli Schiavoni; it was occupied in that year by the English ambassador, and in 1539 was the Spanish embassy and harboured dangerous political characters. It underwent a transformation into the *Albergo Reale*. The interest of such

<sup>1</sup> Litta, *Celebri famiglie italiane*, in voce "Tiepolo."

<sup>2</sup> In 1881 the Commune of Venice decreed that the site, then occupied by the Malibran Theatre, should be commemorated by an inscription on the exterior of the building.

survivals, and of their perpetuation in some graphic shape, is immensely strengthened by the almost universal practice in former ages of periodically renewing structures on the original lines, and so of transmitting ancient types from century to century. There are, nevertheless, the scantiest materials for forming an exact idea of the mediæval city beyond certain public edifices, and even these are only too indistinctly and fancifully delineated. For a knowledge of the earlier secular architecture we are almost at a complete loss, largely because draughtsmen in primitive times were usually ecclesiastics, who laid chief stress on the features most interesting and familiar to themselves. So far as analogy serves to assist us, we find at Imola, as comparatively late as 1480, the primitive hovels in which generations had lived, yet remaining and marked for removal by the Riario family then in power.

But Venice, owing to its peculiar topography and the concentration of national life within a narrow zone, where processes of building and appropriations of space were carried out to a large extent under feudal influence, never outgrew the inconvenience and disadvantage (if they were so regarded) of having, side by side, its most imposing and sumptuous buildings and its most squalid haunts; and such a drawback was formerly, and may still be, mitigated by the employment of the gondola, and an approach from the landing-stairs of those residences which abut on the canals.

During the reign of Marino Morosini (1249–52), a spacious edifice existed in the Parish of San Giovanni Grisostomo, in the Ward of Cannaregio. It was the property of a Venetian gentleman of good family and handsome fortune, who had been absent for some time on a distant voyage. At present the sole occupants of the building were his wife and her servants; and here, in the course of 1250 or the following year, this lady gave birth to a son whose life she purchased with her own. The child inherited from his father a sound constitution and a vigorous mind; and, as he grew up, the love of adventure and the spirit of discovery by which the former was animated he was found to possess, even in a superior degree. On his return, the traveller was inexpressibly grieved at the change which had taken place during his absence in his domestic circumstances; as a distraction from the afflicting scene which his home presented, he soon determined to under-



take a new voyage to the East; and he thought that he could not better consult the interests of his son, now a youth of eighteen, than by making him his companion. He was desirous of familiarizing him with the dangers of the sea and of initiating him into the laws of navigation; it was his wish to inspire a son who was dear to him by a double tie, with a taste for those pursuits by which he himself had risen to fame and affluence; and he even proposed, if he extended his travels so far, to introduce the lad at the court of the Grand Khan. Such was the outset of the life of Marco Polo,<sup>1</sup> the geographical father of Columbus.

In the same ward in the street of SS. Apostoli, was the dwelling of Arrigo Zeno where the Great Fire of 1106 first broke out; and in the immediate neighbourhood, by the bridge, lived the father of Marino Faliero who was born there in 1274.

In the Ward of Castello, in the Parish of Santa Giustina, was the palace in which Sebastiano Ziani fixed his residence after his return from Armenia. From this house he was called in 1173, at the suggestion of his friend Malipiero, to assume the government of his country. It was here also that his son Pietro, who in his time enjoyed the reputation of being the wealthiest nobleman in Venice, received a similar summons two-and-thirty years later; and to the same roof the latter retired in 1229, when he was an old and weary man, to close his eyes in peace.

In that *sestiere*, a little out of the City and in the district of Gambarere, stood the famous and venerable Abbey of San Zaccaria, founded in the first days of the Republic, and restored in the early part of the ninth century at the expense of the Byzantine Emperor Leo IV. Connected with this opulent institution for the reception of ladies who desired to dedicate their lives to Heaven, was more than one interesting and important episode.

It was at the water-gate of San Zaccaria that, in 982, the remains of Domenico Morosini were found in an open boat which had drifted down the current, and that the consequent discovery was made of the murder which led, by a singular chain of events, to the deposition of the Doge Memo. On his way from the Palace to this point, Michieli III. was overtaken

<sup>1</sup> See *I Viaggi di Marco Polo Veneziano tradotti per la prima volta dall' originale francese di Rusticiano di Pisa da Vincenzo Lazari*, 8vo, Venezia, 1847.

and mortally wounded by Marco Casiolo. It was there, too, that the interview had taken place between the Doge and the Abbess Morosini (855).

In the street of SS. Filippo e Giacomo once lived Orseolo the Holy. Here, while the Ducal Palace was still a wreck, that prince transacted the business of the State; and here in 961, while his predecessor remained on the throne, his wife had borne him a son<sup>1</sup> who was heir to his father's name and to more than his father's genius. It was to the same point that the eyes of all Venice were turned, on a certain morning in the month of September 977, by the circulation of a rumour that the mansion had been searched, and that the Doge was nowhere to be found.

At the Palazzo Michieli at SS. Apostoli they used to shew some curious armour and standards, said to have belonged to the Doge Domenigo in the earlier half of the twelfth century, and to have formed part of the trophies of his naval exploits in Greece and the Holy Land.

The new Cà Foscari on the Riva San Pantaleone had originally belonged to the Giustiniani family, and was at that time turreted and embattled. In 1429 the Government acquired it for presentation to its commander-in-chief, the Marquis of Mantua, who succeeded Carmagnola. When Gonzaga in 1429 went over to the Duke of Milan, it reverted to the State, and in 1439 was vested in Francesco Sforza who retained it till 1447, when, in consequence of the Count's attainder, it was dismantled and closed. Offered for public sale by auction, no less a personage than the Doge, who was then contemplating retirement, became the buyer, and made many alterations under the superintendence, as it is supposed, of Bartolommeo Buono, the architect previously employed in the erection of the Porta della Carta. The condition of the interior in 1457, when the public life of Foscari actually closed, curiously illustrates the late survival of the feudal usage, by which sovereigns supplied their own furniture to their palaces and removed it on abdication or death. Casola, writing in 1494, notes that a new Sforza palace had then been begun, and affirms his conviction that, when completed, it would be very splendid: but that was never to be. A building, long known as the Cà del Duca, was erected on the

<sup>1</sup> Litta, *Celebri famiglie italiane*, in voce Orseolo.

original foundations, and was for some time the residence of the Grimani. Previously, it had served, among other provisional uses, as the repository of the sketches which Titian made for the pictures, ordered by the Government to adorn the Hall of the Great Council.

On the eastern side of the Rio di Palazzo, long stood the mansions of the Duodo and Trono families, the sites of which there was some idea of acquiring, after the fire of 1479, for the erection of a new palace. The former mansion served for some time as the official headquarters.

The Morosini-Gatterburg palace at San Stefano is not so generally known as it certainly deserves to be, from its excellent preservation and the unparalleled celebrity of its former owner, the Hero-Doge of the Peloponnesian war from 1684 to 1693. The house remains substantially as he left it to go for the last time to the Morea, and give up his life for his beloved and grateful country. There we contemplate numerous portraits of this great man, the bronze bust presented to him by the Senate, likenesses of his kinsfolk, and, on the walls of the gallery, representations of his military and naval achievements. An entire room is filled with trophies and memorials: the sword with the calendar of the ecclesiastical year engraved on its blade, the volume of prayers concealing a pistol in the thickness of the wooden covers, the skeleton of his favourite cat, companion of his expeditions, and (if we step into the contiguous chapel) the splendid faldstool which he carried with him to the wars, for use when he knelt in prayer. But, outside the precincts of this historical mansion, there are not wanting distinct and impressive traces of that noble and valuable career: at San Stefano, under a massive inscribed slab, his sacred bones; at the Ducal Palace, in the gallery, the triumphal arch to his memory; and at the Porto Leone, the two colossal lions which he brought home from the Piræus—already ancient when Athenian hands placed them there.

The Zane palace is perhaps chiefly celebrated as having been subsequently acquired by the distinguished family of Collalto, which there formed a fine library and museum.<sup>1</sup> About 1670, Richard Lassels<sup>2</sup> the travelling tutor speaks of

<sup>1</sup> See W. C. Hazlitt's *Prose Writings*, 2nd series, 1910, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, p. 417. But Lassels was mistaken as to the unique character of the Nani garden.



having visited the Nani palace, and has left the following particulars: "We rowed to the palace of the Procurator Nani, which stands in an island beyond St. George's. The palace is richly furnished with the true pictures of many modern princes and ladies of France, England, and Germany. This palace hath one strange thing belonging to it beyond the palaces of Venice: to wit a neat garden, for gardens in Venice are as wonderful things as coaches; and I cannot remember that, looking upon the whole city from the top of the high steeple, I saw two places where there were any green trees. But the best thing that I saw here was the Procurator Nani himself, the greatest ornament of the Venetian Senate, whose learned pen hath already given us an excellent history of Venice."

The Papadopoli palace at San Silvestro was originally founded by the Bergamasque family of Cuccina or Coccina, which had enriched itself in the woollen trade in the second half of the sixteenth century. The brothers Girolamo and Giovanni Cuccina were residing here in the earlier part of the next. In a picture at Dresden by Paolo Veronese, representing the members of the house kneeling in a group before the Virgin, the palace occupies the background. In 1748 Francesco Cuccina died without male issue. The house was then purchased by the Tiepoli in whose hands it remained till 1832. After successive ownerships, it was acquired by the Papadopoli in 1864, and restored by them in 1880.<sup>1</sup> One noticed on entrance the customary devotion of the basement to the purposes of a tessellated marble hall from which led the offices only; the apartments were reached by a staircase. Such an arrangement may have been due in primitive times to the necessity of protection from inundations or nocturnal attack, since a similar principle has been followed in seaside villages in England and elsewhere, and is, in fact, in vogue where the same influencing conditions exist.

The Vendramin-Calergi house offered another example of change of hands, and a yet more remarkable revolution in sentiment, when the descendants of one of the most inveterate enemies of Venice in Candia became one of its residential families of notabilities, and supplanted an allodial family of high standing. But there were many analogous cases, in which

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Count Papadopoli to the author, 30th November 1899.

time-honoured homes found new masters who had not inherited the old national traditions.

Several of the mansions which formerly belonged to the leading families still remain—too many in a sadly changed and degraded state. The Gradenigo palace is shown as that where Bonaparte stayed during his visit to the city in 1797; as recently as 1768, a bullfight was held in its ample grounds. But it is a structure of the last century only, abutting on the Rio Marin Canal, said to have been excavated by Marino Dandolo; and near at hand is the Casa Cappello, built by Bianca Cappello who never resided there, but lent it to her brother for his occupation. In 1574 it served partly to accommodate Henry III. of France and his suite. The ancient home of the Gradenigi, descendants of the great Doge who promoted in the thirteenth century the closure of the Great Council and the institution of the Decemvirs, has long disappeared. About 1619 the Earl and Countess of Arundel were in occupation of the Casa Mocenigo.

Other palatial structures, both at Venice and on the various islands, are dedicated to practical purposes, and even to the reception of lodgers who have floors or single apartments. The Casa Falier, where the too-celebrated historical character of that name and lineage kept his interesting museum of curiosities and relics, has long served other uses, and formed in 1861 the quarters of the American Consulate. The Casa Loredano became the Town Hall, a dignified conversion, looking at the ignoble uses to which other large buildings, both secular and ecclesiastical, have in course of time been put.

A new edition of the *Vicissitudes of Families* might appropriately comprise notices of many a ducal house, once rivalling in wealth, splendour and culture the proudest of the European aristocracy, at present effaced, or with difficulty traceable in foreign lands among followers of plebeian callings. The last of the Grimani seems to have been a teacher of Italian in London. The fortunes of the Pisani appear equally to have declined, but, down to 1857, a descendant, Signore Pisani, retained possession of the large family painting by Paolo Veronese, called *La Tenda di Dario*, the figures in which are believed to represent members of the Venetian house then living.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In that year it was sold to the British Government for £14,000, and is now in the National Gallery. There is a somewhat similar picture of the Pesaro family by Titian in the church of the Frari at Venice.

Hazlitt, the critic and essayist, writing in 1824,<sup>1</sup> says:—"I never saw palaces anywhere but at Venice. Those at Rome are dungeons to them. The richest in interior decorations that I saw was the Grimani palace, which answered to all the imaginary conditions of this sort of thing. Aladdin might have exchanged his for it, and given his lamp into the bargain. The floors are of marble, the tables of precious stones, the chairs and curtains of rich silk, the walls covered with looking-glasses; and it contains a cabinet of invaluable antique sculpture, and some of Titian's finest portraits. . . . I saw no other mansion equal to this. The Pisani is the next to it for elegance and splendour, and from its situation on the Grand Canal it admits a flood of bright day through glittering curtains of pea-green silk into a noble saloon, enriched with an admirable family-picture by Paul Veronese, with heads equal to Titian in all but the character of thought." During a short time (1617-18) the English Embassy hired it, and in December of the former year a destructive fire occurred there. It is a characteristic incidence, that the lessor was obliged to obtain the sanction of the Council of Ten before he could call on the ambassador on the business.

Molmenti has included several views of the sumptuous exteriors and interiors<sup>2</sup> of the palaces in the city, in the outlying islands and on the *Terra firma*, and we at once recognize the close affinity to similar buildings and their costly and superb appurtenances elsewhere, as the illustrations, with one or two exceptions, apply either to comparatively modern structures or to the old houses restored.<sup>3</sup> A writer and actual observer in 1720 notes that, at that time, there were still remaining several houses the exteriors of which had been decorated by Paolo Veronese, Pordenone, the Palmas and Tintoretto, and that age, weather and the saline exhalations of the lagoons had seriously damaged and obliterated their original splendour. Of one house painted by Tintoretto, the design which the artist had had in his mind was, according to a tradition, altered by

<sup>1</sup> *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy* (Works, ix. 368), or, *The Hazlitts*, 1912, p. 27. Hazlitt stayed at the Hotel Danieli, near the present public garden, and my father recollected the handsome yellow silk curtains of the room which they occupied. This hotel still remains. The Danieli were an old-established family at Venice.

<sup>2</sup> The representations of domestic furniture are of the period corresponding with the Louis XV. era in France.

<sup>3</sup> Molmenti, ii. 388 *et seqq.*



the casual suggestion of Veronese, who happened to pass while the other was at his work.<sup>1</sup> The original residences survived in their substantial integrity rather in the case of the country-house, such as the Villa Contarini at Piazzola, where the Duke of Brunswick was magnificently entertained in 1685, for, at Venice itself, where relatively so much was absorbed by religious houses, churches, commercial depôts and the numerous *campi* and *campielli*, urban conditions were unfavourable to the allotment of space to private dwellings. But the country seats are mainly of the later date and style, and go back scarcely in any case to the seventeenth century. The contrast between the urban and the country-house was peculiarly impressive, for, in the latter, it was a simple matter to introduce features in the shape of gardens and outbuildings which in Venice were not feasible at any cost; and where, as in the case of the Pisani home among the Euganean Hills, space became a secondary object, an extensive agricultural state was susceptible of development.<sup>2</sup>

An arrangement common to several of the palaces in the city is the ample entrance hall, supported on pillars, from which a staircase leads to the residential and sleeping apartments.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many alterations were occurring in the aspect of localities within the boundaries of the metropolis, and several historical landmarks were gradually obliterated. In the neighbourhood of the Arsenal, in order to provide additional accommodation, the Cistercian convent with the adjoining church of La Celestia where the great Carlo Zeno had been interred in 1418, with every mark of respect and every feature of magnificence, was demolished, and the area absorbed for naval purposes. The glorious home of Titian at San Cassiano, opposite Murano, with its gardens and extensive prospect toward the Dolomite Alps, where the painter worked so many years, and entertained the noblest and most illustrious in or out of Venice, has long vanished; the line of the shore has changed, and the squalid homes of operatives occupy the site. Here his serviceable middleman Aretino had the advantage of the immediate neighbourhood

<sup>1</sup> Willis's *Current Notes*, June, 1857, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> This property had belonged to the Doge Alvigi Pisani (1735-41), and remained in the family for some time afterward.

of the Cà Rampana, where courtezans, prepared for all comers, at one time were domiciled.

In some of the outlying islands, the patricians had not only their rural homes but their headquarters. It was at Murano, now so desolate and poor, that the Casa Priuli rose in all its splendour and delightful environments, and that Cardinal Bembo had his villa where he surrounded himself with learned friends and books. Some of the latter were choicely bound, and have come down to us: among the contents of his shelves there was, mayhap, a copy of the *Asolani*, printed by Aldus in 1505, with the suppressed dedication to Lucrezia Borgia.<sup>1</sup> The island at one period counted no fewer than sixteen noble mansions of the true Italian type. Here, equally in the city and its suburbs, the taste for decorating residences with ancient remains acquired by purchase or in the course of travel arose and developed, and Venetian residents abroad or in their own colonial possessions adorned their grounds in a similar spirit, with Greek or Roman monuments excavated or found *in situ*, or shipped them home to beautify palaces in the mother city and its environs. We learn from undoubted authority, that a large number of classical statues in perfect condition thus found their way to Venice and enriched its galleries and gardens, and the supply was copious enough to induce discoverers or buyers to decline all but the finest examples. At the end of the fifteenth century, we find military commanders in the Peninsula carrying away marble trophies from the scene of their victories, and letting them into the walls of their courtyards or gardens at home.<sup>2</sup>

Many successful and able efforts have been made in modern times, to assist the formation of some definite ideas on the subject of early domestic architecture, when the Republic had emerged from absolute barbarism and was in possession of the

<sup>1</sup> It seems possible that some of the valuable objects once belonging to the Bembi went astray. For, when John Raymond the traveller was at Monaco in 1646, he saw in the Prince's possession a "gemmary" or arrangement of precious stones which formed the legend: *Otiuum Francisci Bembi* (*Itinerary*, 1648, pp. 6-7). But the family had a palace at Santa Maria Nuova, where they resided during a portion of the year. Molmenti, ii. 529, reproduces a view of the front with a statue of Time over the doorway. The Letters of Bembo to his female friends were printed in 1552 at Venice without any indication of place or publisher, under the title: *Lettere di M. Pietro Bembo a Principesse et Signore et altre Gentili Donne scritte*, divise in due parti. 8°.

<sup>2</sup> M. M. Newett, *Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, 1494, 8°, 1907, p. 357.

Lombardic masters of building and ornament. Egypt and other Oriental regions, in their street architecture, may very well have offered to the early Venetian and other Italian builders suggestions of the idea and design which yet, in many of the old towns of Lombardy and Tuscany, survive in those narrow thoroughfares of tall dwellings, regarded by us aftercomers as picturesque, but which were, in their inception, adopted from foreign models on the ground of utility and security. A modern visitor to the city may note the peculiar appliance employed in architectural and constructive work, not dissimilar from the representations in ancient paintings and mural decorations. The men who delineated in a mosaic at St. Mark's the erection of the Tower of Babel merely copied what was under their own eyes at home.<sup>1</sup>

Although several writers had already treated this branch of the subject, and notably Sir Henry Wotton whose long residence in the city naturally familiarized him with its beauties and led him to view them with a studious and affectionate eye,<sup>2</sup> Ruskin and Fergusson are the two accepted modern authorities on Venetian architecture. The latter explicitly remarks: "The most beautiful specimens of the civil and domestic architecture of Italy in the Gothic period are probably to be found in Venice, the richest and most peaceful of Italian cities during the Middle Ages." The expression *peaceful* of course imports freedom from foreign interference and injury. Speaking of the Ducal Palace, Fergusson says: "There are indeed few buildings of which it is so difficult to judge calmly, situated as it is, attached to the Basilica of Saint Mark, facing the library erected by Sansovino, and looking on the one hand into the Piazza of Saint Mark, and on the other across the water to the churches and palaces that cover the islands. It is, in fact, the centre of the most beautiful architectural group that adorns any city in Europe, or of the world."

As the city is admitted to be in the front rank as a perpetual show-place of Art, so it has enlisted in its service the pens and pencils of a larger number of specialists than any other capital, rendering the task of describing its architectural monuments in an ordinary historical work at once

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, i. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *The Elements of Architecture*, 1624, p. 43 *et alibi*.



impossible and supererogatory. To Ruskin, above all, we remain indebted for the deepest, truest and tenderest portraiture of Venice on these lines, for he has accomplished more than any one, toward the elucidation of the link between the infinite beauty visible on Venetian ground, and the moral and intellectual conditions which gave it birth; which enhanced it sometimes, and which sometimes exerted upon it a debasing or corrupting influence. Yet the imperfect conversance of the author of *The Stones of Venice* with historical events has occasionally weakened the force of his noble and eloquent diction;<sup>1</sup> he appears to treat all that was palpable in fact or by secure inference in his time as the proximate work of the first founders, than which nothing can be less true; it was the strenuous<sup>2</sup> masculine effort of a decade of centuries, sustained by a long succession of affectionate and patriotic labourers; and there must be some who trace the impure architectural forms, the majestic, albeit superb, efflorescence, exclusively imputed by Ruskin to national decadence, to the barbaresque taste observable in the Basilica itself. In a certain measure, no doubt, the patriotic fervour and piety lingered in many breasts, long after the decline of political consequence, and even now is by no means extinct. What did the nineteenth-century serving-woman say on her return home, even from no remoter spot than one of the adjacent islands?—"Torsello xe beo, no si pol negar; la campagna xe bea; *ma benedetta la MIA Venexia.*" Here was a picture in little of the unconquerable loyalty to the soil, of the love of *La Terra*, incapable of dying. It reminds us of the very similar sentiment betrayed by the pretty muletress of Capri, who gave Naples its full due, but confessed that the place of her birth was nearest to her heart.<sup>3</sup>

It is noticed in another section that, in one of the archivolts of the Basilica, there is a representation in sculpture of some of the ancient gilds of the city. There is a singular group of a woman and a dog which she is stroking; the story runs that she was a senator's daughter whom her family excluded from society, and who formed an attachment to the animal with a lamentable result.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. Newman Hall, *Through the Tyrol to Venice*, 1860, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> The same gifted pen contributed to our knowledge in a cognate direction by his *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice*, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> W. D. Howells, *Italian Journeys*, 1883, i. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond's *Itinerary*, 1648, p. 191.

Fergusson allots a few pages to an account of the leading edifices, with illustrations of their present aspect. He specifies the Foscari and Pisani mansions, and the Cà d'Oro, formerly the Palazzo Santa Sofia, erected for the procurator Marino Contarini. Ruskin adds the Badoer and others. The Palazzo Grimani which, as well as the Pisani, was still maintained in 1824 when Hazlitt was at Venice, is now the Post Office; the Loredano mansion has been converted into the Hôtel de Ville; and the Pisani has been dismantled, the great family picture by Veronese having found its way to England.

Pietro Casola of Milan, a witness of a different order, was at Venice in 1494, and refers to the great, beautiful and rich palaces, costing 100,000, 50,000, or 30,000 ducats, which he visited. He disappointingly decides that an adequate description of them would be more suitable for a person making a longer stay in Venice.

The general plan and the distribution of space obviously depended on the views of the original builder, and no two piles were externally or internally identical. Many had gardens, so long as circumstances allowed, and Sansovino specifies several as existing in his time. They may be regarded as survivals of a still larger number which were maintained with assiduous care in the Middle Ages, and, if the more recent were less plentiful and less spacious, they were laid out with greater cost, and on a model which embraced the latest discoveries in horticulture and the newest importations from the tropics.

The façades and interiors of the leading edifices shared with the sacred buildings the early taste for sculpture and mosaic. At SS. Apostoli stood, until 1840, the *Casa dei Proverbii*, which was indebted for its unusual appellation to two bas-reliefs exhibiting the excellent axioms: *Chi semina spine, non vada discalzo*, and *Di di te, e poi di me dirai*. But an accidental occurrence, during a temporary domestic commotion about 1260, admits us to a knowledge that, down to that date, noble families were accustomed to place, on the fronts of their residences, a shield of their armorial bearings, and that the practice was then discontinued.

Speaking of the Merceria, Coryat draws our attention to the two pretty conceits to be observed at the gate, as you enter St. Mark's Place from the Rialto bridge: a clock flanked with

the brazen images of two wild men who, at the quarters, came forward and struck the bell. When the writer was on the spot on Monday, the 25th of July, 1608, a workman who was attending to the clock, forgetful of the danger, was killed by a blow from the brazen hammer in one of the wild men's hands. The second conceit was a picture of the Virgin in a door over a dial, near whom are two angels painted on two other small doors. On any special occasion, the latter open of themselves, writes Coryat, "and immediately there come forth two Kings to present themselves to our Lady, unto whom, after they have done their obeysance by uncovering of their heads, they returne againe into their places."

Coryat has inserted among his interesting memorials of the environs of St. Mark's a representation of four noble gentlemen of Albania, all brothers, with falchions at their sides, sculptured in porphyry forming two couples, "each couple consulting privately together." These personages came to Venice at an early date—not quite so early as Coryat imagined—in a ship laden with riches. Upon their arrival, two of them disembarked, while the others remained on board. Those who had landed plotted together, how they might dispatch by poison those in the ship, and the latter did the same. All four perished, and the Government took possession of the treasure. Coryat states, as he believed and was informed, that this was so, and likewise that this "was the first treasure that ever Venice possessed." We have evidently here some vague tradition belonging to a remote period, unregistered by historians but commonly accepted. Coryat tells us that, when he was once invited by Sir Henry Wotton to accompany him in his gondola, the latter counselled him "to take speciall observation of those two couples of men . . . as being a thing most worthy to be considered."<sup>1</sup>

On this soil, too, we encounter, and within ecclesiastical precincts as in England, Holland and elsewhere, the taste for caricature which did not scruple to ridicule the priest and the monk in their very places of service or worship, but which sometimes restricted itself to playful and innocent inversions of realities, as where, on the right hand of the Porta della

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, London, 1611; pp. 187-190.



Madonna at Saint Mark's two cocks are exhibited, carrying a fox on a pole.<sup>1</sup>

Coryat devoted 135 pages of his *Crudities* to a description of Venice. His historical notes are of slight account, but some of his remarks on localities, and on objects of interest and curiosity are useful and entertaining. He evidently thought that the public buildings were far finer than any he had seen in England or in France. In his time, all the palaces were occupied by their original owners or other aristocratic personages, and were to be seen in an unimpaired state.

The evolutions of the Palace of Saint Mark, from its earliest fabric and aspect into the building which the great Doge Mocenigo bequeathed to his country in 1423, and its farther transition to the symmetrical and rich maturity which, in all its main features, has lived to be our contemporary, may be said to form an integral part of the Republic's history; for the ducal residence grew with the growth of the Venetian power and culture. It is to be taken as proved that, from the earliest infancy of a government by Doges at all events, some edifice was set apart, not only for the support of the dignity of the State, but for the practical transaction of public business. Prior to the development of administration by departments, the Palace was the absorbing centre of political life; and, as we find to have been the case everywhere else at this period, continuing in the East down to quite modern days, the judicial and executive functions were retained to a large extent in the same hands.

In the same manner, indeed, as the abode of the chief of the Government in nearly all countries, not only in the Middle Ages as in the Castello di Corte of the Gonzagas in Mantua, but as at Paris down to the sixteenth century and at Delhi down to our own time, the ducal residence at Venice, originally established at Heraclia, subsequently at Malamocco and finally at Rialto, was the leading institution in the Republic, and the pivot round which everything else revolved.

The earliest palpable approach to our knowledge of a Palace is the tidings, in 976, of its partial destruction, with

<sup>1</sup> See Molmenti, *La Vita Privata*, 1908, Parte terza, p. 110, for an illustration of a lion's head in marble on the gate of the Campanile of Sta. Maria Formosa, and observe the resemblance to some of the grotesques in Doré's illustrations to Balzac's *Contes drolatiques*, 1855.

the intimation that two reigns spent themselves without seeing it brought back to a habitable condition. Otho III. of Germany, who stayed at Venice four days in 998, is said to have expressed admiration of the building as he then saw it and lodged in it. We know very little about it, except that it was built in the Indo-Byzantine taste, turreted, embattled and walled, and that the imperial visitor was accommodated in one of the towers—in what became known as the Torricella and was, in fact, the last vestige of the mediæval fortress.

The historian John the Deacon,<sup>1</sup> who wrote his narrative in the first quarter of the eleventh century, informs us that the palace erected by Angelo Participazio or Badoer about 810 was still standing in his time; but it had doubtless undergone an immense amount of repair and alteration in the course of two centuries, especially after the catastrophe of 976, of which the chronicler might have been an eyewitness.

The fire of 1106 committed serious devastations on the ducal abode, and its second restoration was a work of time. In 1116, when the Emperor Henry V., prompted by the fame of Venice, came to see the city, the Palace had probably recovered its usual appearance, for his Majesty was as powerfully impressed by its beauty as Otho had been in 998. Such as it may have been in 1116 it doubtless remained in 1175,<sup>2</sup> about which time the Doge Ziani considerably amplified and embellished it, and rendered it the imposing Byzantine palace which, in 1201, elicited a cordial encomium from a distinguished French visitor—the Maréchal de Champagne, whose eyes had rested on many a noble *château*. Nor was Villehardouin impressed, apparently, so much by the stateliness of its proportions, as by its commodious interior which, for us, is really a point of superior importance. He tells us that it was “very beautiful and abounding in rooms,” or, in other words, it already displayed, perhaps, the same characteristics as the Venetian palaces of later date, in which the hall was the most spacious apartment, and, beyond one

<sup>1</sup> Real author of the chronicle formerly known as that of Sagorninus. The writer narrates facts, on the occasion of the visit of Otho III. to Venice, that could only have been known to the Emperor, the Doge and the envoy, John the Deacon. See F. C. Hodgson, *The Early History of Venice*, London, 1901, p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> See an illustration in Molmenti, i. 343, of *capitelli* attributed to this epoch.

or two reception rooms, the chambers were more remarkable for their number than their proportions. At any rate, there was an impressive contrast between what he saw at Venice and what was familiar to his eyes in Champagne in 1202.

But it was during the reign of Pietro Gradenigo, and posterior to the constitutional changes of 1297, that the first step was taken toward the replacement of the Ziani building by a new Gothic palace, and the provision, not only of public offices, but of adequate accommodation for the deliberative councils. The latter hitherto had had no regular place of meeting, but the old palace was expected to satisfy all wants, including the transaction of official business, the reception of distinguished guests, and debates on questions of European moment. The Arrengo or National Convention, however, so long as the principle of universal suffrage more or less nominally survived, the Doge's house was not calculated to hold; and there is no occasion to doubt that, when the people were summoned at stated seasons to meet, it was in the open air or in the Basilica that the gathering took place. Here again the Government set to work piecemeal, obeying the principle followed almost throughout the ancient world, partly, doubtless, from an insufficiency of funds for continuous labours. The superb quadrangle which we have now the opportunity of surveying at our leisure was the labour of centuries, and, more than that, of two successive architectural epochs<sup>1</sup>—the Gothic which was completed between 1301 and 1423, and the Early Renaissance. Of the Gothic palace certain portions were found to be capable of adaptation, and the Great Council Chamber, on the side looking toward the sea, is substantially the room originally commenced in 1340 from the designs of Calendario—whose share in the Faliero conspiracy cost him his life—and not properly finished till 1400. But of the edifice which Villehardouin beheld in 1201 no vestiges whatever remain; the last traces disappeared in 1424. It lay nearer the Grand Canal than the more recent building, partly on the site of the spacious Molo; and between its walls and the sea was nothing but a narrow passage or *fondamento* for pedestrians. It almost seemed as if, in proceeding with the incessant work of reconstruction,

<sup>1</sup> Street (*Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, 1855, p. 148) differs from Ruskin in regard to the space of time occupied in portions of the building.



the Government was keeping steadily in view the ulterior contingency of removing the Gothic block, when its successor was ready in all respects for use. Yet, while such was the actual course eventually pursued, it is beyond question that the rulers of Venice, in their desultory and bit-by-bit mode of progress, acted a good deal at random, and were unprepared for the glorious outcome. The fruit of their fragmentary and intermittent exertions revealed itself to them as one stage after another in the process of transformation was reached, and it cannot have failed to inspire a proud sensation when, through the courageous initiative of the Doge Mocenigo, the Prince's house was after all rebuilt, and the entire Ziani pile cleared away, to form a sea *façade* and set off, in their true proportions, the new and costly architectural range.<sup>1</sup>

The unfortunate fire of 1479 inflicted costly damage on the private portion allotted to the Doge, and destroyed many historical monuments. From various causes great delay occurred in repairing the loss, and in 1483 there was another, but less serious disaster. In 1492-3 the Doge, having first given a dinner to a hundred poor people, left the Casa Duodo, and slept for the first time in his new quarters. Casola was here in 1494, and saw the Giants' Staircase in course of construction. Even in 1498, however, the building operations were incomplete; 80,000 ducats had been spent, and it was discovered that Rizzo the architect, who absconded, had embezzled at least 12,000 of the amount. Yet, when Brother Felix Faber was at Venice in 1480 and 1483, he was lost in admiration of the Palace as he saw it, both the exterior and interior, even to the Doge's bedchamber, so that the urgent needs of the case had been more or less expeditiously carried out. Faber refers to a pleasure-garden (*viridarium*), planted with fruit trees and aromatic shrubs, as being "*supra palatium*," from which we are perhaps to understand a greenery on the leads. The moral which the worthy German friar draws is that the Turks, on beholding such splendour and luxury, must arrive at the conclusion that Christians have no faith in a future state.

<sup>1</sup> The large print by Jost Amman, 1565, seems to shew that shops long continued to disfigure the immediately contiguous site. In a somewhat later engraving after Titian published by Lacroix, these mean and disagreeable excrescences have been swept away, and the area toward the Molo is much as we now see it.

Farther casualties ensued in 1574 and, above all, in 1577; and it is from the extensive works of repair and replacement which the latter catastrophe necessitated, and which were not actually completed till 1675, that the palace as we know and behold it actually dates. An English visitor about 1548<sup>1</sup> mentions it as still unfinished, so that it was partly destroyed a few years only subsequent to its completion. The internal arrangements for warmth in wintry weather seem to have been as purely Venetian as those visible in modern days throughout the city. Braziers and oil-stoves were the only forms of heating apparatus, and the Doge Bembo who had been accustomed to a seafaring life is found, about 1618, bitterly complaining of the cold when the Councils sat late in the evenings during unusual pressure of work.

The Lion of Saint Mark was restored to its place in 1815 after the fall of Napoleon, but the *Book of Gospels* in the claw was missing, having been mislaid in the transit to Paris at the Revolution. The Four Horses, also part of the French trophies, found their way back at the same time to their old station over the portico of Saint Mark's. Of pure Greek copper, these noble monuments are said to have been executed by Lysippus for the Rhodians, and to have been preserved at Scio till they were transferred to Constantinople and placed in the Square of the Hippodrome. At the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, they were claimed by the Venetians as prizes of war. They are unique as an example of an ancient bronze quadriga, and won the admiration of Petrarch, when he was at Venice in the middle of the fourteenth century.

In front of the grand old Basilica, which resembled nothing around it even in a metropolis so tinctured with Orientalism, and which is apt to impress us at this hour as hardly less foreign to the place occupied by it than Cleopatra's Needle to the banks of the Thames, were erected, in course of time on enriched bronze pedestals, the three flagstaffs from which long floated the silken banners of Venice, Cyprus and Candia. A feature which is common to so many public places in Europe, and which here is reputed to have formed part of the daily life and experience since the ninth century, are the pigeons, immemorial freeholders of the Piazza, but originally associated

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Historye of Italye*, 1549, ed. 1561, fol. 74.

with the popular usage of releasing, on Palm Sunday, a number of doves for which the bystanders scrambled, and which were fattened against Easter.

We should not too hastily reproach the Venetians with a parsimonious or vacillating policy where their honour and dignity were so profoundly concerned. For these alterations in the capital, judicious and sensible as they could hardly fail to appear when they had been achieved, were apt to present themselves to many in the light of unwise refinements, while the national resources were demanded for the maintenance of foreign wars or for domestic reforms of more general utility; and we are looking at a time when a chivalrous enthusiasm for art was hardly understood, even by the governments of Italy.

The means of judging the actual aspect of the City and its environs, even at a fairly early date, exist only in casual or incidental glimpses. There was no contemporary effort to transfer to paper or canvas, on a systematic principle or a comprehensive scale, sectional views of Venice and the Islands, until a more general taste for acquiring a knowledge of distant regions was cultivated and encouraged, and foreign travel became an educational feature, if not a necessity. Western Europeans who purchased or inspected the large and fine illustrated works by Canaletto and others, dealing with the topography and costume of the capital in the first moiety of the eighteenth century, were apt to conclude that the spectacle had always been substantially the same. There was not then, or till long after, any critical school of inquiry and research; the vast and wealthy archives of the Republic formed a sealed book; the narratives purporting to furnish an account of the people, its government and its home were almost without exception flimsy and superficial compilations; and, neither in a graphic nor a literary sense, has an adequate conception of what Venice was, in its amplest strength and splendour, been rendered possible till more or less recently.



## CHAPTER XLV

Origin and Rise of the Church—Primitive Ecclesiastical Edifices—Diocesan Policy—Grado and Aquileia—Redistribution of Sees—Supremacy of Doge of the earlier epoch over the Church—Concentration of secular and spiritual jurisdiction in the governing family—Monastic Institutions—Lay Patronage—Licentiousness of the mediæval religious fraternities and sisterhoods—The Rich Patriarch of Grado, Fortunatus—His Benefactions—His Will (825)—Translation of Saint Mark (829)—He becomes the Patron Saint of the Republic—Foundation of Saint Mark's Chapel—Ritualistic changes in the services of certain Dalmatian Churches in the Tenth Century—Establishment of the Holy Office (1289)—Stringent limitations of its power—Heresy and scepticism at Venice—Petrarch and the unbeliever—Venetian toleration—Respectful opposition to Pontifical interference—Beneficial political effects—Evolution of the Chapel of Saint Mark into the Basilica—Ritual employed there—Transfer of the Metropolitanate from Grado to Venice in 1454—First Patriarch of Venice—Mortuaries—Ecclesiastical policy of Venice—Concurrent support of and resistance to the Papacy—Oratories in private houses—Ineffectual opposition of the Holy See to their continuance.

THE band of fugitives which, in the fifth century, had been compelled to seek an asylum in the Lagoon, at first endeavoured to reconcile themselves to their strange and humble lot,<sup>1</sup> by indulging the sense of security and cherishing the hope of return. But affairs soon wore a different aspect. An increase of comfort and prosperity within, coupled with the unabated force of external pressure, slowly fostered in the mind of the Colonists a spirit of nationality. The Lagoon gradually became populous: by industry and perseverance the exiles formed within its confined area a flourishing, though small, settlement; and on those lonely strands, which had been hitherto abandoned to the shepherd and the fisherman, rose up the hearths and altars of a new people: the foundations of Venetia Princeps.

It is recorded that, in 421, a church in honour of Saint James was founded on the Isle of Rialto, under the joint patronage of Severianus Daulus, bishop of Padua, Jucundus, bishop of Treviso, Ambrosius, bishop of Altino, and Epo, bishop of Oderzo.<sup>2</sup> The circumstance in which the foundations

<sup>1</sup> Zanetti, *Dell'origine di alcune arti presso li Veneziani*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo, lib. v. p. 69; Sanudo, *Vite*, p. 400.

of San Giacomo were laid in the early part of the fifth century belongs to the most venerable of Venetian traditions. It is related that, when the fugitives from the *terra firma* had already begun the erection of houses on the island, a conflagration broke out in the dwelling of a poor boatman, named Entinopo, and consumed that and several of the contiguous buildings: whereupon the sufferers engaged that they would exhibit their gratitude, if the flames were extinguished, by raising on the site of the ferryman's humble residence a church in honour of Saint James. Their wishes were fulfilled; their vow was accomplished; and, on the very ground which is occupied by the present church of San Giacomo di Rialto, the ancient Venetians laid, fourteen hundred years ago, the first stone of the first Christian temple which rose from the morasses of the Adriatic, as an eternal monument of their faith and God-serving humility. In Venice there is no spot which has associations so solemn, so holy and so sad.

A few years later, in fulfilment of another vow, a second church with an oratory was built at Dorsoduro, and dedicated to the archangel Raphael, by Adriana, wife of Genusius, a Paduan noble who, on the approach of the Huns, had fled to the neighbouring lagoon with his numerous family. The husband, wishing to remain behind till the last moment, sent his wife and children forward, and Adriana, anxious for his safety, declared that, so soon as he arrived in the Lagoon, she would shew her gratitude by founding a church and oratory in honour of the archangel. One of Adriana's daughters afterward became Abbess of San Zaccaria which was then the only nunnery in Venice, and which stood<sup>1</sup> in the same street or contrada as the house of Genusius.

The abbey was probably coeval with the church of San Giacomo. A slight chain of circumstances tempts one to accept the conclusion that two out of the three most venerable monuments in the city owed their existence to the same family.

We are regarding a period almost prehistoric, a city without a metropolis or any settled principles of government. As far as the eye could scan, the vast though unproductive domain of San Zaccaria extended, covering the area subsequently occupied by the Basilica, the Campanile and the

<sup>1</sup> Sansovino, lib. vi. pp. 243-4.

Broglia, and shedding the gracious influence of religion around ; but it was gradually curtailed, until the boundary-line of the abbey lay at some distance from the Riva side of the Rio di Palazzo, and the ancient Nuns' Well which supplied the house was lost beneath the crypt which underlies the central dome of St. Mark's. If its proportions grew less ample, its opulence, sanctity and political influence steadily increased ; it was more than once rebuilt ; holy relics from all parts found their way into its sanctuary ; and no foreigner who visited the city omitted a pilgrimage to a spot so wealthy and so rich in historical associations. From its convenient proximity to the Palace, San Zaccaria was constantly honoured by the presence of the chief magistrate, who reached it by passing out <sup>1</sup> of the gate near the site of the modern entrance to the Inner Court, and crossing the Ponte della Paglia ; it was to Venice in feudal times much what the Abbey of Westminster was to the Royal Palace, and, on the roll of its superiors, were to be seen the names of the most illustrious families and of the daughters of Doges. Then, even when the great abbey was no longer in territorial importance what it had been remembered, the ground which it had vacated remained for ages open or thinly inhabited. Yet, down to a certain time, there seem to have been vestiges of the garden or grounds, in the survival of trees scattered here and there—salvage from the operations of the builder. In 452, when Altinum itself was on the eve of destruction, the episcopal see was transferred to Torcello.

These traditions form the oldest historical monuments of the ecclesiastical history of the Republic which, with those exceptions, presents a perfect blank till the middle of the sixth century. But, subsequently to that period, the hierarchic system was rapidly developed by the fresh irruptions of barbarians, and by a constant influx from all parts of the Peninsula. In 550, two churches, one in honour of Saint Theodore, the original tutelary saint of Venice, the other to the martyrs Menna and Geminian, were founded at Rialto <sup>2</sup> by Narses, lieutenant of Justinian in Italy, in requital of the zeal which the islanders had shown in transporting some Lombard mercenaries from Aquileia (by Grado and Brondolo) to Ravenna in their flat-bottomed vessels.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. chapter xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Sansovino, *Venetia descritta*, lib. i. p. 109.



There is a school of legendary tradition, which offers to explain and elucidate the circumstances in which some of these early movements and migrations occurred, and which resulted in consolidating the loose and imperfect elements, driven from various directions toward the lagoons, into something approaching an orderly and self-sustaining society under a systematic and acknowledged government. Nearly a century and a half of retrospect had already accumulated behind the Venetians, when the final influx of fugitives sought safety from the Lombards in or about 568. Narses had doubtless unconsciously paid for the Venetian succour in a way singularly advantageous to the obsequious little State; for he not only created the first semblance of a Christian communion, but stimulated by his example others to follow in his steps. The ingenuous and confiding temper of those who first committed to paper these oral records without the omission of a word, when generations had come and had gone since the alleged events occurred, commands our forbearance, if not our sympathy. The Lombards, sweeping down Friuli, are characterized as the cruellest of pagans, and the people of Altinum, even those perhaps who regained their homes, prepared to emigrate once more and for ever. Some fled to parts of the mainland, but others, undecided what to do, instituted a three days' fast and prayer, that God might disclose to them His will. They heard a voice, resembling thunder, which said, "Climb ye up to the tower and view the stars." Whereupon Paul, bishop of Altinum, did as he was bidden, and, viewing the heavens, he beheld the stars placed just as the islands in the lagoon were. So they quitted their hearths and homes, and repaired to a spot in the lagoons which, in order that they might be perpetually reminded of the old many-towered Altinum, they agreed to call *Torcello*; and the first thing which they thought to do was to erect a church to Mary the Virgin, beautiful in form and fair, with precious marble pavements. Then a priest of Altinum, who was among the newcomers and whose name was Mauro, had a vision in which St. Erasmus and St. Hermes shewed him where he should build a church in their names and honour. As he walked along, he beheld a white cloud from which issued two rays of the sun of glorious effulgence, which fell upon him; and a voice cried out to him, "I am the Saviour and

Lord of all the earth. The ground whereon thou standest I give to thee, thereon to build a church in My name." And a second voice said: "I am Mary, mother of the Lord Jesus Christ; I bid you build another church to me." The excellent Mauro subsequently, in wandering about the *lidi*, met with an old man sitting on the ground, who announced himself as St. Peter the Apostle, and by him stood a younger one who proved to be the servant of God Antolinus and said to Mauro: "I suffered for the name of Christ; I bid you build a little church for me, hard by the Master's church. Be instant day and night in memory of me: and whatsoever you ask of me shall be given unto you." The good priest next came to an island (Vignola) full of vineyards which bore the whitest grapes; but he withstood the temptation to partake of the fruit, and presently, as he advanced, he saw, seated amid a white cloud, a little maiden who said: "I am Giustina who suffered in Padua city for Christ's sake; I pray you, priest of God, build me a little church in my honour." He shortly encountered a second maiden of even tenderer years, on whom a great and lustrous cloud shed its light; and, as the cloud approached, Mauro became aware of a man of noble mien, rising above the sun, who introduced himself as St. John the Baptist, and gave him his benediction upon his election as first bishop of Torcello, placing in his hand a scrip, and on his finger a miraculous ring.

We reach the end of this pretty story, before we discover that we have been listening to the narration of a dream; but the ancient chronicler assures us that it was all perfectly true, and we acquiesce to the extent of allowing that he set down what he or his forefathers had heard, and that both believed the particulars. If any one attempts to penetrate beyond the surface, he may emerge again with an impression that such assurances of superhuman interposition aided the foundation of the parent churches of Venice, while the latter lent stability and permanence to the new political organization. A tradition of a cognate character seeks to account for the existence of the ancient chapel of San Francesco delle Vigne, one of the spots where certain of the earliest settlers planted the grape-vine. This chapel was popularly held to denote the site where St. Mark had once sought shelter

from a storm, and where an angel appeared to him and prophesied the future greatness of Venice.

In 577, Paul, Patriarch of Aquileia, flying from the persecution of the Lombards, took shelter at Grado where he built the church of Saint Euphemia. Six years later, while the neighbouring church of Aquileia was tainted by the heresies of Arius, Grado became, by virtue of a Concordat between the successor of Paul and the Holy See (20th April 583), the metropolitanate of Venice and Istria; and nineteen provincial sees, among which were those of Padua, Oderzo, Altino, Trieste, Emonia, Concordia, Pola, Parenzo and Trento, were placed under the pastoral rule of the Primate Elias.<sup>1</sup> In 590, Caorle received John, bishop of Concordia. In 630, no fewer than eight churches were built at Rialto.<sup>2</sup> Eight years afterward, Paul, bishop of Padua, a fugitive and an exile, established a see at Malamocco. Finally, in 650, three churches, dedicated to SS. Sergio and Bacco, San Massimo and San Marcelliano, were founded by the Torcellese on the Isle of Costanziaco. These early temples were rude and inelegant; their domes were not gilded; no fresco adorned their walls; their porches were roughly carved. On the contrary, although their interiors might be more or less richly embellished with the treasures which their founders had saved from the ruins of their old home, wood was the material generally employed in their construction, and their style was simple and unpretending. Yet the ancient Venetians found them not less applicable to the rites of religion, than those splendid monuments which were afterward raised by the genius of the Early Masters.

One of the ecclesiastical edifices dating from the earliest times was the church of Santa Maria della Carità, for the reconstruction of which in stone the patrician Marco Giuliano or Zulian in 1120 offered all his possessions. It was rebuilt in connexion with an Augustinian convent of Canons Regular, and became associated in 1344 with the famous Scuola della Carità, which had originally held its meetings in the church of San Leonardo. It was again rebuilt in 1446.

While the late treaty with the Holy See, which conferred upon the Patriarch of Grado the right of supreme jurisdiction over nineteen episcopal sees in the adjoining provinces, on

<sup>1</sup> Ughellus, *Italia Sacra*, v. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Sansovino, *Cron. Ven.*, p. 8.



the one hand, seemed to promote the ambitious views of the Court of Rome, by extending its influence throughout the Venetian dominion, it was extremely advantageous, on the other hand, to the Republic herself, both in a commercial and political respect. Impelled by that enterprising spirit which distinguished them in so marked a degree, the merchants of Venice gradually formed marts and dépôts at Justinople and the neighbouring cities; their urbane manners and judicious moderation won for them a general feeling of confidence and goodwill; friendships, intimacies and matrimonial alliances followed as a natural consequence; and the early connexion which the Venetians thus established, through a spiritual medium, with the Venetian and Illyric Provinces, may be considered as having, in no slight degree, prepared the way for the subsequent reduction of that territory beneath their rule.

But it was hardly to be expected that the privilege would long remain undisputed. A pretender to the metropolitanate soon appeared, in the holder of the new patriarchal dignity which the Lombards had founded at Aquileia, shortly after the establishment of their power. The latter, however, was at once pronounced by the Pope to have no legitimate existence or authority, and the election of the Abbot Johannes, first of the Arian patriarchs of Aquileia, was solemnly condemned by Boniface IV. as uncanonical and null, the Synod which chose and ordained that prelate having been convened entirely without the knowledge or sanction of his Holiness: nor was it till the year 720, when the Lombards succeeded in conciliating the Papal See by the annexation of certain territory to the Ecclesiastical States, that the new Church of Aquileia was admitted into the communion.<sup>1</sup>

After the fall of the kingdom of Alboin in the year 800, the patriarchs of Aquileia became sovereigns of Friuli and feudal Lords of Carniola;<sup>2</sup> and they became at the same time the most troublesome enemies of Venice. The encroachments of the Patriarch of Grado on their see, and the extension of his influence and jurisdiction over Istria, Dalmatia and Friuli, excited their jealousy and seemed to justify their depredations.

<sup>1</sup> "Dissertazione istorica sopra l'antichità del patriarcato d' Aquileia," ap. Calogiera, *Nuova raccolta d' opuscoli scientifici*, v. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Sandi, i. p. 358.

During a period of nearly six hundred years, the two primates were engaged in a desultory course of petty warfare, in which the Aquileian was always the assailant and generally the loser. This churchman, the corsairs of Narenta, and all the naval and military freebooters who lay about her, became to Venice what the Sabines, the Æquians and the Volscians had been to Rome.

The numerous islands which constituted the Dogado were divided into the five bishoprics of Equilo, Torcello, Caorle, Malamocco and Città Nuova (New Heraclia), to which were subsequently added those of Olivolo and Chioggia. The former was created in 766 by the severance of Rialto, Zimole, Luprio, Dorsoduro and Olivolo from the diocese of Malamocco, which appears to have been the parent and, till that date, the only one, as we do not hear of any see of Old Heraclia. From the somewhat loose and arbitrary conditions under which these dioceses originally came into existence, proceeded a curious body of secular customary law, binding only within a particular jurisdiction.

Each see owed allegiance and paid tribute to the metropolitanate of Grado, and, prior to his entry into office, each bishop elect was approved by the Doge and the Pope, and consecrated by the Primate.<sup>1</sup> In the usual course of promotion, an ecclesiastic became in the first instance the *curé* of a parish; from the office of *curé*, the step was to the rectorship or *piovonato* which he might hold with a canonry; from the latter he might be raised to the dignity of Primicerio of Saint Mark's or to the Episcopal Bench, from which the vacancies in the metropolitanate were ordinarily supplied. But the exceptions were numerous, and it is probable that these exceptions arose, in large measure, from the great facilities which the Doge enjoyed under the early Constitution, for elevating his own relatives or political allies at pleasure from the lower to the superior grades of the priesthood.

Unlike the ancient Saxons whose Witenagemote possessed jurisdiction both in civil and in spiritual matters, the Venetians organized, at a very remote period, a Synod which met at uncertain intervals under the nominal presidency of the Doge, and consisted of the Patriarch of Grado, the bishops and other high dignitaries of the Church. It took exclusive

<sup>1</sup> Paolo Sarpi, *Delle materie beneficiarie*, p. 76.

cognizance of all matters of a purely spiritual nature, or of any questions which might arise in connexion with ecclesiastical discipline, its judgment on such points generally being treated as conclusive. Indeed, even till the close of the eighth century, the clergy enjoyed considerable influence, and, as Head of the Church, the Patriarch of Grado occupied an eminent position in the State. But, when the reins of government passed into the hands of the great Houses of Badoer and Sanudo, the power of the priesthood sensibly declined; the Synod became almost entirely subservient to the will of the prince who convoked and dissolved it at pleasure;<sup>1</sup> without his sanction, its acts were accounted void, and, on several occasions when they expressed dissent from his views, its decisions were wholly disregarded.

In the flourishing state of what we may practically view as the Monarchy, the reigning House and its adherents, anxious to consolidate their power, invariably aimed at engrossing the spiritual as well as the secular authority; and, consequently, during that period, the Doge, the Patriarch of Grado and the Bishops of Olivolo and Torcello were almost always members of the same faction, not infrequently of the same family.

No certain principles of church government or sacerdotal discipline were yet established, and, in that primitive age, even the outline of a canon law is scarcely discernible. Bishops were often elected and deacons ordained, without reference to their merits or qualifications, through the private patronage and personal influence of the Doge. Several instances occurred in which the sees of Torcello and Olivolo were filled in that manner by unworthy candidates, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the clergy and of the patriarch; and the incipient measures of ecclesiastical reform, which were introduced toward the middle of the eleventh century, afford a proof of the laxity which had prevailed before that period. But even some centuries later, when the Venetian Dominion had extended to many parts of the *terra firma*, there are cases in which appointments to sees were ostensibly made on a principle of favouritism. For, in 1481, the bishopric of Brescia was bestowed on a patrician, Paolo Zane, a young man of two-and-twenty, subject only to the

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo, lib. vii. p. 127; Sandi, i. p. 224.



proviso that he did not enter on his duties till he was twenty-seven. Zane was an enthusiastic admirer of the Virgin Mary and built a church at Brescia in her honour; but Casola, who knew him, did not consider that he was a personage who reflected great credit on his profession.

The Church derived its revenues from a multiplicity of sources; but tithes in money or in kind were the principal support of benefices. Mortuaries, or heriots upon the dead, formed a class of impost to which the Venetian legislators of the First Age were no strangers. It was on mortuaries, and on an annual poll-tax of three hens which he received from the population of a particular district, that the Bishop of Olivolo almost wholly relied for his income; and, on the former account, he was familiarly known as *Vescovo de' Morti*, or the *Bishop of the Dead*. Much in the same way, the Bishop of Capri, in the Bay of Naples, derives a portion of his income from a duty on all the quails killed in the island, and is thence nicknamed the Bishop of the Quails.

In connexion with the ancient theocratic polity of the Republic, it is proper to consider the system pursued, in the early ages of the commonwealth, with regard to Monastic Institutions. It was originally a common practice for monks and nuns to reside in their own dwellings,<sup>1</sup> and this practice very probably continued, even when the necessity, in the absence of appropriate houses, no longer existed. But Holy Societies of both sexes were formed in Venice at a very remote period, and they were founded and endowed, for the most part, by private families which assumed invariably the right of patronage, and of selecting the Sister or Brother Superior from their own kindred.<sup>2</sup> In a State in which a few wealthy Houses, illustrious alike by their birth, possessions and attainments, arrogated to themselves the governing power in clerical as well as in secular matters, this principle of patronage was almost inevitable; and we shall find that the exclusive and engrossing spirit, by which the policy of Venice was so strongly marked and so greatly influenced in other respects, trespassed on the privacy of the cloister. In points of general discipline, and in questions of general

<sup>1</sup> *Lettera di Ag. Gradenigo sopra li monasteri di Venezia al abate Brunacci, 1760.*

<sup>2</sup> *Temanza, Antica pianta di Venezia, 1781, p. 8.*

importance, the Synod or even the Arrengo might have a powerful voice and exercise a legitimate jurisdiction; but a charter to which the Doge affixed his seal or sign manual protected, in almost every case, the rights of the founder and the freedom of the foundation from the inquisitive zeal of the clergy; and it is a fair supposition that, while the conduct of the recluses was guided by the long-established rules of their respective orders, their maintenance and management jointly devolved on the Patron and the Prior. It was a usual practice to appoint in all Monasteries an advocate or lay administrator, whose province it was to represent the institution in lawsuits, to manage its temporalities, and to protect its general interests. This functionary is mentioned in many documents of early date, and was by no means confined to Venice or to Italy.

The peculiar system which was applied with very few exceptions, if any, to all endowments in Venice of a sacred character, clothed the patron with very large powers; and, while the latter freely placed them at the public service for purposes of worship or seclusion, he rarely failed to claim these monuments of private munificence as an integral portion of his property or heritage. It also frequently happened that, where several endowments were under the same control, a church was transformed at pleasure into a monastery, whenever such a change suited the convenience or taste of the founder or his representatives. The violence of party spirit sometimes converted the monastery into a prison. Elsewhere, occasion has been taken to shew that religious houses were by no means exempt from the practice of countenancing slavery, and that persons in that condition, both male and female, were employed in the monasteries and nunneries; but another and more agreeable feature in these institutions was their value as resorts or refuges, where more than ordinary medical skill or care was required.

All monasteries had a voice in the local chapter,<sup>1</sup> and it appears that these holy fraternities were not necessarily exempt from the performance of military service, for it is stated, in an ancient document, that the Priory of Lovoli was obliged to contribute to the ducal body-guard.

<sup>1</sup> Gradenigo, *Lettera a Brunacci*, 1760. Filiasi, *Memorie storiche dei Veneti primi e secondi*, v.

Corraro, who represented Venice at the court of Rome in the time of Pope Alexander VII., tells us that he had once been earnestly solicited to press his employers to revoke the ordinance which prohibited the clergy from purchasing any immovables, and had made the reply that the Republic, "being but a petty or little State, and the clergy extraordinarily increased in wealth, if they were suffered still to purchase, and never to alienate, our posterity could expect no other than to be one day driven out of this Marsh, and perhaps out of all her territories on the firm Land."<sup>1</sup>

It was the Venetian view that the devotion to a solitary life favoured a self-opinionated inclination, no doubt from an inability or a reluctance to enter into arguments on different sides of a question; and such may be thought to have been the cause of the dogmatic insistence on their tenets by the early doctors and fathers of the Church, whose conclusions their followers have upheld without adequate consideration of their weight.

Pope Gregory XIII. (1572-85) raised the question of Papal visitors to the monastic and conventual establishments. The Signory at first absolutely declined to suffer any such interference, but it was eventually settled that the Bishop of Verona should perform the duty *ex officio*. It had been the proposal of his Holiness to send his Nuncio, who was to have as his colleagues the Bishops of Verona and Padua; but the Nuncio, arriving first, proceeded to his task without waiting for the others and was recalled, the Government ultimately taking its own course.

In 586, a monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded by the patriarch Elias, in that part of the city of Venice which was subsequently known as the parish of Santa Maria Formosa. In 790, the House of Badoer built, at their own expense, a church in honour of San Gianbattista, and attached a Priory of which they assumed the exclusive patronage. In 816, the same family converted the church of Sant' Ilario in Rialto into a monastery which they appropriated to the use of the monks of San Leone. So far back as the fourteenth century, when the islands counted, perhaps in the aggregate, as many as forty religious houses of different orders, corruptions had begun to manifest themselves; and enactments

<sup>1</sup> *Relation to the Pregadi*, p. 90. There is an English edition of 1664.



were provided, to repress the disorders arising from the incontinence of members of sisterhoods and their intrigues with lovers outside the walls. The picture of the profligacy of some of the monastic institutions, which was presented at the English Reformation, might have been supplied centuries before from Venetian sources; and all classes of the laity seem to have been fascinated by the attractions to which a certain difficulty of access lent additional zest. So normal a type of gallantry did the clandestine relations between the inmates of nunneries and the outer world become at this early date, that it is put to the credit of the Doge Andrea Contarini, one of the heroes of the war of Chioggia, that he resisted such seductions; while Cristoforo Moro, who occupied the ducal chair from 1462 to 1471, restored to the house from which she had been taken, a nun who had been offered to him as a concubine when he was a young man. At one time, till the law intervened, these recluses not only appeared in the streets without escorts, but assumed secular attire and paid open visits to their lay friends. The men addicted to these irregularities were known as *moneghini*, and in some instances the female inmates had their particular lovers. At a later epoch, the same laxity prevailed without the same solicitude to disguise it; and, in many of the establishments dedicated to the reception of women, the luxury of the table, an elegance of toilette and attire, and brilliant musical soirees became notorious, and every form of indecorum was tolerated. The nuns of Mazzorbo have transmitted the reputation of having been conspicuous in this direction, but not improbably that unenviable celebrity was undeserved and accidental.<sup>1</sup> It is always to be borne in mind that, in certain instances, the nuns were members of noble families and had been consigned to this sort of life without the option of refusal; the result was that they aimed at enjoying in the monastic parlour the gaiety and licence of the aristocratic salon. On the contrary, where the discipline was exceptionally strict and licence was forbidden, the sisterhoods were apt to revolt, and repeated instances are recorded in which the girls effected their escapes. Even the lady superiors had their amours and, in short, every description of enormity was perpetrated, so that, in the correspondence of the fourteenth and following centuries,

<sup>1</sup> See M. M. Newett, *Casola's Pilgrimage*, 1494, 8°, 1907, p. 365.

the monastic establishments are branded as little better than stewes; nor did the heaviest punishments deter the offenders or mitigate the evil and the scandal.<sup>1</sup> There were not only illicit relations between members of the holy houses and lay folk outside, but between the former and the ministering priesthood; similar abuses prevailed throughout Italy.

From the fifth dissertation of Muratori, it appears that the abbey of San Zaccaria had some disputed possessions in the *Padovano*. The litigation lasted nearly a century (1000–1100). In 882, the Doge Memo granted the islet of San Giorgio or San Zorzi to Giovanni Morosini, who was desirous of erecting on that site a Benedictine monastery; and already, in the ninth century, the abbeys of San Zaccaria<sup>2</sup> and San Giuliano had acquired a reputation for sanctity and splendour. The grounds and vineyard of the former extended over a large area, and occupied a considerable portion of the Piazza of Saint Mark and its approaches. In 1102, Pietro Gradenigo, a noble Venetian, refounded at his own charge at Murano the monastery of Cipriano,<sup>3</sup> reserving the right of patronage. In 1132, Giovanni, bishop of Olivolo, and son of the Doge Polani, founded a Cistercian monastery which he dedicated to San Daniello; and lastly, in 1146, Giovanni Trono, having received the grant of a portion of the island of San Giacomo del Palude from Orso Badoer, lord of the manor, erected thereon a cognominal Church and Priory.

These instances will suffice to exemplify the view that, from the earliest period of her existence and in all her ancient institutions, the Republic betrayed, in progressive stages of germination, the growth of that oligarchy which became, in the end, the ruling principle of her Government. But, toward the close of the eleventh century and during the earlier part of the twelfth, the Italian princes and the emperors of the East, anxious to preserve the friendship or regain the favour of the Republic, bestowed several valuable gifts on the Church of St. Mark and on many of the Venetian monasteries.

On the flight of the two Galbani in 804, and the succession of his friend and accomplice, the late Tribune of Malamocco, the Primate Fortunatus had returned to Venice,

<sup>1</sup> See particularly Molmenti, ii. 589.

<sup>2</sup> *Antichità Estense*, part i. ch. 32; Muratori, *Annali*, vi. p. 380; Muratori, *Dissertationes*, i. nos. 5 and 17; Dandolo, lib. ix. chap 11. See farther, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Dandolo, lib. ix. p. 257.

where he considered that he had every title to expect a favourable reception. On the other hand, although he might partly owe his success and actual position to the Patriarch, Obelerio di Antenori was anxious to disclaim even his former connection with a man, toward whom the people bore a strong dislike as the friend of their bitterest enemy; and, from 804 till the battle of Albiola, Fortunatus had lived for the most part in retirement, at his residence near Campalto on the Silis. But, after the defeat of Pepin and the proscription of the Antenori, the Patriarch was invited to return to his country and his see, and Fortunatus remained at Grado in the full enjoyment of his office, until, some suspicion or mischance having occasioned the discovery of a secret correspondence with the Frankish court, he received a peremptory command from the Government to quit the Venetian territories for ever.<sup>1</sup> The exile sought an asylum and a home at Constantinople, and was subsequently sent by the Emperor Michael I., in the quality of an ambassador, to France, where he died about the year 825.<sup>2</sup>

In a highly important paper<sup>3</sup> which he left behind him, the late Patriarch sets forth all the benefactions made by him to various churches and monasteries in Venice. This document, which was drawn up abroad some time before his death, while he continued at the court of Louis le Debonnaire, still cherishing the hope of returning home, and carrying out certain specified designs in person, has descended to us in a mutilated state, and we see that he professes to write down some particulars from recollection, at a distance from the means of verification. Yet the manuscript is undoubtedly of vast interest, and probably in its way unique; it is unfortunate that it is composed in Latin of an unusually impure type, and occasionally exhibits very perplexing obscurities, more especially in regard to technical phrases and pecuniary valuations.

Fortunatus left his serfs, cattle, horses, orchards and olive-yards, for the most part, to the church of Sant' Eufemia, which was, moreover, enriched with altars of gold and silver,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo, viii. 168. See also *Cronaca Altinate*, lib. viii. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Sagorninus, *Chron.* 29. Dandolo, lib. viii. p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> "Quae legavit et fecit Fortunatus Ecclesiae suae" (*Cassiodori Opera*, 1729, i. 187). See also Filiati (v. 315); Marin (i. 270). By *Ecclesia* we must understand the Church of Venice, not a particular building.

<sup>4</sup> He seems to distinguish between objects of gold and gilt ware, as he elsewhere alludes to "*vasa deaurata et deargentata fronte.*"



altar-furniture, vestments, chalices, vases, goblets, patinæ or dishes of porphyry, and mitres of elaborate and remarkable workmanship studded with gems. The monastery of Santa Maria Genitrice was placed in the enjoyment of thirty pounds of silver, a ship with all its rigging and equipments, and a hundred bushels of corn. The abbey of San Giuliano had been rebuilt at his expense, furnished with priests and clerks, and endowed with two pounds of silver for the celebration of services night and day. The church of the Virgin at Torcello was roofed with lead, and that of Sant' Agata, which had fallen in ruins, was rebuilt and liberally endowed. "The church of Sant' Agata," writes the Patriarch, "where repose forty-two martyrs, was in ruins, and when the strength of the tide came it flowed up to their very bodies; but such was the mercy of God, that the water struck the walls five feet from the martyrs' remains which several of our priests saw." The church of San Peregrino, which the people of Grado sinfully demolished out of fear of the Franks,<sup>1</sup> Fortunatus also restored.

To various other holy or charitable institutions were assigned donations of equal or even greater value; in a few instances he speaks of articles which had been given to him, but, as a rule, he seems to have purchased all this extraordinary accumulation of property at what were then, no doubt, considered fair prices. Nor does it appear that these liberal bequests represented the slow and laborious result of thrift, for there is equally strong evidence in favour of the supposition that, while he continued to enjoy the rank of Metropolitan, this rich and sumptuous priest lived at Grado in a style of unexampled magnificence.<sup>2</sup> The will of Fortunatus is singularly valuable, inasmuch as it throws light on an otherwise obscure period, and affords a tolerably clear insight into the nature and extent of the means of a wealthy Venetian ecclesiastic of the ninth century.<sup>3</sup> The observation has been made that, in the time of Fortunatus, the large capitalists invariably aimed at investing their surplus means in that species of property which was least open to the depredations of their neighbours or their enemies, and that hence it was

<sup>1</sup> In 809, when Venice was invaded by the forces of Pepin, son of Charlemagne.

<sup>2</sup> Filiati (v. p. 38) tells us that on one occasion Fortunatus brought from Constantinople two ivory gates "*mirabilmente lavorate e sculte.*"

<sup>3</sup> The testament is textually preserved by Marin, *ubi supra*.

that, during the mediæval period, we find such enormous sums devoted to the foundation and decoration of churches or monasteries, such an extensive employment of the precious metals in the manufacture of altars, chalices, communion-cups and other sacred utensils, compared with the relative simplicity and small resources of secular edifices, even of the most important character, in domestic furniture and personal decoration. This, it is added, was a practice enforced on the Patriarch and his opulent contemporaries by the lawless character of the age in which they lived, but the remark must be received with qualification. Nothing is more easily capable of proof than that the Venetians of the richer class, both clergy and laity, applied themselves, from the earliest times, to the acquisition of landed and personal property within the Dogado and on the *terra firma*, and that it was by no means their custom, from fear of spoliation, to place the bulk of their possessions in mortmain. Of this, Fortunatus himself presented a notable instance. The Patriarch was only too well aware that, although religious considerations might, in many cases, have their weight, and that many of those who would have committed without scruple or misgiving ordinary rapine might shrink from the commission of sacrilege, there had been, even in his time,<sup>1</sup> for example, profane plunderers who had planted their feet on the holy threshold, and borne away the sacred treasures of Sant' Eufemia.

In an archive like that before us, there are many considerations deserving of weight. Our knowledge of the relative value of money at that remote time is, after all, not too precise; copyists, again, are untrustworthy, and objects of curiosity, even jewels and church-plate, must not be taken as of anything approaching to the same realizable worth as such property would be in more modern and more settled days. The period concerned was a transitional one, in which such treasures were probably obtainable, especially by a rich and influential churchman, at an easier rate than they could have been at a prior or a later date. But, when every possible deduction has been made, the narrative certainly denotes a marvellous advance on the part of Venice in material prosperity, and demonstrates the increased tendency of wealth to accumulate in a few hands. Among the men of his own

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, ch. i.

generation Fortunatus stood alone. He was presumably the Croesus and Wolsey of Venice, and lived and died a stranger to the banking and funding systems which his country was to originate in Europe, and which were to create for personal property new channels and new uses.

In 829, the body of Saint Mark the Evangelist, which had long lain in the temple founded by himself at Alexandria (if tradition is to be credited), was transferred to Venice by two merchants of the latter city who, in contravention of an edict issued by the late Doge, inhibiting the supply of arms and provisions to the heterodox enemies of the Lower Empire, were carrying on a clandestine trade with the Egyptian ports.<sup>1</sup>

The translation of the Evangelist, which forms so remarkable and interesting a feature in early Venetian history, is said to have originated<sup>2</sup> in the following circumstance:—The Caliph of Egypt who was inveterately hostile to the Christian religion was building at this period a splendid palatial residence in one of his chief cities; and it was reported that, in order to beautify the new edifice, it was in contemplation to denude of their decorations and plate all the Christian temples in the country. Shocked at this profane avarice, and apprehensive lest the Church of Saint Mark at Alexandria where the Evangelist was existing in a state of spiritual repose should share the common lot, two Venetian merchants, named Buono and Rustico, the former of Malamocco, the latter of Torcello, who chanced to be trading at the time in that port with ten galleys, resolved, in a fit of pious ardour, to attempt the rescue of the Saint from the peril by which he was threatened. Having, with this object in view, sought a conference with Theodore, the officiating priest of the temple, the two merchants opened to him a project which they had formed for abstracting the holy relics under cover of the darkness, and conveying them secretly to Venice, where they felt assured that they might rest for ever in peace. The Greek, who was completely astounded by the proposition, demurred, representing the extreme danger by which such a plan would be attended; but he ultimately yielded to the

<sup>1</sup> Filiasi, vol. v. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Bernardo Giustiniani, *De translatione Beati Marci Evangelistae*, lib. ii.; Michieli, *Feste Veneziane*, vol. i. pp. 96–100; Leo, *Description of Africa*, 1600, lib. vi. p. 302. The last-named writer charges Buono and his companion with “privily stealing” the body.



importunacy and bribes of Buono and his countryman, and consented to accompany them. "Sir," quoth they in the words of an ancient chronicler, "if you will come with us to Venice and carry with you the body of Monsignor Saint Mark, we will make you a very rich man."<sup>1</sup> The body was speedily wrapped in the linen shrouds of Saint Claudia, for the sake, as it was designed, of greater security; it was then placed in a deep basket in which it was cunningly ensconced beneath a thick layer of herbs and savoury joints of pork. The Venetian seamen who bore the load to the quay took care to ejaculate, at intervals, the words so repulsive to all true Mussulmen, *Hanzir! Hanzir!* (*Pork! Pork!*) as they walked, at a slow pace and with a dilatory air, from the church to the spot where the merchants' vessels were anchored—probably in the old eastern landing-place.<sup>2</sup> On their safe arrival aboard, Buono and Rustico caused the mysterious basket to be hoisted at once to the mast-head, lest by some singular mischance the pious larceny should at the last moment be discovered. The chroniclers conclude by informing us how, on the homeward voyage, a tempest having arisen, Saint Mark appeared in a vision to Domenigo, a priest of Commacchio, and one of the passengers, and admonished him to furl the sails; and how, while its companions were scattered by the fury of the waves, the ship which bore the body of the Evangelist reached in safety on the succeeding morning the port of Olivolo, where the offenders were gladly forgiven and their precious charge was received with transports of gratitude and delight, by an age and a people not much addicted to the virtue of doubting in matters of religion.

The arrival of the alleged remains of Saint Mark at Venice was an occurrence which exerted, in truth, no inconsiderable influence over the mind, and even over the fortune, of that State. It lent a stimulus to the national commerce and a spur to the national courage. Pilgrims came from every quarter of the civilized globe to make their vows and oblations at his shrine, and crowned heads disdained not to mingle in the crowd of worshippers. A commercial fair was instituted in his honour; the Republic, which had been under the protection of Saint Theodore, was now consigned by

<sup>1</sup> Da Canale, "*Cronaca Veneta*," *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, viii. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Thousand and One Nights*, Lady Burton's edit., v. 339.

universal consent to the guardianship of the Evangelist, whose image and name were presently to be stamped on her coins, and inwoven in the banners which so often led her sons to victory by sea and land. By his will, the second Doge of the Badoer, Particiaco or Participiazo family, who died in 829, left a considerable sum for the erection of a ducal chapel in honour of the newly-arrived Saint.<sup>1</sup> It is of course extremely problematical whether Venice owns the actual bones, but the dramatic and political effect was the same; the Evangelist, whom the historian Dandolo scarcely over-values in describing as *Aureus Lucifer*, was for evermore to pervade Venetian sentiment, a living force wherever we turn our eyes. In aftertimes the Venetian battle-cry was "*Marco! Marco!*", and the only order of chivalry ever founded in the domains of the Republic was that of the Cavalieri of Saint Mark. As a strict matter of fact, there was a considerable interval before Saint Mark's tutelary attributes or his association with the lion, so familiar in mediæval art, were officially acknowledged. It was not till 838 that the Oratory of San Teodoro, on the left bank of the Batario which flowed through the present Piazza, was enlarged and re-dedicated to the Evangelist, and centuries elapsed before any effort was made to rebuild the edifice and improve the site.

Subsequently to the feudal annexation of Dalmatia in 998, the Chapters of Trau and Spalato, which had hitherto confined their loyal enthusiasm to the praises of the Pope and the Emperor, included in their litany the name of the Doge of Venice, whose virtues they commemorated, after those of his Holiness, in chorus, and on whose head they invoked every blessing and benefit in perpetuity. The new litany opened thus:<sup>2</sup> "*Exaudi, Christe, Exaudi, Christe: Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To Our Most Pious and Blessed Father, the Most Merciful *Silvester*, by Divine Providence the Sacred Pontiff of the holy Roman and universal Church, be praise, honour, and grace and heavenly triumph. *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.* To Our Most Serene and Excellent Prince and Sovereign, *Pietro Orseolo*, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice and Dalmatia, be honour, praise and glory and perpetual triumph."

<sup>1</sup> Sagorninus, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, lib. ii. p. 72.

The ancient ecclesiastical province of Aquileia which had, down to the closing years of the sixth century, included the whole of Venetia Maritima and the lagoons, periodically presents itself in the Venetian story, first as a contributor of refugees to the lagoons, and subsequently as a source of political dissension and trouble, when the primitive episcopal diocese was elevated and extended into a metropolitanate, independent of Grado, but subject to the jurisdiction of the Republic. Of the date at which the present Arian cathedral was built there seems to be no exact record, but, from some discoveries made in 1909, there is an indication that it occupied the site of a Roman temple or villa of the latest period and of considerable area; if a conclusion may be drawn from the subterranean mosaics, &c., brought to light on the spot and attributed to the fourth century after Christ. Grado comprised the site of a residence of the bishops of Aquileia in early Christian times, and the superior antiquity of the see rendered the Venetian claim peculiarly distasteful and intolerable. From the ninth to the fifteenth century, very few expedients were omitted by the patriarchs for asserting their independence; but Venice maintained to the last its pretensions, although the Government, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, forbore to interfere with the independent coinage, by successive prelates for local use, of money limited to the lower denominations.<sup>1</sup> In 1493, arose the usage of seeking the confirmation of the nominee of the Signory by the Holy See; but the succession of patriarchs had been chiefly of Venetian nationality, owing to a dexterous innovation made in 1517, by which the holder of the dignity appointed, during his life, a coadjutor who was practically his successor. Even the right of alternate presentation, vested in the Archduke of Austria, had never been exercised till the question was formally raised during the reign of Maria Theresa, when Austria had become an empire and the Republic had parted with much of its former power. Benedict XIV. in 1749, invited by the Empress-queen to adjudicate on the question, allowed the right of Venice to nominate to the patriarchate, and created by bull, shortly after, an Apostolic Vicar to administer the Austrian portion of the province. The Senate declined to recognise this arrangement, recalled its ambassador at the Vatican, directed the Papal Nuncio to

<sup>1</sup> The *danaro*, *mezzo-danaro*, *doppio-danaro*, *picciolo* and *obolo*.



quit its dominions, and prepared to send a naval force to support its case. There appeared to be every probability of a rupture, when France and Sardinia tendered their intercession; and, in 1757, the matter was settled by the extinction of the Aquileian metropolitanate and its partition into two sees, one for Venetian Friuli at Udine, the other for Austrian Friuli at Goritz.

In 1483 a case occurred in which it appears that, at that date, the Signory retained its sway over the Polesine of Rovigo, and appointed there a captain and a bailiff or a *bailo*, for in this year the Senate, at the suit of Sir John Kendal, Lord Prior of the Knights Hospitallers, inducted to a benefice in that territory a person recommended by the Prior, who is described as "the great and devoted friend of our State."<sup>1</sup>

As far back as 1481, a breviary for the use of the Church of Aquileia was published at Venice; and it was reprinted there in 1496; the Aquileian litany and office *hebdomadae majoris Basilicæ S. Marci* was used in the metropolitan cathedral. The Venetian priesthood wore the stole in all the offices, and in their ritual the services for Epiphany and Corpus Christi alike had octaves.<sup>2</sup> It appears to have been on Saturday, a day specially consecrated to Our Lady in the Latin Church, that the litany of Aquileia was introduced.

Differently situated from Aquileia, and within the actual Venetian frontiers, was the Dalmatian see of Zara, made archiepiscopal in the twelfth century when the city had belonged to Venice about a hundred and fifty years, on the condition expressed in the Papal instrument that it was to be under the ecclesiastical control of Grado. The frequent revolts of Zara against the Republic, and its recourse to Hungary as an ally and a protector, received an additional motive and stimulus from this source, more especially as the ritual of the Dalmatians varied in certain particulars from that in use at Venice. But the objection to Venetian rule long remained so radical and deep, that any pretext for escape or release seemed welcome and justifiable, and by trimming between

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), i. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, vi. 506-7. See *Les Missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 à 1600: Description, Illustration, Bibliographie*, par le Duc de Rivoli, 1896. There is, curiously enough, an edition printed at Venice, 8°, 1493, of the *York Breviary*, of which no perfect copy seems to be known in England. A *Diurnal* for the use of the Irish Benedictines at Vienna, Ratisbon &c. also appeared at Venice, 8°, 1515.

two masters, so strong a place might expect to enjoy a certain measure of independence of both. The day arrived when different views prevailed.

The circumstances in which the Holy Office was admitted, after a considerable amount of negotiation between the Republic and the Papacy, are easily susceptible of precise explanation. The earliest proceedings in regard to the proposed institution were taken in the course of July, 1289.<sup>1</sup> On the 4th of August was published the decree of the Great Council, in which certain fixed principles were laid down for the conduct of the Inquisition and of the officials connected with its management, and, on the 28th of the same month, a Concordat with the Holy See of the following tenor was signed and sealed. The delay was probably caused by the insistence of Venice on the insertion in the papal bull of Nicholas IV. (1288-92) of the Great Council minute, of which it was thus made, by an adroit diplomatic stroke, to appear a mere formal confirmation.

1. In the capital, the tribunal of the Holy Office shall consist of the Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Castello and another ecclesiastic; the two latter, although they receive their commission from the Pope, shall not be competent to act without the authority of the Doge. In the provinces, his Holiness shall likewise have the nomination of the Inquisitors; but, should his nominees not be approved by the Government, it will become necessary for him to make a second choice.

2. At Venice itself three senators, in the provinces three magistrates, shall preside at each session of the Tribunal, and all measures which may be framed in their absence shall be withdrawn as void. It shall be in the power of these lay members to suspend deliberations and to stay the execution of sentences, whenever they judge the same to be contrary to the laws or interests of the Republic. They shall be bound by a solemn oath to conceal from the Senate nothing which transpires in the Holy Office. It shall be obligatory on them to oppose the publication, or even the entry on the registers of the Inquisition, of any bull which may not have received the previous approbation of the Great Council. The lay members of the Inquisition shall, on no account, be selected out of the number of those persons on whom the Court of the

<sup>1</sup> Sandi, *Storia civile Veneziana*, vol. ii. p. 977 et seq.

Vatican may have it in its power, either directly or indirectly, to exert undue or unfair influence.

3. No proceedings shall be taken, at Rome or elsewhere, against Venetian citizens who may be open to a charge of heresy. No claim for extradition shall be admissible.

4. The jurisdiction of the Holy Office shall be confined with the utmost strictness to the crime of heresy; and those who do not belong to the body of the Catholic Church, including Greeks and Jews, shall not be held amenable to its authority. Exemption may also be claimed for persons guilty of bigamy, blasphemy, usury or necromancy, it being considered by the Government that, except in cases where a breach of the sacrament can be proved, these are merely secular offences.

5. The property of condemned heretics shall revert to their natural heirs.

6. The funds of the Office shall be placed under the charge of a Venetian treasurer, who must render his accounts and become responsible for their correctness to the civil authorities only.

Such were the important limitations which the Government of the Republic thought proper to impose on the Holy Office, and which tended greatly to disarm an objectionable and dangerous institution of much of its inherent liability to abuse.

The peculiar flexibility of the Venetian system, which adapted itself to circumstances, ever yielding precedence to political over all other interests, may explain the freedom which the Republic enjoyed from the despotism and cruelty of the Holy Catholic Church; and there is no lack of testimony to the comparative lenience of the Inquisitors, where no constitutional danger was apprehended on the one hand, and there was no heinous social crime on the other.

An anecdote of the adventure of Petrarch during a visit to Venice about 1360, more than a century after the establishment of the Holy Office in many parts of Europe, seems to warrant the conclusion that the Government laid less stress on heterodoxy and free-thought, than was customary in, and long subsequent to, the Middle Ages. But there is no doubt that the lay tribunal of which we have elsewhere spoken as the Inquisition of State, and of the existence of which in



some shape or other there is evidence as far back as 1313, took cognizance of offences against the established religion, as well as of others of a flagitious character against morality and against nature, and handed over the culprits, if found guilty, to the spiritual arm. Legislation in such a direction was not peculiar to Venice or to Italy. In the sixteenth century, it found a place on the English statute-book, and this class of crime was in fact one of the consequences of the closer intercourse between East and West and of the larger foreign element in the population of Italy, subsequently to the Crusades and to the gradual establishment of Oriental depôts in all leading commercial centres.

When the Grisons proposed, about 1550, to form a trading settlement here, their delegates were told that every one belonging to their canton might come to the city or to any place under Venetian sway, and conduct their business quietly and confidently, since it was the usage of the subjects of the Republic to live modestly without giving cause for scandal, and there was no fear whatever of the Inquisition.

Toward the same period, the Republic met with two classes of difficulty in ecclesiastical affairs: the attitude to be observed toward the adherents of Luther,<sup>1</sup> and the position of the Jews. The treatment of heretics in general had been settled as far back as the thirteenth century, when they were, if condemned by the Church, adjudged to be burned, provided that the sentence was confirmed by the Doge in council—a valuable and significant saving clause. But the Jews had always been tolerated, and had enjoyed civil equality, the Government discouraging all attempts to create a public prejudice or a spirit of hostility against them. They were banished in 1371 on political grounds, but the decree was revoked in 1573—possibly it was never enforced. The Inquisitors of State were alike debarred from jurisdiction over Jews or Greeks, and a member of the tribunal was actually reprimanded, according to Sanudo the Diarist, for offering to lay hands on one of the former nationality. The Lutheran question first arose in 1517; but the Government advisedly imposed so many obstacles and restrictions, that the penal consequences were virtually a

<sup>1</sup> In 1526 an edition of Bishop Fisher's confutation of Luther was published at Venice.

dead letter. It was a case in which the Council of Ten seems to have directly intervened to prevent any mischievous papal action, although, in 1564, to please the Curia, it published an order that all persons entertaining these opinions should leave the Dominion within fifteen days and return at their peril. It was even signified that they would be placed in a special place of confinement, if apprehended—doubtless to preclude religious infection. At the same time, in 1543, Pietro Sanudo was permitted to publish with the house of Aldus his so-called attack on the doctrines of Luther, in which he makes a Catholic and a heretic hold an interlocution, and advisedly gives points to the latter.<sup>1</sup> The insincerity, indifference and collusion of the book were transparent.

Cases occurred from time to time, in which the Venetian Inquisition took cognizance of some matter which was brought under their notice and contributed to swell the volume of papers at the Frari; and the papal crusade against Lutheranism had intermittent revivals. In 1549 a physician, Francesco Stella of Portobuffolè, was prosecuted for having in his possession a considerable number of heretical books,<sup>2</sup> some in chests, others about the house at which he lodged when in Venice. The examination is so far curious, that it shews the custom of ordinary houses being shared by two or more persons or families, who knew and saw little of each other beyond *bon di, bon di* and *bon anno*. The judgment of the tribunal was that the books should, with the permission of the Church, be burned on the Piazza, and that Stella should pay a fine of 50 ducats, of which in the present case 10 went to the Inquisitor, 12 to the Procurator, and 3 to two officers or sergeants of police. He was something of a libertine, this doctor of medicine, for it appears that he kept, as his *comare* or mistress, the wife of one of his fellow tenants or lodgers.

The Signory was comparatively tolerant toward religious dissent, and rather half-heartedly and insincerely dealt with offenders. There were some Catholics who viewed Lutheranism with indulgence, and the Emperor Charles V. did not despair of the reformer himself; but his majesty was not equally tolerant of other writers of a heretical cast, and expressed

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Sanutus, *Recens Lutheranorum Assertionum Oppugnatio*, 1543.

<sup>2</sup> A list of them is given by Mr. Brown (Venetian Printing Press, 1891, pp. 115-17).

himself in 1524 unable to interfere with the Spanish Inquisition, for imprisoning some Venetians who had brought for sale certain Bibles, containing a commentary by a writer of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

But we cannot too warmly admire and commend the unique indulgence extended to members of all creeds, Jews inclusive, on this soil; and the Government, by its language and acts, always continued to impress on States and individuals the ruling principle, that it treated the national welfare as the supreme aim, and that, so long as persons did not contravene the laws, they might pursue their employments without fear of molestation. Whether they were Christians or Jews, or whatever they were, if they had any scheme or proposal tending to the general good, they might bring it forward, with the assurance that it would meet with all due encouragement and support.

A correspondence between Edmund Harvel, an Englishman who was at Venice in 1513 and 1536, with Dr. Thomas Starkey, Master of the College of St. Laurence Pountney, London, assists in illustrating the peculiar temper and attitude of the Republic in regard to ecclesiastical questions and events. The English friars, who were executed in 1535 for denying the Royal supremacy, were an object of sympathy in the Republic, for Harvel writes: "You require to be certified freely of the judgment made here of the monks' death with you. To write you plainly thereof, the thing was noted here as of extreme cruelty, and all Venice was in great murmur to hear it; . . . I promise you faithfully I never saw Italians break not [? out] at no matter tofore so vehemently as at this thing, it seemed so strange and so much against their stomach." Upon the death of Katharine of Arragon, the same correspondent tells his friend, 5th February, 1535-6: "The news of th' old queen's death hath been here divulged more than ten days passed, and taken sorrowfully. . . . *Hic palam obloquuntur de morte illius, ac verentur de PUELLA regia ne brevi man. sequatur.* I assure you men speaketh here *tragice* of these matters, which is not to be touched by letters." The *PUELLA regia* was of course the Princess Mary, and Harvel thought it best to conceal in Latin the news that, at Venice, they speak ill

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1864, lxvi.



of Katharine's death, and fear that the Princess will shortly follow her.<sup>1</sup>

Harvel, on his side, was particularly news-thirsty in his disposition. "Cease not to write," says he to Starkey, "*perpetually*, for there is nothing more pleasant to us than your letters." It was all very natural; but "writing perpetually" in those days, as Dr. Starkey was probably aware, was a severe drain upon a man's pocket.

Then, on the contrary, in the matter of Anne Boleyn, Harvel and his good friends at Venice, who favoured him with an intimation of their views, did not see any cruelty; considered that the Queen was no worse treated than her ingratitude to so noble a prince warranted; and took Henry's side completely. The Venetians, seemingly, were quite of a certain modern historian's way of thinking, and, if that writer has not already done so, he might have called Edmund Harvel, as an additional witness in support of his royal client's very much misunderstood case.

In 1535, during a residence at Padua, Cardinal Pole drew up, for the information of Henry VIII. who had addressed to him certain questions through Dr. Starkey, his Plea for Ecclesiastical Unity,<sup>2</sup> which went much farther into detail than Henry had suggested or perhaps required, and which Cardinal Contarini, when the work was shown to him by the writer, advised him to reconsider, lest it should give offence.

There is a telling passage in the relations between the Republic and the Papacy in 1550 which may have led to the concession of 1564, and which sprang from differences in respect of the appointments to clerical functions and process against offenders in spiritual matters. In June of that year, the Pope sent for Matteo Dandolo, the Venetian representative at Rome, and remonstrated with him in the warmest manner, painting in vivid colours the danger which religion incurred through the mildness of policy observed by his Government, and offering to accredit a prelate to make some new provisions in concert with the Signory. His Holiness trusted that such tenderness toward heresy would not prove contagious.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd series, ii. 73-76.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione*, printed in a folio volume at Rome; probably in 1536. The original MS. is still preserved.

Dandolo engaged to write and see what could be done to punish the worst culprits, but Julius III. deprecated secular interference; he said that he had seen the correspondence on the subject, and read it with great attention; and he remarked, "Look you! *Deus non irridetur neque decipitur*; you cannot deceive our Lord God; if these Signori are willing to assist in these good works, and in such part of them as belongs to the secular arm, may they be blessed! our Lord God will reward them. But if they meddle with what is not their business, there is no doubt that they are excommunicate." Julius cited authorities, and dwelt at some length on the practice of associating laymen with ecclesiastics, in causes which purely affected the Church.

In 1593, while the rest of Europe was still convulsed and disgraced by the wars of the Christian Church, the Venetian representative at Bergamo took occasion to mention to his Government that they had no heretics there, in spite of the foreign merchants who live in the province without scandal, and of the constant intercourse of the Bergamasques with the Valtelline. He ascribed this happy condition of affairs to these good folks having too much to do to indulge in the ease which contributes to produce religious differences.

Yet in 1587, in his *Censure of a Loyal Subject*, George Whetstone groups Venice among the Powers hostile, not only to Protestantism but to England, although the Signory had never departed from their friendly attitude toward that country in a single instance, and had, on the contrary, by their strenuous resistance to Spanish ambition, served the Reformed cause both in England and in Holland.

Venetian toleration, the product of a commercial and cosmopolitan training, was undoubtedly attended by advantageous effects, in drawing to the city and dominion, from time to time, large numbers of settlers intimidated or injured by the persecuting policy of other European States, and well content to be governed by laws which protected them and their labours or callings.

So jealous of any movement which might compromise their interests as a mercantile Power did they shew themselves during the wars of the sixteenth century, that they declined to enter into treaties in which the Porte was likely to be implicated; and when the Holy See desired to convoke a council

at Vicenza to discuss religious questions, the Republic would not agree to the measure, from a fear of raising Turkish suspicions and imperilling Venetian subjects in the territory of the Sultan. The meeting assembled in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Trento in 1545, and held its sittings from time to time till 1563, the Bull notifying its decisions being approved by the Senate in the succeeding year. It was there that the principle of clerical intervention in the marriage service, as part of the ritual in all cases, in addition to the entry in the Registry, was first accepted by Venice.<sup>1</sup> In repudiating the bull of *Cœna Domini* (1569), Venice only took common action with France, Spain and the Emperor. It was launched under the auspices of Pius V. who had been father inquisitor at Venice, and had contracted a covert dislike to the Government, owing to its strict limitation of his authority. He had even refused to see the embassy sent to congratulate him on his election. But his Holiness, observing no change of attitude, began to alter his tone, and said to the Venetian representative one day (17th July, 1569), that the most excellent Republic was the splendour and glory of Italy and of Christianity, that in temporal matters it had no superior, and so on; and again, addressing Cardinal Gambara, that he knew that, had it not been for the most serene Republic, Italy might have more than once fallen a prey to the Ultramontanes. But the Pontiff considered that Venice ought to be more alert in conforming with ecclesiastical requirements, and that her policy was apt to prove a bad example to Spain. He ended by saying that he had done all that he could, and must leave the Signory to take their course—and they did. Assuredly, neither the Holy See nor any other Power could fairly have complained of lukewarmness in ceremonial devotion at Venice. No city in Europe was probably richer in ecclesiastical buildings, and no Government in the world less disposed to interfere with matters of purely religious routine. According to information given to Coryat in 1608, there were then, within the Dogado, 200 churches with 143 pairs of organs, fifty-four monasteries and twenty-six nunneries.<sup>2</sup> This fervent external deference to the forms of the Church was in precise

<sup>1</sup> A Secretary delegated by the Signory attended the Council throughout 1562–3, and drew up a Report which appears to have been printed for the first time in 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, London, 1611, p. 289.



antithesis to the resolute attitude, in withstanding any undue or inexpedient encroachments on the part of the ecclesiastical body, either at home or at the Vatican. The almost ostentatious display of homage to established religious rites and calls has been noted by observers of all ages. At the close of the fifteenth century when the Republic was in its zenith, this national characteristic impressed two personages, so different in their points of view as Philip de Commines and Pietro Casola, and it drew from Ruskin a similar criticism. The spectacle made Commines ingenuously observe, that the people which paid such homage to God must be under His special protection.

It throws an edifying light on the peculiar relations between Venice and the Holy See that, when the Council of Ten directed, in 1608, that the doors of churches should be closed at night on account of irregularities, and that there should be a limit to the ringing of bells, the Pope remarked to Contarini: "My lord ambassador, we wish to make known to you, that we have learned with the utmost displeasure, that orders have been given to the parochial authorities to close churches and to stop church-bells at certain hours, whereas these duties belong to the sacristans."<sup>1</sup>

The Cathedral Church of Saint Mark is the most striking European edifice of the kind in existence—if not the most striking ever erected on that continent as a temple of worship. Its most conspicuous characteristic is its Oriental costume within and without; it seems as if the Venetians had resolved that, in their most prominent ecclesiastical structure, they would perpetuate the origin of their greatness as a people. The history of Saint Mark's, its development and restorations, have been written by those whose competence makes one shrink from entering on the subject in detail. There have been loud notes of complaint that the purity of the design, so far as it can be called pure, has been impaired by latter-day hands; at any rate, there are the stones, there the ancient lines, notwithstanding all that the modern artist can achieve, and the slight tendency to settlement from the nature of the subsoil.<sup>2</sup>

Saint Mark's, in its inception, was not actually a cathedral

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii, 69, note.

<sup>2</sup> In 1910 a report reached England that the subsidence of the building was becoming serious. It was ascribed to the continual process of dredging the Grand Canal.

or metropolitan establishment, but the chapel appurtenant to the Ducal Palace, dating (as it has been pointed out) from the ninth century; and the ritual and discipline in some respects varied from that of other members of the Romish communion.

The coronation-oath of 1328 precluded the Doge from convening any council or assembly without the concurrence of his advisers, except that which met to arrange the affairs of the Church of Saint Mark of which he was *ex officio* patron, and at which he was represented by the Primicerio who was independent of the Patriarch of Grado.<sup>1</sup> The Primicerio was of episcopal standing and was entitled to wear the mitre; he does not form a conspicuous historical figure for obvious reasons, but, until the metropolitanate was translated from Grado, he remained a personage of the highest distinction. The date of the creation of the office is uncertain; the Doge Tradenigo who succeeded in 836 had previously filled this station, but such a preferment was very unusual, although, as we become aware in studying the earlier European annals, the link between the priesthood and the Crown, and between the spiritual and secular authority generally was, and remained, even down to the seventeenth century, closer and more regular than under modern systems of government. In 979, the Doge Tribuno Memo confirmed the title of the Basilica to the original attribute of a private chapel under the control of the Primicerio, but in 1454, the ancient patriarchate of Grado, which had been identified with so much of the chequered and romantic story before us and which could look back on the day when the holder of the dignity played a foremost part in the election of the first Doge (697), was transferred to Venice which thenceforth gave its name to the metropolitanate.

Lorenzo Giustiniani, formerly Prior of San Giorgio in Alga, Rector-General of that Order and Bishop of Castello, was the first Patriarch under the new arrangement, which embraced the Primacy of Dalmatia and the post of Administrator of the Church of Città Nuova in Istria. As bishop, to which dignity he succeeded in 1433, Giustiniani had introduced numerous important reforms in the ecclesiastical discipline of his diocese. He instituted the election of priests by their parishioners, and the competent education of candidates for the Church. He

<sup>1</sup> *Libera a servitute Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae.* See Molmenti, i. 88.

obliged all canons to be residential, and forbade the clergy to leave debts unpaid. He also regulated the management of the private property of ecclesiastics of all ranks, and laid down stricter rules for the disposal of preferments. During the plague of 1447, Giustiniani spared no effort, and incurred the greatest personal risk in superintending the sick and visiting the lazzeretti.

The question of the death-dues payable to the Bishop of Castello went back to a remote time, when that prelate, as Bishop of Olivolo, was the spiritual head of a thinly-populated diocese, and when the gabella or impost, which was originally in kind, probably touched only a limited circle of aristocratic houses which became answerable for themselves and their clients. But, as numbers increased and social conditions were gradually modified, the revenue grew to much larger proportions, and the incidence attending its collection was proportionately troublesome and vexatious. Curiously enough, it had been the Black Death of 1348 which brought this question into prominence. The mortality was so great, that the claim of the bishop, if rigidly enforced, would have impoverished the whole jurisdiction; the Government therefore directed that no succession duty should thereafter be payable, unless it was devised by will and such devise was officially sanctioned.

This step provoked an appeal to the Pope at Avignon which yielded no fruit, beyond the ultimate arrangement, in 1376, that the see should take a yearly commutation of 5500 ducats. The amount explains the gravity and stress attached to the suit; the mortuaries probably constituted the bulk of the episcopal income—and a very handsome one it was.

The respect for the Church and its observances, even if it was more or less purely formal, is reflected in the strict regulations, which were published at regular intervals,<sup>1</sup> for the control of places of business on Sundays and holy-days. There was a prohibition of all ordinary trade, and the imperative necessity of closing premises under considerable penalties; among the few favoured and excepted vocations were those of the barber-surgeons, druggists, and boatmen or gondoliers.

<sup>1</sup> I have before me an official *Proclama* of 1734-5, in which it is stated that such manifestoes were renewed half-yearly, and were posted up in churches for general information.



The document of 1734 cites others of 1543 and 1717; but, considering the vast aggregate of saint's-days and festivals, and the normally lax insistence on questions outside political limits, it may be safely concluded that a wide margin existed between the letter of the law and its practical enforcement; more especially as we find that, at Venice, even graver matters for which adequate legislation had been provided frequently and long passed unchallenged.

On the other hand, side by side with a vast amount of ceremonial and ritual devotion, Sundays and saint's-days were regularly allotted to meetings of the Great Council, Lady Day and St. Mark's Day excepted; and there seems to have been the same strange mixture as is still, and ever has been, prevalent among Romanists, of solemn conformity to religious obligations and even boisterous popular gaiety.

It seems, in the second half of the seventeenth century, judging from the Report of Angelo Corraro to the Signory about 1660, that there was an impression that the secular Government everywhere would fall, and the Church become the dominant power in the world. This feeling, which was entertained by shrewd and practical observers, can only contribute to shew how completely such observers are apt to be deceived; but the opinion was expressed at a juncture when France was labouring under the disastrous wars of Louis XIV., when the unity of Germany seemed to be threatened, and when Great Britain had long lain under the weak, corrupt and turbulent rule of the Stuarts.

The ecclesiastical attitude of Venice, from almost the beginning of her career, is to be sought, to some extent, in the temper produced by her intimate connection with the East, and her cosmopolitan ties, and partly in the exigencies of her constitutional system, which did not admit the interposition of the Church and the Holy See in any question of a mixed bearing. Dating from the famous interdict of 1309 down to the time of Fra Paolo Sarpi, the Signory maintained with consistency and perseverance its resistance to Papal pretensions; and that policy might have been unattended by such grave consequences, had it not led, in the most natural way, to the readiness of the popes to avail themselves of every opportunity to form and lead combinations of stronger Powers against the Venetians, more particularly when the latter

sought to appropriate territory claimed as their own by the successors of St. Peter. A constantly recurring feature in these annals is found to be a more or less severe friction between the two States, arising out of a new grievance or the revival of an old one. It was never difficult to discover a pretext, and the normal result was that the Republic emerged victorious, subject to a compromise. A student of the present aspect of the matter will perceive that Venice and the Holy See were in general disposed, like other negotiators, to accept less than they asked; and, even at the juncture when the League of Cambrai so weakened the Republic, the supreme pontiff was the first to recognize the fact that, whatever might have been, or might be, the delinquencies of his antagonist, her fall would be fatal to the balance of power in Italy.

The prevailing tendency of the Government, in short, was to give with one hand and take back with the other: to surround, by neutralizing restrictions, points conceded to the Papacy; and the most conclusive proof of the deep sense of the vital need of keeping their constitutional principles inviolate lies in the undeniable circumstance, that the Venetians might have been far stronger had they chosen to become and remain cordial and steadfast allies of Rome. But they continued to be extrapontifical to the last: not deficient in formal loyalty to the Catholic ritual, but insuperably opposed to the active and direct domination of the *Curia*. It had been so in 1308, and it was the same in 1605 in the famous schism, when Venice had the advantage of one of the most learned, the most noble and the most conspicuous of her citizens, Paolo Sarpi, whom the Church, unable to convince, at last endeavoured to assassinate.

The attitude of the Republic toward the Romish Church was, in short, anomalous and singular. In diplomatic formalities it was profusely deferential; it was willing to assist the Popes with money, ships and men; it was at all times prepared to pose as the champion of the Holy See; but it peremptorily withstood, at all costs, every attempt to trespass on the border land of politics and ritual, just as it resisted any tendency to traverse its maritime pretensions.

The private chapel, attached to mansions and sometimes designated an *Oratorio*, became a regular incidence toward the

fifteenth century, when the Holy See expressly granted a licence to priests to officiate in these sumptuous annexes to the dwelling; and the fashion acquired such general vogue, that it used to be said that the churches would soon have no one to conduct the service; the Patriarch of Venice consequently endeavoured, in the face of the papal grant, to discourage the tendency.

When an English traveller<sup>1</sup> visited Venice in 1859, then under Austrian rule, he saw the Treasury of Saint Mark's, and enumerated some of its wonders, of which not a few looked back to a far distant time when the Republic had its grand future before it, but when it had already taken the initiative in transforming a city into an empire. These objects which were shewn to some English gentlemen in 1617 by order of the Council of Ten, and which Evelyn the Diarist had been allowed to inspect in 1645, were still affectionately guarded. There were the holy relics and vessels taken after the fall of Constantinople from the cathedral of Saint Sophia, the chair from which Saint Mark preached at Alexandria, so priceless in view of the intimate tie between the Evangelist and the peculiar object of his protection and favour, and numberless other treasures which had been acquired in the course of so many centuries of conquest and rule.<sup>2</sup> But Richard Lassels<sup>3</sup> (before 1670) furnishes an even ampler catalogue of the curiosities which were shewn to him, by special leave and by candle-light. Among them were the twelve gold crowns and as many breastplates and back-pieces, formerly worn by the twelve daughters of St. Mark at the *Andata ai Due Castelli*; three carbuncles of unusual size one of which was valued at 200,000 *scudi*, the gold crowns of Cyprus and Candia and the Doge's jewelled *cornio*. The writer takes occasion to introduce an anecdote: "A Spanish ambassador, once viewing this treasure, took a candle, and looked curiously under the long tables, upon which these rich things were exposed, and being asked what he looked for, answered, that he looked, whether this treasure had roots or no, as his master's treasure hath and therefore groweth yearly: meaning the India Fleet of Spain." A later traveller<sup>4</sup> states that he

<sup>1</sup> Newman Hall, *Through the Tyrol to Venice*, 1860, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617-19, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, pp. 388-9.

<sup>4</sup> Chancel, *New Journey over Europe*, 1714, p. 101.



saw a stone which yielded water to the Israelites in the desert.<sup>1</sup>

They exhibit at the Marcian Museum relics of a different stamp: weapons, armour, models, instruments of torture ascribed to the independent lords of Padua, and an extensive assortment of curiosities of varying degrees of authenticity. Perhaps the least suspected may be a solitary mast of the *Bucentaur* which was wantonly destroyed by the French in 1797, and a State chair of the Doges, once resplendent in crimson velvet and gold.

<sup>1</sup> Of this and of many similar rarities, no less than of others which are not particularly uncommon, there are excellent casts against which collectors should be on their guard.

## CHAPTER XLVI

The Doge—His attributes at the institution of the office and long after—The Coronation-oath or Promission—The rudimentary Palace—Its strictly feudal type—A small city in itself—Special bye-laws for its safety—Ducal Notary—Domestic establishment—The *Excusati del Ducato* or Doge's body-guard—Household and privy purse expenses—Payments in kind to the Doge and Dogaressa—Windmills and water-mills—Ducal millers—Style of the Doge—Cereemonial observances—The trumpets, the tapers, the sword of State and Umbrella—Ducal Chamberlain—Presentations of newly-married patrician ladies to the Doge.

FOR nearly three centuries, the Republic, with a limited population, a strong feudal bias and an insignificant political standing, slowly and painfully struggled against factions and oligarchical tyranny in varied forms. The growth of prosperity and importance, leisurely as it was, was constantly checked by terrible excesses committed by rulers or provoked by them. It demanded all that long stretch of years, to arrive at so much as an approximate conclusion, that all efforts to consolidate the Government and render the State permanent and secure would be of no avail, without some apparent sacrifice of republican freedom. The Consuls gave way to the Tribunes, the Tribunes to the Doge of the first type, who was to sway the fortunes of his country for upward of six hundred years—a monarch in all but the name.

The career of Venice under a patriarchal species of kingship is, with a difference, the history of nearly all the Federal Unions in Europe, after their absolute or virtual enfranchisement from imperial influence, and prior to their submission to some other arbitrary form of rule, principally autocratic or oligarchical. But let us not forget that Venice, in laying the foundations of her maturer and more tangible political life, offered the peculiar and interesting spectacle of a State, which gave a long and patient trial to irresponsible administrators and then made an irrevocable surrender to a limited, systematic and answerable Government, as being altogether the fittest for its circumstances and needs. The evolution from

oligarchy in reality, to the same principle both in reality and outward shape, was the practical exponent of a constitutional creed which we can hardly call unwise; nor is it by any means fanciful, to regard the narrow topographical range of the Republic, as a favouring cause in the concentration of power into the hands of a political caste.

Owing to the frequent destruction of the archives by fire or accident, the Oath taken by the famous Arrigo or Enrico Dandolo in 1192 is the earliest known to be in existence, and its preservation, even in a mutilated state, is the more important, that it was probably identical, in all essential respects, with that subscribed by the Doge Ziani after the Revolution of 1173. By this instrument Dandolo was bound to observe and maintain the existing Constitution; to consult, in all cases, the honour and advantage of the Commune; to be prompt in rendering justice, impartial in dispensing it; to carry the laws into execution, without giving them a false or arbitrary interpretation; not to dispose of the public property, without the cognizance and consent of the Legislature and the Privy Council; to be strictly regulated, in pronouncing judicial sentences and decisions, by precedent and established usage, or, failing these, by his own judgment or conscience; and to adhere closely, in the appointment of patriarchs, bishops, judges of the Commune, judges of the Palace, notaries and other public functionaries, to the form and method of election prescribed and recognized in each instance. He was bound to abstain from sending letters or dispatches to other Powers, without the advice and consent of his Privy Council, and from divulging the secrets which might at any time be intrusted to his keeping. Moreover, his Serenity engaged to furnish, at his own expense in the event of a war, a contingent of ten armed galleys; while he pledged himself, in instances in which he might have cause to complain of private or personal wrong, to prefer his suit or charge, like any other member of the Commonwealth, before the ordinary tribunals, refraining from procuring redress by an illegal or arbitrary exercise of his official authority.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent events must shew how far a literal compliance with those conditions might depend on the circumstances in which the Republic was situated, as well

<sup>1</sup> "Promissione del Doge Enrico Dandolo," *Archivio storico Italiano*, Appendice, No. 29, 1853.



as on the personal character of the individual who had the direction of affairs.

The somewhat severe constitutional restraints, which were embodied in the Promission of 1192, throw much light on the opinions then entertained on many points of political doctrine. It is highly relevant to the present subject, to mark the solicitude of the Venetians of the twelfth century to surround the ducal throne with more than formal limitations, and to inculcate upon their Supreme Magistrate the fundamental principle that he was of, and not above, the Republic: that, as the language of a treaty made with Armenia in 1201 puts it, he and the rest of the Venetians were *Concives*. Imperfect and faulty as some constitutional theories might naturally be found, even at Venice, in their reduction to practice, it is nevertheless important to note the emphasis and stress which were laid on a general adherence to the letter of the Promission; and it is interesting to contemplate, through the medium of the Coronation-oath of Dandolo, the development and dignity already given to a Common Law which was archetypal of the Common Law of all other modern European societies.

The Promission of 1229, the next which we have, is complete; its complexion is somewhat less patriarchal than that of its precursor. The *Inquisitori sul Doge defunto*, moreover, periodically submitted a list of proposals to the Great Council, founded on the most recent experience or observation. It is a circumstance, almost amusingly illustrative of the practical distance between constitutional stringency on paper and the real fact that, in the text of 1275, we meet with a stipulation that the Doge should read his Promission every two months, in order to refresh his memory. Even the Ten were obliged to listen to their Secretary while he rehearsed for their edification the contents of their capitulary; but that was only to be once a year.

For us these early Oaths are precious State-papers, illustrating, as nothing else extant illustrates, many ancient constitutional usages and local and social ideas. Nor is it possible for us to shut our eyes to the fact that, by the very solicitude to protect the national interests and popular freedom which breathes throughout these documents, a consciousness and apprehension are betrayed of the immense

power practically vested in the head of the State. In the course of the fifteenth century, and down indeed to the end of the seventeenth, the Correctors of the Promission, although they must be taken to have made their regulations subject to the sanction of the Great Council, were constantly introducing officious and meddlesome changes into the personal authority and dignity of the Doge. In 1485, the latter was debarred from appointing a relative to the office of Primicerio of St. Mark, in the gift of the Throne as perpetual patron of Saint Mark's, and from bestowing on any one the title *Magnifico*; he was to receive the *corno* from the senior Privy Councillor who was to repeat the words: *Accipe coronam ducatus Venetiarum*—he was Doge of all the Venices, as it were.

An exceptional amount of latitude had been permitted to the great Doge Francesco Morosini (1688–94), and, prior to the accession of Silvestro Valier, his successor, the revisers of the Oath prescribed that no Doge should hereafter be nominated Captain-General of the Fleet, in consequence of the heavy expense which it involved to maintain so exalted a personage in that position, although, in fact, with the exception of Morosini, whose appointment was absolutely imperative, no such course had been taken since the expedition to Constantinople in 1204. Then, again, leave was given, under an impulse of gallantry in the case of the Doge Valier, that the Dogaressa Elisabetta Quirini-Valier should be solemnly crowned, it being only the fourth example of such a ceremony and privilege; but, at the next vacancy, it was decided to have no more coronations of the kind. It must be said that many of these restrictions and ordinances were disregarded if some special circumstance arose; but the genius of oligarchy was restlessly jealous and in a perpetual ague of suspicion, and the Board of Correction had to support the appearance of doing something.

After the settlement of the constitution on an oligarchical footing, the Doge was, perhaps, the only European ruler who never left the confines of the city, unless it was on an extraordinary emergency as when the Doge Moro was, at his own instance, appointed in 1464 the leader of an expedition against the Turks, or when Francesco Morosini returned of his own accord to the Morea in 1693, to take chief command of the forces. He was uniformly represented by ambassadors who,

in their birth and lineage, their breeding and surroundings, vied with princes. The earlier holders of the office were, as we cannot help seeing, perpetually absent from the seat of government, as directors of movements in the field or at sea; but none ever paid visits of ceremony or pleasure. His Serenity received in turn nearly all the crowned heads of Europe, nearly all the celebrities of ages, and was enabled by the Signory to outshine all the Great Ones of the earth, in the splendour of his preparations and the generosity of his gifts. To his fellow sovereigns he presented what he deemed most likely to be acceptable; from them he took nothing. He sent Henry VIII. a valuable team of horses, and, in return, that magnanimous monarch offered to lend the Republic on proper security some of his paternal savings.

In 1661, the Doge offered Charles II. two gondolas, described by Pepys the Diarist as very rich and fine, with four watermen, of whose noble appearance we have an account in a second contemporary record. "They were," says Rugge in his *Diurnal*, "in very rich clothes, crimson satin; very big were their breeches and doublets; they wore also very large shirts of the same satin, very richly laced."

Under the 2nd of June, 1662, Evelyn the Diarist says: "I saw the rich gondola sent to his Majesty from the State of Venice; but it was not comparable for swiftness to our common wherries, though managed by Venetians." The writer should have considered that by its structure it was not adapted for use on the Thames.

The principle of complimentary or propitiatory offerings, which gained a universal application and acceptance, is traceable back to a very remote epoch, and may be ascribed to the Oriental training and associations of Venice. The Republic dispensed its munificent bounty with a lavish and untiring hand for more than four centuries, and there was no country in Europe, nay, in the world, which did not participate, from crowned heads downward. The amount of the outlay and the class of present were governed by the circumstances of each case, and among the recipients were the royal houses of Plantagenet, Tudor, Stuart, Bourbon and Habsburg. The Venetian merchants of the old school forestalled the imputation or reproach of commercialism, by outshining princes in their splendour and by patronizing them



in their needs.<sup>1</sup> We observe that the trading ships between Venice and Western Europe were, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, the usual channels for conveying envoys and whatever gifts might be intrusted to them for transmission.

On several occasions, when guests of conspicuous rank presented themselves at Venice, no trouble or cost was spared to mark the complimentary homage of the Signory, but, only in the case of crowned heads, the Doge himself directly intervened. A member of the Government, or more than one, was selected to pay all the necessary honours, and such was the practice, even toward reigning sovereigns, when they travelled *incognito*. A member of the aristocracy, usually of procuratorial rank, was selected to act as the vicar of the Doge, and when the visitor was accompanied by his wife, a female patrician, recommended by her acquaintance with the etiquette of foreign courts, officiated as lady-in-waiting and *chaperon* for the time being.

Such few titles of honour as were ever borne were, for the most part, feudal designations borrowed from the localities which the Republic, at the end of the tenth century, had acquired on the Illyrian coast. They were almost exclusively conferred on members of the ducal family, and it was the prerogative of the earlier Doges to grant the distinction, which does not seem to have outlived the *Serran* or Closure of the Great Council in 1298, except that, so late as 1354, the Doge Faliero is found in possession of the countship of Valdemarino and retained it till his death. The sole order of knighthood at Venice was that of Saint Mark, of which nearly all eminent public servants, as well as distinguished strangers, were in due course elected members; no Venetian subject was permitted to assume a foreign order or dignity without the leave of the Signory.

During the prevalence of autocratic rule, when the constitution failed to interpose between the Doge and his sovereign pleasure, the chief magistrate assumed, on his personal authority, such imposing appellations as imperial consul, *protosebastos* and *protospatrius*, which the Byzantine court periodically offered to his acceptance; but at a later time the practice

<sup>1</sup> The famous play of the *Merchant of Venice* is in certain respects a melodramatic extravagance which the genius of Shakespear alone saved from descending to caricature.

determined, and to be the First Citizen of Venice was judged to be a rank to which there was nothing to be added. Even the magnificent designation "Lord of One Fourth and One-Half of the Empire of Romania," assumed in 1204, seems to have been soon abandoned.

The primeval abode of the Doges, in common with all the strong gloomy homes of the old feudal period and system everywhere, was castellated and embattled. It was calculated to become, at any moment, the earliest object of attack and the last point of resistance. All that the State possessed in valuable effects, in specie, in archives, was laid up within its mural precincts. In its apartments, imperfectly furnished and imperfectly ventilated, ambassadors and deputations were received; from it all treaties and solemn instruments were usually dated. The Palace had its own court which was the highest judicial tribunal known to the law, and its own fisc which remained during many centuries the national exchequer. Special bye-laws regulated its external economy and took cognizance of offences perpetrated within its precincts, more especially arson and assault; and, near at hand, adjoining the bureau of the municipal gastaldo, was the archaic tribunitia prison, to which the turnkey led his charge from the Palace Court, through narrow and sinuous passages, nearly destitute of light and wholly so of fresh air.

Under the same roof was the Chapel, where religious worship was daily celebrated before the ducal family and establishment; a kitchen, with all its appurtenances; a well, an armoury and a store magazine; and it is more than reasonable to conclude that, before the transfer of the Mint to a separate building and department, the Palace here, as elsewhere, was the theatre of the operations of the moneyer. Among the Franks, we find the earliest numismatic monuments expressly described as *moneta palatii*. Thus the low and irregular pile of buildings, which became known toward the tenth or eleventh century as Saint Mark's, almost constituted anciently a small city within a greater; and hence it arose that, in the frequent political convulsions by which Venice was torn in the early period of her history, the ducal residence occupied so prominent a place, and that so much stress was laid by the revolutionists on the mastery of that situation. Hence, too, proceeded the chartulary of 998, which punished

with no ordinary severity the authors of riots and disturbances in Saint Mark's, and sought to provide a seasonable remedy for the evil which had already come to so rank a growth, in the Palace revolutions alike of Eastern and Western Europe.

The original scheme for the protection against violence, not only of the Doge and his household, but of the always more or less extensive premises allotted to the ducal residence and official quarters, is associated with that work of ages; the preparation, first of the capital itself, and finally of the outlying islands, for the needs of an increasing population. The earliest notice which we appear to possess of the provision of a guard for the Palace is in connexion with the settlement of parts of Dorsoduro or Spinalunga which, during a lengthened period, Temanza tells us, constituted the abode of fishermen, and of mercenaries employed as a garrison at the ducal abode. The exact significance of the term mercenary it is difficult to determine; but the extreme probability is that these soldiers or militia received payment, not in money, but in kind—in fact, held their lands on this tenure, and were designated *Excusati*, either at first or afterward, by reason of their exemption from other services and from taxation.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be inferred, from the circumstances attendant on the assassination of the Doge Tradenigo in 864, that the *Excusati* not only constituted a force and body-guard within the Palace, but accompanied the sovereign as an armed escort when he paid visits of ceremony or devotion; and at that point of time they were evidently selected from the feudal partisans or dependents of the ruling faction. But, when we examine the account handed down to us of the compulsory abdication of the immediate precursor of Tradenigo in 836, we fail to detect any vestige of such an institution; and it is more than probable, that the scandalous scenes which succeeded each other just at that time prompted the institution of a palace garrison and ducal body-guard.

The number of the *Excusati* did not exceed 200, of whom

<sup>1</sup> The *Excusati* (excused) of the Republic bore some likeness to those of Spain, the Scottish Archers of Louis XI., the Varangians and Janissaries of Constantinople, the Yeomen of the Guard of Henry VII. of England, the *Strelitzi* of Moscow even down to the time of the Regent Sophia, and the Egyptian Mamelukes suppressed by Mehemet Ali.



130 were ordinarily on duty in the interior of the Palace;<sup>1</sup> and the division of the body into *Maggiori* and *Minori* implied a claim on its part to certain graduated franchises, among which were included a partial exemption from the payment of tithes and a free grant of land. At some date which cannot be accurately fixed the *Excusati* in their turn were supplanted by a garrison selected from the Marines. By his coronation-oath his Serenity was specially bound to hold in respect the privileges and immunities of the *Excusati*: to refrain, unless sufficient cause could be shown to the contrary, from hindering the members of the corps in the exercise of any trade or art to which they might have been called, and not to exact from them any service whatever, beyond such as was prescribed by the laws and traditional usages of the Dogado.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike their mediæval analogues elsewhere, the *Excusati* do not appear at any time to have exercised an abnormal and pernicious influence on the constitution. Their number was limited; their organization was not exclusively military; their attendance on the Doge and the services which they were to perform were regulated by prescription. They were the feudal gendarmerie which constituted, with the Watch, the only guardians of public order; and out of them evolved that admirable Militia of the six Wards which, in the absence of regular troops, proved itself on many occasions of the highest value and efficiency, and which, in its occasional selection at a later epoch for employment beyond the precincts of the Palace and Dogado, acquired a nearer resemblance to the *Huscarls* instituted in Britain by Canute.

Here the Ducal Notary, usually a clerk in holy orders,

<sup>1</sup> "Trovo," says Sansovino, *Venetia descritta*, ed. 1663, ch. vi. p. 242, "in una antica scrittura queste rubriche:

Excusati de Muriano et eorum nomina . . . . .	et sunt 44
Excusati de Mazzorbo et isti sunt de <i>Majoribus</i> ( <i>Maggiori</i> ) . . . . .	et sunt 23
Excusati de Torcello . . . . .	et sunt 9
Excusati de Costanciaco . . . . .	et sunt 19
Excusati de Prioratu Lovoli . . . . .	et sunt 19
Haec sunt nomina Excusatorum qui serviunt in Palatio	et sunt 124
Nomina Excusatorum Nostri Palatii . . . . .	et sunt 198 "

<sup>2</sup> De *Excusatis* Nostri Ducatus nullum servitium amplius inquirere debeamus, nisi quantum Nostris predecessoribus per bonam consuetudinem in Nostro Palatio fecerunt; et quandocumque pergere voluerint ad negociandum negocia sua, absque omni contradictione pergere debeant, nisi per Nos remanserit, et per maiorem partem Concilii Nostri aut per publicum interdictum.—*Prem. of Tiepolo*, 1229 (*presso Romanin*).

and the Chancellor of the Ducal Hall or keeper of the seal, had their peculiar seat. Great stress was laid on the impartial election of the ducal and other notaries ; and, by the coronation-oath of 1229, it was stipulated that they should be independent of the Doge, though the mode in which they were to be chosen is not prescribed.

The Notary, in an age when the art of writing was the monopoly of a profession, and in a country where every public transaction, and even private contract, became a matter of record, was among the indispensable elements in the bureaucratic, official and commercial world, and has so remained, long posterior to the more general diffusion of calligraphy and to the establishment of the printing-press. It was an institution to which the world owes the survival and safeguard of an incalculably large body of precious material, which in its absence would have perished. The copious and minute inventories and reports, many of which have been published,<sup>1</sup> assist in illustrating the details and byways of contemporary life, in refurnishing the homes and places of business of former days, and in facilitating a knowledge of products and manufactures and a history of prices. At Venice, at all events, each department gradually acquired its independent notary, while followers of the employment were to be found, who placed themselves at the disposal of clients, and engaged scribes to engross every kind of act or deed on parchment or paper, and even performed the double function.

The *Custos Sigilli* was simply one of the household, whose possession of some tincture of legal experience was supposed to qualify him for the duties of such an office ; but the seal was never to be committed to the hands of any one else. This personage merged in due course in the Grand Chancellor. Each Island was required to provide a fixed number of barks and gondoliers for the service of the Doge, who employed them in the transport of merchandise from one point to another, or as a means of conveyance, whenever he might have occasion to move abroad on duty or for pleasure. The domestic establishment which the Doge was expected to maintain was not framed in the first instance on a very large or expensive scale. It consisted of a staff of twenty servants

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, i. 438, 449-55 ; ii. 301, 630-43.

(*servi*), inclusive of those who were employed in the culinary department. It is illustrative of the minute detail to which the early constitution descended that, whenever a domestic quitted the service, it was one of the minor obligations<sup>1</sup> imposed on the Doge by his coronation-oath, not to leave the place unsupplied beyond a month from the creation of the vacancy.

At Florence about 1570, an officer of the grand-ducal household was known as the *guardaroba*, and was responsible for what in English is miscalled the Wardrobe, but really and correctly signified the custodian of the personal appurtenances and ceremonial accessories. Such a functionary may, indeed must, have equally existed here as soon as the internal arrangements of the palace outgrew the principles of mediævalism and the grasp of the private circle of the head of the State. In the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, we meet with a Master of the Wardrobe in the papal service, and there was a staff of subordinate officers, bespeaking an important department. In early French *garde-robe* was employed in the sense of a dressing-room.

The establishment of fixed principles for the regulation of the household and privy purse expenses cannot be referred with safety to a period anterior to the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, there can be little hesitation in believing that the supersession of the primitive method of supporting the dignity of the Crown, which prevailed in the time of Pauluccio Anafesto and his immediate successors, occurred much earlier.

According to the coronation-oath of 1229, the Doge, during his tenure of office, was then entitled to 2800 *lire di piccoli* a month, nearly equivalent to 1000 gold ducats or £500, in addition to certain tributes from dependencies in money or kind of not inconsiderable value. Among other items, the first magistrate was entitled to the proceeds of the tax on crawfish, and to two-thirds of the duty charged on apples imported from Lombardy and cherries from Treviso. The amount, however, was found insufficient; it was successively raised to 3000, 4000 and 5200 *lire di piccoli*, at which last figure it stood in 1328. In 1262, the allowance appears to have been 3000 *lire*

<sup>1</sup> "Si quis (servus) defecerit vel recesserit a nostro servitio bonâ fide sine fraude, alium suo loco infra unum mensem recuperare debemus."—*Prom. of Tiepolo*, 1229 (*presso Romanin*).



monthly or 36,000 *lire* a year—a much smaller amount than the estimated hire of the vessels which were to convey Louis IX. to Africa in 1268. This money, designed to meet the ordinary current expenses of the Crown, was deposited in the coffers of the Procurators of Saint Mark, to the credit of the Doge and his Council who drew upon it as occasion might require. By the Promission, as settled in 1328, the salary of the Doge was payable quarterly; he was required to have for the honour of his office silver vessels of the value of 600 ducats, and to maintain a staff of five-and-twenty servants, each of whom was to receive two liveries a year. Within five days of the accession, his Serenity was entitled to an advance of 3000 *lire di piccoli* or 1000 ducats, for which he was to account; this accommodation was intended to meet special outgoings connected with his entry into office, but it partook of the nature of a loan, and, so carefully and considerably arranged were such details, that the reimbursement was spread over a term, and, if the Doge died within a certain period, a proportion was remitted. But, in calculating the enhanced grant, the gradual decline in the buying power is of course not to be forgotten. There seems to have been at a very early stage a system of preparing returns of probable expenditure, and of auditing accounts at annual or quarterly intervals.

While there was a disposition to place the expenditure of the Doge on a liberal footing, the Republic took early measures to guard the revenue against encroachment and abuse. With certain distinct reservations, all taxes, fines, dues, indemnities for homicide and battery, eightieths, fortieths; the proceeds from the fish-market and the shambles (save the fish for the Palace on Thursdays); the cart or carriage-tax (*caraticum*) of Verona,<sup>1</sup> the duty on firewood<sup>2</sup> (*arboraticum*) from the Anconese, and the income of the Salt Office, were to be exempt from the interference of the Executive.<sup>3</sup> Certain things, such as hawks and dogs intended for the prince's personal use, were admitted and exported free of duty.

A farther point, in which the constitution shewed itself precociously strict, with, at the same time, a certain proneness to Oriental influence, was the reception of presents. Not

<sup>1</sup> The duty levied on carts and carriages imported from the Veronese into the Dogado.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding with the modern coal-dues.

<sup>3</sup> Coronation-oaths of Enrico Dandolo, 1192, and Iacopo Tiepolo, 1229.

only the Doge himself but the Dogaressa, and their children on arrival at full age, were required to make oath that they would decline, or surrender within three days to the common chamberlain, any gifts from subjects of the Republic or others, save flowers, plants, rose-water, balsam and sweet herbs, or, when they were for the service of the household, cooked viands and wine, poultry and game. This prohibition was withdrawn or suspended, however, when the wedding of any member of the reigning family was celebrated at the Palace; and, indeed, not only was the rule constantly waived on application to the authorities, but at all times, and in much later days, the practice of secret oblations to the Doge and other higher officers on various grounds remained in vogue, as we casually glean from sources of information inaccessible to the old Government.

A carefully organized scheme of fiscal economy became, as Venice developed itself, a first need. We have seen on all sides, as we have looked back, the same long-abiding failure to make commensurate provision for political and social requirements. The earlier centuries saw, contentedly and passively, the mechanism of the Government conducted by feudal tribute or benevolences, forced labour and private munificence; these were in the room, as they were of the nature, of direct taxation. The only ancient system of excise, before the Salt Office and those other lately indicated expedients came into existence, seems to have been the *ad valorem* tax levied on imports; and this was of two kinds—the *ripatico* and the *teloneo*. The former dealt with all products and goods which came from abroad; the *teloneo*, as its name signifies, was a sort of octroi, levied on the merchandise which found its way to Venice from various parts of Lombardy, down the rivers debouching into the Gulf.

These twin sources of revenue were, at the outset, probably insignificant in value; but the wants of the State were correspondingly modest; even the *Trinoda necessitas* of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish Britain scarcely existed here; everywhere in the Middle Ages, private enterprise and speculation undertook many burdens which, under the broader and more mixed constitutions of other countries and of later epochs, were sustained by the general body of the community; and the probability seems to be, that the receipts from the customs

were long perfectly adequate to the ordinary current expenditure of the administration, until the charges on the exchequer, partly due to the gradual release from feudalism, necessitated a more elaborate and efficient system of finance.

Another factor in the mediæval system of taxation is to be found in the windmills and water-mills which supply, besides, a prominent illustration of the pervading and irrepressible feudal instinct and spirit among a people so largely independent of their influence.

Throughout the Dogado, from at least the ninth century, mills abounded, both within the alluvial dominion and on its outskirts, more especially at or near the mouths of the rivers which discharged their waters into the Gulf. Temanza was under the impression that floating mills, such as were employed on some of the Italian rivers, were formerly in use at Venice, and mentions a conversation which he had one morning with the Doge Marco Foscarini, who expressed a belief that such a contrivance would answer in the Republic. As a matter of fact they had in days long passed existed at Murano, and were ostensibly laid on hulks or barges; some were constructed as late as 1509, during the crisis arising out of the League of Cambrai. But the most material point here is the quasi-financial relationship between the mill-owners and the Government. So far back as 819, the latter conceded to the Abbot of San Servolo complete exemption from control or interference on the part of the ducal millers, the adjacent fisheries, and the residents in the neighbourhood; and, till 982, there stood near, and partly on, the site of the Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore a pond or lake, a vineyard and a windmill, the latter of which was exclusively devoted to the wants of the Palace opposite. Moreover, when the donation of the fee or freehold of San Giorgio was made, the Doge reserved the familiar service of castle-guard—the feudal obligation of the owners of the land or estate to provide warders to take their turn by rotation at the Palace.

The documents cited by Temanza appear to be somewhat incorrectly printed or originally corrupt, but it is easy to see from them that, besides these windmills, there were others worked with water by procuring an artificial fall. The Monastery of San Giorgio itself possessed three, of which two stood on that part of the Grand Canal formerly known as Basinaco



or Businaco. In 1282, an engineer commenced the erection of a common mill on a piece of marshy ground appertaining to San Giorgio, probably where the Capuchin House of the Grazia subsequently was; but he was stopped as an illegal intruder.

In the treaty between the Republic and Pola in 998, the latter covenanted to send to the Doge annually 2000 lb. of oil, and to the Dogaressa for the time being a free gift of cotton. The oblation to the Dogaressa was tantamount to a payment in kind of what is known to the English law as "queen gold," and which is sometimes described as a contribution to the queen's girdle. The monograph by Prynne on this curious subject deals at large with all the details, and the usage lives among us at this moment in a shape compliant with modern demands, but the tribute from the Polans seems to be a solitary example of the kind.

What was originally the style by which the Doge was addressed, we do not seem to possess the means of knowing. Perhaps nothing definite was understood either at the time or long after. But the phrases *Most Serene Prince*, *Serene Doge*, *Serenity*, *Excellency*, *Highness*, crept into use. Much was left to choice or to chance. There was no prescribed rule, but the form *Serenissimo* eventually became the most customary. In the old days of Russia, the Duke of Moscow was called *His Serenity*. Both Russia and Venice may have borrowed the appellation from Germany. The Doge was *Dux Venetiarum*, not *Dux Venetiae*; for he was at first the supreme chief of all the federated townships and clans which combined to form Venice, and eventually of the extensive possessions in Europe and Asia which constituted the *Dominio Veneto*. In 1593, on a bronze *osella* of Pasquale Cicogna he is designated *Dux Venetiarum, Etc.*, as a means of comprising all outlying portions of the Dominion. The same motive seems to underlie the legend on the *grossetto* struck for Scutari, 1436-42, on which the adjunct is applied to the protectorship of St. Mark. As far back as the ninth century, we meet with the expression *Ducale Thronum* as an equivalent for the Head of the State: constitutionally the Doge was the State personified.

The head of the Government declares himself to be there by the grace of God, in a document of the same period (827-9), in which two associated Doges superscribe a state-paper as "per

Divinam Gratiam Veneticorum Provinciæ Duces." <sup>1</sup> How much before that date such a thoughtful and once significant formula was employed we have not seen stated; in a document of 958 the Doge is said to govern *Deo auxiliante*. But to ascribe a divine origin to the power of men and women with organic wants and passions like our own was an early and a natural artifice. The reader of Plutarch will remember the incident in the life of Numa, in which that sagacious personage declines to accept the crown till a favourable omen has been received from the gods. It is hardly probable that the first or second generations of Venetians paused to occupy themselves with these secondary refinements. They were chiefly bent on creating a more stable system of rule, and subsidiary details were left to follow. They had before their eyes the *Dux* of the Lombards, who ruled that nation in peace and led it in war. The force and significance of the expression strike us as having been impaired, when, the ducal authority having suffered a declension, the formal superscription of the personage in office continued to reserve the divine grace for the head of the State, although the latter had become little more than an instrument under the control of advisers.

Whenever he appeared in public or in state, the mediæval *Serenissimo* was preceded by eight silver trumpets to herald his approach, that all ways might be clear; at his side noble youths, sumptuously clad, walked with waxen tapers in their hands, indicative perhaps of his purifying and illuminating influence on the counsels of the Government; before him was carried the gilt Sword of State, emblematical of his personification of Justice; and above his head officers of the household supported a silken canopy or umbrella.

The symbolical virtue of the taper was rather curiously illustrated when the Plebeians, who in 1381 were ennobled for their patriotic services during the war of Chioggia, marched with lighted tapers to the Basilica. It was like some act of penitential purification from the taint of birth. From time immemorial, as it still is among ourselves, the bray of the trumpet has been thought somehow to enhance the dignity and importance of royal persons and great officials. The President of the French Chamber marches behind two in full voice to his chair; it is the crier's "Oyez," varied for the nonce;

<sup>1</sup> Sansovino, *Venezia descritta*, ed. 1663, ch. x. p. 483.

and the whole conceit demonstrates, clearly enough, the true character of the masquerade with which our nature seems to shrink from dispensing.

A sword may have been originally worn by the *Dux* or Doge of 697, in recollection of his Lombard prototype and in compliance with general custom. But it probably ceased at an unusually early date to form part of the ducal costume in time of peace, and in the ninth century it had developed into a constitutional emblem; for it is shown<sup>1</sup> that in 887 the Sword of State was delivered to the first Doge of the Candiano dynasty by his predecessor who had come to the throne in 881, nor is the fact recorded as a novelty.

The introduction of the Umbrella into Western ceremonial observances, which may be taken, like so many others, to have been borrowed from the East, where the Mogul *chhattar* is found as part of the type of the money of that dynasty, has been said to date back to the visit of Pope Alexander III. to Venice in 1177, when the Doge Ziani, having accompanied his Holiness and the Emperor by sea as far as Ancona, and that city having brought umbrellas for the Pope and for Frederic Barbarossa, the former observed: "Manca la terza pel Doge di Venezia chi ben lo merita." The main fact may be true; but the circumstances are not so, as the Doge did not go to Ancona, nor did his Holiness return home by that route. But whatever may have been the exact particulars, it strikes us as a warrantable interlinear inference, that the sentiment and suggestion were treated on both sides as an appreciable augmentation of dignity; and they are a proof that the period just antecedent to the fifth crusade marked the first distinct advance of the Republic toward the rank of a European Power. It is to be collected that, in the fifteenth century, not only the umbrella, of silk or cloth of tissue, but the other symbolical objects were received from Rome, a species of feudalism which the Republic, if it did not propose or initiate, might have deemed it impolitic to decline. In 1451, Nicholas V. transmitted to the Doge Foscari, through the Venetian ambassador at the Vatican, with the cap and sword of maintenance, the mystical umbrella.

It seems to have been customary when royal personages were received in state, to appoint a distinguished public servant to hold over the guest an umbrella, and, in 1574, Marcantonio

<sup>1</sup> Sagorninus, p. 54.



Barbaro did so on the occasion of the visit of Henry III. of France.<sup>1</sup> The same observance on a humbler scale seems to have been followed by some of the so-called *Scuole* at Venice, for, in the contemporary account of the funeral of the Doge Leonardo Loredano in 1521, we are informed that over the bier was held the umbrella of the *Scuola di misericordia*, of which Loredano was either an honorary member or the patron.

From a tragical incident which occurred in 1571 after the capture of Famagusta by the Turks, we permit ourselves to infer that the Venetian grand functionaries abroad were accustomed to employ, on special occasions, the umbrella which formed part of the ducal pageantry at home. The usage was one of the many Orientalisms in the most Oriental of European cities. The Cypriot apparatus was red; Sanudo, in his *Diarii* under March 1496, registers the triumphal entrance of the consul of Damietta into Cajaro under an umbrella; and he notices just below a similar proceeding of the Sultan, whose umbrella was borne by a personage whom he terms "Ammirajo grande." The custom, evidently of Eastern origin, was a tribute to rank, and symbolical of exceptional dignity, in regions where the ordinary members of the community never dreamed of resorting to such a precaution or distinction.

From a period when etiquette entered into the political system as an unavoidable ingredient, and Venice became the scene of a court, all arrangements for receptions, entertainments and household control appear to have devolved on a Common Chamberlain and his staff. The *Camerarius Nostri Communis* makes a figure in that momentously important record, the coronation-oath of 1229, but he unfortunately nowhere presents himself to us in a palpable shape. We merely discern him dimly behind the pageants, progresses, masquerades, water-fêtes and jubilees, which the long line of mediæval Doges were expected to have in honour of something or somebody; we see him and his subordinates setting about the coronation or burial of my lord the Doge with the same unbiassed zeal; arranging the details of a levee or drawing-room at Saint Mark's with affectionate assiduity and minuteness; taking orders, with becoming obeisances, from his or her

<sup>1</sup> Dispatches of Michele Suriano and Marcantonio Barbaro, 1560-63, edited by Layard, 1891.

Serenity for a new set of arras or a wedding-supper. But the relations of the Doge to his Chamberlain were necessarily modified as the real authority of the Crown waned, and an intricate official machinery interposed itself between the Most Serene, and those with whom his communications were formerly unimpeded and his desires final.

From an unknown date down to 1501, when the practice was discontinued as out of harmony with republican institutions, the wives of all patricians were presented to the Doge on their marriage, as a formal introduction to society.

It is a point by no means without its constitutional bearing, that the earliest Venetian money of absolutely autonomous character bore the Christian name only of the first magistrate, accompanied by the word *Dux*, whereas, toward the latter part of the reign of Enrico Dandolo, the full name appears. The original form may be taken to have followed the imperial and royal types of the *terra firma*, and was more consonant with the imperfectly defined jurisdiction of the ducal office, previously to oligarchical developments.

## CHAPTER XLVII

Election of the earlier Doges—Particular account by an eyewitness of the election in 1071—Absence of a permanent wardrobe at the Palace—Coronation of the Dogaressa exceptional—Obsequies of the Dogaressa—Motives for the assumption by the Doge of the leadership in the field and at sea—The original Doge's Court—Personal attendance of the Sovereign—Growth of a Common Law or *Usus*—Analogy with contemporary English institutions—Judicial proceedings of the *Curia Ducis* in eyre—Hearings in the portico or hall of private dwellings—The Doge in person or in council the court of final appeal—The Ducal costume—The Bucentaur.

IN the incidence attendant on the choice and investiture of the head of the State, there was a general principle prevalent from time to time, and a strict constitutional direction for the government of those concerned. But at nearly all periods such regulations were liable to disregard and variation. In the course of the earlier centuries more particularly, all kinds of anomalies were tolerated: the acceptance of a Doge on the personal recommendation of his predecessor who hands to him the insignia of authority, the temporary return of one after his retirement, the performance of the formalities of entrance on office at the private residence of the elected candidate, and the discharge of all public duties at the Doge's residence through two or three reigns, while the Palace was out of repair. Nor was such a lax observance of the letter of the constitution limited to primitive or mediæval days, for it occasionally happened down to the close of the seventeenth century. In 1026, the patriarch Orseolo, during a revulsion of public sentiment in favour of his family, was, on the death of his brother, permitted to unite in his own person the dogate and the primacy; and this incident preceded only by a few years the enactment of 1033 abrogating association and hereditary succession. Even the men of 1173, when they had framed a singularly elaborate scheme under which Orio Malipiero became Doge, permitted the latter to renounce the honour and to nominate a private friend.

In 1071, Domenigo Selvo, one of the two ducal tribunes,



was chosen by acclamation as Doge. No farther electoral formality was discharged or demanded, and Selvo was admitted in due course to the office which he enjoyed through several years. For our knowledge of this historical fact, we are indebted to an account of the accession of Selvo by one of his canonici, Domenigo Tino. It is the first and only early ceremony of the kind of which an eyewitness has handed down particulars. But the value is retrospective; for the mode of proceeding in this case was not substantially different from that which must ordinarily have prevailed in the days of universal suffrage; and, until the organic changes of 1172-73, which first supplied a regular and strict machinery for arranging the ducal succession, no systematic method, in point of fact, was in force for submitting a candidate to the people, and carrying him to the throne. Under an elective government, the initiative in each instance necessarily rested with the political parties into which the State was from time to time divided, and a critical consideration of the account left by Tino satisfies us, that the friends of Selvo were just then able to command a majority in the Folk-Moot or Arrengo, and that his proposal on the next vacancy, instead of being an outburst of spontaneous enthusiasm, was a stratagem deliberately preconceived. His prior position as a metropolitan tribune had, of course, added to his influence and popularity, and assisted the formation of a strong central committee devoted to his interests. To arrange the little dramatic scene which the canonico has so artlessly portrayed, and to secure the national *sia! sia!* was sufficiently simple; for, since the more marked growth of aristocratic opinion at Venice, and the furtive introduction there of government by party, it had become easy for a group or federation of prominent families, with their accustomed adherents and hired emissaries, to communicate to an oligarchical act a republican semblance. In a State so placed, the practical inconvenience of an unlimited suffrage and the indolent temper of the people forwarded the institution of certain settled forms, the rise of an electoral conclave, and the appointment of an official whose peculiar function it became to take the oath of allegiance to the successful candidate in the name of the Republic.

Nevertheless, in the elevation of a Doge, agreeably to the

loose primitive usage which went before the inexorable sovereignty of Rules and Capitularies, there is something which one is apt to find touching and picturesque. One tries to realise the gay and boisterous spectacle at Lido, the shouts of *Noi volemo Dose Domenico Selvo e lo laudiamo!* from a thousand lips; the clamour and stupendous excitement on the arrival at Venice of the newly-returned mourner at the grave of the late Serenissimo; the scene on the Piazzetta; the congratulations of friends, kinsfolk and political supporters; the procession to the Cathedral (not yet the Saint Mark's Basilica of later story), and the approach to the high altar of the Elect, with unsandalled feet and encompassed by the clergy.

We have been supposing that the formalities, so fortuitously described to us as attendant on the exaltation of a Doge in 1071, were in substance the same as had been witnessed before, and were subsequently repeated. There is a farther point worth mentioning, more especially as it has a kind of bearing on the customs of some more northerly peoples. It is credibly related that, after the proclamation at Saint Mark's altar of the Doge Ziani, the first elected under the new Constitution in 1172-3, certain workmen of the Arsenal lifted him into a high-backed wooden chair or *pergamo di legno* which subsequently went under the name of *pozzetto*, and carried him (after the Frankish manner) on their shoulders round the Piazza, to introduce him to the public; that a largesse of special money was distributed among the bystanders as the procession moved along, and that the Doge's solemn investiture followed his return to the church. Here do we not see, as in the former case, an antique spectacle, often performed, but only in this single instance preserved for our information? The anecdote may be collated with the analogous usages which prevailed elsewhere. The same ceremony was performed at the installation of each successive *pontifex maximus*. It was a revival of the old military life, of the pristine Roman use. It was long the portion of the English burgess on his return. It is even yet that of the cup-winner.

Selvo could not have been greatly surprised to find, on making his entry into the palatial abode which was to be his home for life, that the doors were unhinged, and the whole of the portable furniture removed. The violence offered to the palace gates is suggestive of unusual precipitation, probably

due to the impatience of feudal subordinates; but otherwise the new Doge found himself face to face with the customary conditions. The fittings and appointments, provided by the retainers and clients of his predecessor for their chief and themselves, or by those whose contributory liabilities, by virtue of tenure or prescription, comprised bedding, litter and other requisites for the ducal establishment, had simply lapsed to the reversioners; the incoming tenant and his dependents were expected to furnish anew.

Each successive archaic governor of Venice relied on himself or on those who had placed him in power, not merely for his commissariat, but for the table on which the dishes were laid, and for the chair on which he sat to eat his food. Nor was it till 1328 that any approach was made toward putting an end to an order of things so primitive and indecorous. So long as the interior of the Palace was systematically denuded from reign to reign, and there was nothing there which was recognized as the property of the Government or of the Doge for the time being, no prospect could arise of imparting to the Court an adequate degree of dignity and magnificence. That proud and splendid mansion, with which exclusively the ordinary reader is conversant, began by being little more than a residence in which each tenant, during his term of office, housed his own effects or those of his kindred and vassals.

Here, beyond question, is something more than a glimpse of a stage of civilization from which we seem to be removed marvellously far, and of which the true explanation is deducible from analogy. The citizens of Paris, under the earlier princes of the house of Capet, were bound, so often as the sovereign occupied the little old palace in the island of the Seine, to contribute their several quota of furniture for the rooms and litter for the floors and beds. Both of these were regarded in the light of a loan, and it was treated as a favour on one occasion when the straw, no longer required for the royal service, was handed over to a hospital which wanted additional beds for its inmates. It was an age both at Paris and Venice antecedent to the use of the paillasse.<sup>1</sup>

But Paris did not become to the kings of France, till much later than the time of the original Capetian dynasty, what

<sup>1</sup> Yet so recently as 1892, in England, the furniture of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports at Walmer Castle was removed by each successive officer—a curious survival of the same principle.



Venice was to its Doges from the beginning, a metropolis and a central seat of government; and it is not unreasonable to look for an earlier recourse to a more enlightened and convenient system among the Venetians than among the Franks, even apart from the question of relative culture.

It seems, at the same time, to be obvious enough that, when Venice passed from the hands of a feudal prince, leaning on his own partisans and his own guards whose revenue was as independent of popular control as his authority, to a stipendiary Doge to whom the Palace, with its appurtenances, stood in a simple official relation, the constitutional transition was immense—immense in its value to the Republic and in its significance for us. But centuries were to elapse before, even amid all the princely display accompanying public observances of various kinds, strange anomalies and primitive contrivances disappeared, if some of them ever did so. At the election of Antonio Grimani in 1521, the Forty-One were unable to come to a conclusion overnight; and mattresses and chests were improvised to supply them with sleeping accommodation, as they were not entitled to leave their places till the result was communicated.

The Dogaressa did not usually receive the honour of coronation. It was only occasionally conceded (without any political significance) as an act of special favour and grace. The first occasion was in 1457, when the consort of Pasquale Malipiero was thus signally distinguished; but a century elapsed before Zilia Dandolo Priuli, consort of the Doge Lorenzo Priuli, received a similar compliment. There was a regatta, a procession of the Trades, with music, round the Piazza, and a banquet in the afternoon in the saloon of the Great Council, which the Goldsmiths and other Gilds had hung at their own expense with arras, damask and cloth of gold. The Doge and Dogaressa vied with each other in cordial recognition of the public loyalty and enthusiasm, and his Serenity personally thanked the masters of the companies for what they had done, extending his hand for each to kiss as they defiled before him. We are indebted to Sansovino for a particular account of this ceremony, and also for a notice of that which attended the investiture, with the ducal bonnet in 1597, of Morosina Grimani, wife of Marino Grimani. The Trades took an equally prominent part in

the proceedings, and, through their *gastaldi* or masters, offered their congratulations to the illustrious lady, who, in memory of the occasion, struck medals exhibiting her crowned effigy.<sup>1</sup> In 1646, it was expressly stipulated among the additions to the coronation-oath, that no such formality should, on financial grounds (the Candiot war then raging), be ever again permitted or proposed. Nevertheless there was a revival when the Signory, solicitous to pay particular homage to Elisabetta Quirini-Valier, wife of the Doge Silvestro Valier, sanctioned in 1694 her solemn investiture accompanied by all sorts of festivities and rejoicings, and by the distribution of medals with her portrait wearing the berretta and the legend: *Munus · Elisabeth · Querinae · Valeriae · Ducissae · Venetiar.* 1694. It is perfectly characteristic that, immediately after the decease of her consort in 1700, it was once more laid down as an inexorable rule that the pageant should cease; and that was actually the final instance. There was the stipulation, moreover, that the Dogaressa was not *vacante ducatio* to assume the berretta or receive ambassadors. A likeness of the crowned Dogaressa in the Civic Museum makes us of one mind with the contemporary admirers of her conspicuous and aristocratic personality.

But, prior to the actual investiture of the Dogaressa with the crown, there was the usage of formally installing her Serenity; for, on the entry of Lorenzo Tiepolo into office in 1268, so soon as he had taken possession of the ducal chair, his consort was invited to proceed from their private residence to the Palace and to occupy a seat by his side. The Dogaressa, however, in this case did not attend the religious ceremony in the Basilica; her association was purely complimentary. In 1329, a farther stage had been reached, for, on the accession of Francesco Dandolo, more elaborate arrangements had already come into vogue, involving modifications of constitutional significance.

Several opportunities have occurred of relating the magnificence with which it pleased the Signory to celebrate the funeral obsequies of the Doges; but some of the Dogaressas who died during their consorts' tenure of office were treated with the same distinction. The body of Taddea Michieli-

<sup>1</sup> There is a painting by Andrea Vicentino representing this episode. It was formerly in the Grimani Palace on the Rio di San Luca, and is now preserved in the Museo Civico. Molmenti, iii. 110.

Mocenigo, wife of Giovanni Mocenigo whom she left a widower in 1479, was embalmed and lay in state three days, arrayed in a robe of cloth of gold, with the head wearing the ducal berretta and covered with an ample veil; the bearers and escort were a hundred marines from the Arsenal, and, in the Church, the same solemnities were performed as in the case of a Doge. It is observable that, in the cinquecento, the usage of closing the places of business was in force on these occasions; in one instance, at least, on the decease of the Doge Leonardo Loredano in 1521, the event was formally notified to all parts of the Empire. Similar honours were paid even to some strangers of rank who deceased here. In 1497, the diplomatic representative of Lodovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, had a public funeral of the grandest character, and the bells of St. Mark's gave double peals. In the Basilica, it became usual to hang the armorial escutcheons of the successive Doges, and the practice was made retrospective, inasmuch as that of Marino Morosini who died in 1252 opens the series, and is doubtless of posterior date.

The presence of the earlier Doges at the head of naval expeditions to more or less distant points arose from the essential importance of having, at a period when communications were difficult, the virtual sovereign on the spot to decide on his own responsibility in cases of emergency. The same idea influenced the appointment of civilians as councillors to the commander-in-chief in either service, when the Doge no longer quitted the capital to tread the deck or to take the field. And it was the remoteness of Venice from the greater portion of her colonial and other detached possessions which, after the fall of the old Greek dynasty at Constantinople in 1204, brought up the great question whether a transfer of the central government of the Republic to the East might not be feasible and judicious. The length of time, which inevitably elapsed before intelligence and instructions could be exchanged, continued to be a drawback and a source of weakness in all countries with outlying dependencies, before the introduction of steam and electricity, and the Republic could do no more than send out her best men to all commanding points.

The first duty of the Doge on rising was attendance at the service of Mass which was performed every morning in his own private chapel; and he afterward proceeded to apply



his attention to his magisterial functions. Accompanied by his notary, he either presided over his own Court at the Palace,<sup>1</sup> or, if no cases of importance happened to be pending there, he was present at the sittings of one of the other tribunals, or of the Common Pleas which used to be held like that of the Romans and Lombards under the open sky. We casually glean that, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Friday was the day for presenting petitions and appeals. The Doge undoubtedly possessed the power of reversing all decisions, and, down to the twelfth century, the function vested in him of paying as well as appointing the judges of his own Court, to each of whom his Serenity was expected to send annually four casks of wine, as a free gift from the vineyards of Comanzo in Chioggia.

From time to time, he was in the habit of paying a visit of inspection and inquiry to the several islands which lay around the capital, in order that he might be in a position to check abuses, and to prevent any arbitrary stretches of power on the part of the Tribunes and other subordinate members of the Government. Occasionally it was his practice to shew himself formally in public, and to give his benediction to the assembled people; and when it happened that the fulfilment of his multifarious avocations admitted relaxation and mental repose, his Serenity sometimes took gondola, mounted a horse, and followed the chase in the woods of Loredò.

The scale and style of public hospitality kept pace with the expansion of Venetian power and the admission of the Signory to a distinguished rank among the European States, and, in the course of centuries, there was scarcely a sovereign or a personage of acknowledged reputation who had not been nobly entertained at the Palace of St. Mark. In older days, and in connexion with some historical event which had earned the national gratitude, the Doge was pleased to receive representative deputations which were invited to partake of a repast at the Palace, and these visits constituted anniversaries, ages posterior to the circumstances of the case. The spokesmen of Poveglia, whose ancestors had exhibited signal bravery on the occasion of the resistance, in 809, to the attack of King Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, long continued to pre-

<sup>1</sup> In England the famous Sir Thomas Lyttelton, as late as the fifteenth century, filled the office of Judge of the Palace under Henry V.

sent themselves annually at Venice, and demand an audience of the Doge who received them in his own apartments, when the ensuing dialogue is reported usually to have taken place:—

“Sie’ i ben venudi.”

The visitors bowed low and responded: “Dio vi dia el buon di Messer lo Dose, semo veguni a disnar con vŭ,” adding: “Volemo la nostra regalia.”

“Volentiera. Che cosa?”

“Vi volemo basar.”

Whereupon the Doge kissed each of them, and they were then conducted by a chamberlain to the dining-room.<sup>1</sup>

Even when the archaic Palace Court had given way to that of the Judges of the Commune, the Doge was held to be the Fountain and Mirror of Justice; and not only was any question which a Judge might feel himself incompetent to decide referable in the last resort to the Throne, but in all instances, when a suitor or a prisoner might have reasonable grounds for disputing a judicial award, a right of appeal lay in the same quarter. There had been a period, we must presume, when there was no appellate jurisdiction. There could hardly be a resort to the Doge from the Doge. It was from the *Curia Ducis* that flowed, for the most part, the legal and judicial doctrines which constituted the Common Law of Venice. The evolution, by a very gradual process, from the *Curia Ducis* and the Judges and Advocates of the Palace to the Judges and Advocates (*Avogadori*) of the Commune, and from them, again, to a comparatively perfect judicial machinery, distributing among several bodies the functions connected with the administration of civil and criminal law, forms a subject of special study and interest.

Temanza states that, under the new Badoer Government in 811, and subsequently to the repulse of the Franks, the Doge’s Court was composed of the Doge<sup>2</sup> and two tribunes whose

<sup>1</sup> This was anterior to the construction, in 1620, of a new and more spacious *Sala dei Bancchetti*, as part of the private suite of rooms reserved for the chief magistrate.

<sup>2</sup> The personal attendance of the Sovereign in important judicial proceedings was certainly not unusual. So late as 1425, James I. of Scotland presided in this way; and so, to be sure, did James VI. In other countries, the same practice prevailed. (See *Poetic Remains of some of the Scottish Kings*, by Chalmers, 1824, p. 13.) The Venetian cartulary of 998, already noticed, provided only for the preservation of order within the Rules of the Palace, and, when the Court was in eyre, the cartulary would not strictly be in force. It was therefore necessary to resort to a special safeguard.

names he furnishes—a Michieli and a Giustiniani—and that it dealt alike with civil and criminal suits.

The jurisdiction of the Court, with which the name of his Serenity was long associated by more than a legal fiction, and which had its sittings in the Palace, was not less extensive at and long after its foundation than the old English *Curia* or *Aula Regis*, subsequently known as the Palace Court or Marshalsea which it resembled in another particular, namely, its liability to go on circuit or in eyre. Like all institutions of the kind in the Middle Ages, this Court united in its attributes the judicial and legislative capacities; and the necessary consequence was, that an undefined authority was vested in that tribunal, to which was appropriated a functionary called the Advocate of the Palace who was long the sole legal adviser of the Executive. Gradually, however, the Doge's Court lost this ambulatory property, and its multifarious functions were diverted into other channels by the creation of distinct and stationary Courts of Law. The office of *Judex Communis*, or Judge of the Commune, was one, however, of considerable antiquity, and long subsisted in some form concurrently with the Palace Tribunal, of which, again, there are traces as late as the end of the thirteenth century. *Judex Communis* occurs so far back as the eighth century; and it is by no means unlikely that this magistrate was, among the Venetians of that day, the interpreter of a Common Law (the *Usus* of the coronation-oath of 1229) compounded, on the same principle as elsewhere, of immemorial customs and usages, derived, for the most part, from those of the Veneti, the Goths and the Lombards: while, on the other hand, they were nothing more than dormant or unreclaimed portions of the Civil Law.

While the Ducal Court continued to be a Court of Circuit, the practice was that his Serenity or his representatives should make a progress by water through the Dogado at stated intervals, and should disembark at the dwelling of any citizen who had given previous notice of a wish to go to law on some civil question. If it was summer, the case was heard under the portico of the mansion; in the colder season, the Court probably adjourned to the Hall. So late as 1065, the judges of the Commune presided over a case of disputed title to certain land in the portico of the residence of Stefano



Candiano; but the judgment, which was perhaps reserved, was subsequently delivered by or before the Doge. Cases are cited under 1100 and 1123 in which the latter attended in person; such a practice in those primitive days was dictated by the necessity for an actual view, when the question was one of disputed possession of premises, or property,<sup>1</sup> but, after the Revolution of 1172, a usage arose that, whenever it was solicited or required, a fine should be paid into Court by one or both of the litigants, as a cautionary guarantee against bad faith, and that the amount should be recoverable by appeal to the Great Council. The violent end of Michieli III. and the perturbed condition of the Republic at that period will explain such a precaution.

As at Rome it had been customary for the plaintiff in the first instance to apply to the King or Consul for a licence to appear *in jure*, and for the issue of a writ of summons against the defendant, so at Venice it was usual to address a similar prayer to the Doge; but it may be treated as a material variation that, while among the Romans the practice was to make in each case a special and temporary appointment of a Judex, whose authority expired with the termination of the suit, a Venetian trial was sustained before the permanent tribunal of the Judges of the Palace or before a Judge of the Commune, or, as at Verona and elsewhere, in the presence of the Chief Magistrate himself sitting in Common Pleas (*Pubblico Placito*).

As the aristocratic jealousy of the monarchical power of the Crown or Throne became in course of time stronger, the decline of the Ducal Court, and the gradual loss of those high and dangerous attributes with which it had been clothed in the first instance, would naturally be viewed by the Nobles, as a class, with more than complacency. The epoch in the Venetian annals which witnessed the decay of the movable *Curia Ducis*, under which the ancient Doges united in their persons the authority divided by the early English Constitution between the King and the Grand Justiciary, and the partition of its more leading functions among several distinct and stationary tribunals, bears some analogy to that epoch in the history of English progress which witnessed the

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti has collected a series of very curious judicial proceedings during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, i. 114-15.

establishment of the Common Pleas at Westminster; and it is instructive to contrast the different influence which the same event exercised in the two countries. In England, it favoured the first growth of popular institutions: at Venice, it laid the first foundation of the oligarchical government.

The Doge, however, even after the arrival of the judicial system at a more elaborate and independent growth, continued to exercise in certain cases a direct authority; for, in a resolution of the Great Council, on the 13th of August, 1240, it is laid down that, where the judges disagree, a reference was to be made to the Doge in Council, with whom the decision should rest; and, in the Sixth Book of the Statute, chapter vi., the decree is reproduced under 1311 as a Declaratory Act, with the difference that the appeal is said to be to the Doge in person.<sup>1</sup> Yet it may be accepted as a secure proposition, that the practice of attendance at the Courts of law was one which the Doge had renounced at a very early date, and that the scene in the *Merchant of Venice* existed only in the imagination of Shakespear.

Even in primitive times, the ducal costume was not without some share of splendour. The Berretta (*beretum*) or Bonnet, of the original type of which we know nothing, but which seems at a tolerably early date to have borne some resemblance to the diadem of the kings of ancient Phrygia, was a high cap of conical form, originally of fur or velvet, but eventually of gold, set with precious stones, not dissimilar from the Episcopal mitre and to the head-dresses seen on Oriental coins and paintings.

The tradition, which ascribes to the munificence of the contemporary Abbess of San Zaccaria the presentation of a jewelled head-dress to the Doge Tradenigo (836-64), is suspected of being apocryphal, and assuredly it is so in respect of the details. The Lady Superior may have made an offering of some ornamental bonnet, manufactured in the house, more or less on the model of that then worn by the head of the State, but the earliest tangible vestige of the Corno is the mosaïc at Saint Mark's, attributed to the eleventh or twelfth century, and the apparent prototype of the later berretta, which is mentioned in 1328 as supplied at the cost

<sup>1</sup> "Che i Zudesi in numero dispare costituiti, se elli seran discordi, debbian vegnir a Messer lo Dose."—Cap. 6.

of the Commune, but does not present itself anterior to that date in any authentic document or passage. The spirit and tone of the Ducal attire strike us as half Lombardic or Frankish, half Oriental; the oblation of the Abbess was in the taste of the age, and was doubtless simpler even than that delineated on the musaic above-mentioned. The strict regulations, imposed on every department and member of the Executive, extended to the ducal bonnet, for, according to the coronation-oath of 1329, it was to be lodged under the care of the Procurators of Saint Mark, and only to be delivered to the Doge for use on special occasions. The motive for this caution is to be found in the more sumptuous form and embellishments which the bonnet gradually received, its inconvenient weight, and the apprehension of dishonest practices by minor officials or attendants, for the value seems, in the fifteenth century, to have been estimated at 150,000 ducats.<sup>1</sup> In the account of the retirement of the Doge Foscari in 1457, we observe that he retained his official head-dress, but that the Corno and gold fringe were removed. The Corno or Horn may have been intended as a symbol of power.

On the exceedingly rare occasions when the Dogaressa was also crowned, a second berretta was provided; but, after the death of Silvestro Valier in 1700, this honour or compliment determined.

Underneath it, after a time, the chief magistrate wore a white linen coif, in order that, as a mark of the peculiarly exalted dignity of his office, his head might remain covered when the bonnet itself was removed. When the Great Council had been instituted, and the election of the Doge rested with that body, it became a practice for the new Serenissimo to doff the berretta in returning thanks for the honour conferred, and on one occasion, when the Doge Morosini was in 1693 appointed captain-general in the Morea, he rose from his place and uncovered, while he signified his acceptance of the trust and his resolution to serve his country to the best of his power. But his Serenity removed the bonnet only as a compliment to other sovereigns, who were expected to reciprocate.<sup>2</sup> In the case of high official functionaries, the Doge

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *La Vie privée à Venise*, 1882, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Habiti antichi* of Cesare Vecellio, 1590, Prester John is represented in a sort of costume not very widely varied from that of a Venetian Doge.



touched hands, a customary mode of affirmation even among the common people at Venice in the fifteenth century;<sup>1</sup> but, in 1475, a young merchant proceeding to Alexandria is told that he has to call on the Venetian Consul and touch hands. Otherwise the Doge at certain public receptions extended his hand to be kissed. In audiences to ambassadors, it was usual for him to rise from his chair, advance a few paces to greet the visitor, and, on exceptional occasions, to motion him to a place at his side.

A doublet of red velvet, with a high collar and straight sleeves tapering toward the wrist, was in part hidden by an outer mantle, sometimes curiously figured, which descended almost to the feet, with a border of gold fringe and a small circular clasp of gold. A sable cape, red stockings, and shoes of a somewhat primitive pattern completed his attire;<sup>2</sup> and it transpires, in connexion with an historical episode of 1071, that the Doge was accustomed out-of-doors to use sandals, probably as a protection against the mire in the public ways in wet weather. But the details of the costume underwent, in common with other matters, periodical changes agreeably to personal predilections, so long as no constitutional principle was touched, and Molmenti enables us to judge the personal aspect of several Doges, so far as their attire goes, and the progressive development of the accessories.

The Bucentaur is cited, as if it were hardly then a novelty, in the coronation-oath of 1328, and is there said to be one of the accessories furnished by the State as a means of augmenting the ducal dignity. No particulars are given, and possibly, if the ship already existed, they were not thought to be requisite; nor is any help forthcoming toward a solution of the name, which some have connected with the Virgilian *Centaurus*, a figure which may be supposed to have adorned the prow of the original vessel. But in 1205, when the newly-elected Doge was to be fetched to his official post from a distance, a feeling of the propriety of some special mark of respect shewed itself, in the embellishment with silk taffeta hangings of the sides of the galley dispatched to the Serenissimo.

John Evelyn visited the Arsenal in 1646, and saw the Bucentaur, of which he speaks as having an ample deck, so

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, i. 296-7.

<sup>2</sup> It was the same at Forlì and Imola in the time of the famous Caterina Sforza-Visconti. See Pasolini, ed. Sylvester, 1898, p. 158.

contrived that the galley-slaves are not visible, and on the poop a throne for the Doge, for use when he went to espouse the Adriatic.<sup>1</sup> A new one seems to have been completed at a rather later date, for Lassels, writing about 1670, says: "I saw here the old *Bucentoro*; and presently after the new *Bucentoro*. . . . This is a noble *Gallie*, all guilt without, and wainscotted round about the *Deck*, with guilt seats. There runs a partition of wood quite along the *Deck* of the *Gallie*, with *seats* on both sides and with a low *open roof* of wood, to let in *ayre*, and yet keep off the *sun*; and all this is *guilt* and painted, and capable of five hundred *Senators*, who in their *scarlat robes*, wait upon the *Dogè* that day [the anniversary of the Espousal of the Adriatic]. The *Dogè* sits in the *Puppe*, in a *Chair of State*, with the *Popes Nuncio* on one hand of him, and the *Patriarch of Venice* on the other, and a place for *musick* behind them."<sup>2</sup>

The last State barge constructed for the use of the Doge was launched in 1729. It was 100 feet in length, 21 in breadth, with an upper and a lower deck, the latter being reserved for the oarsmen. At the extremity toward the poop on the superior deck, which was covered, near the raised seat allotted to the Doge, was a small window, through which his Serenity threw the ring when he wedded the Adriatic in the name of the Republic; forty-eight others were placed along the sides to enable the company to enjoy the spectacle before and around them. The fittings and furniture of the vessel were luxurious; and it was adorned with symbolical figures, bas-reliefs and other representations, within and without, set off by elaborate gilding which alone is said to have cost 18,000 *zecchini*.

The lady who published the account of the religious and other festivals of the Republic, Giustina Renier Michiel, scion of two noble and ancient houses, beheld the last Bucentaur, before it was brutally destroyed by the French in conjunction with some Venetian adventurers for the sake of the gilt-work. "Alas!" she writes, "I myself saw Frenchmen and Venetians, full of derision and insult, combine to dismantle the Bucintoro and burn it for the gold upon it! . . . It was in the form of

<sup>1</sup> In 1585 the Duke of Ferrara possessed a barge built on the model of the Bucentaur.

<sup>2</sup> Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, Paris, 1670, part ii., p. 411.

a galley, and two hundred feet long, (*sic*) with two decks. The first of these was occupied by a hundred and sixty rowers, the handsomest and strongest of the fleet, who sat four men to each oar, and there awaited their orders; forty other sailors completed the crew. The upper deck was divided lengthwise by a partition, pierced with arched doorways, ornamented with gilded figures, and covered with a roof supported by caryatides—the whole surmounted by a canopy of crimson velvet embroidered with gold. Under this were ninety seats, and at the stern a still richer chamber for the Doge's throne, over which drooped the banner of St. Mark. The prow was double-beaked, and the sides of the vessel were enriched with figures of Justice, Peace, Sea, Land, and other allegories and ornaments.”<sup>1</sup>

The yearly marriage of the Adriatic was more immediately and palpably a pageant and a symbol; but it has been rendered apparent that the ceremony involved and denoted a political principle, on which the Republic was prepared, nearly down to the last, to insist at all hazards against all comers. Germany, France, Spain, England were in turn reminded of the claim which the unique wedding imported, in language which could not be misunderstood.

A periodical or occasional publication, enabling the public to see at a glance the method of the ducal election and the succession of the Doges to date, was entitled: *Il Modo de la elettione del Serenissimo Principe de Venetia, con li nomi de tutti li Dosi che sonno stato etiam quanto hano vivesto fin al giorno presente*. It was a small manual, probably of a semi-official character, issued at intervals without any date or name of printer.

The portraiture of the earlier Doges, even where they are derived from illuminated MSS. or mosaics, must be viewed as in a large measure apocryphal; and there are instances in which the putative resemblances survive in duplicate or manifold form, and significantly vary. It is not till we reach the close of the fourteenth century, that we meet with any representation which impresses us as fairly realistic, and this arises from the miniaturist who decorated the Promission of Antonio Veniero in 1382, and fortunately inserted an initial illumination on an unusually large scale with apparent fidelity.

<sup>1</sup> Howells' *Venetian Life*, Edinburgh, 1883, ii. 80-81. The last Bucentaur was dismantled and destroyed by order of Napoleon in 1798.



The complete series or gallery which accompanies more than one historical publication is necessarily in a large measure empirical, but, posterior to the entrance on the period of the revival of art, there is an unbroken historical succession of authentic likenesses of sovereigns of Venice by painters of more than local celebrity, many of them personages of world-wide repute. It is left to the imagination, however, prompted only by casual suggestions on paper, to conjecture how those rulers, who did so much to enlarge and consolidate the power of the Republic, and whose authority was unshackled by the oligarchy, actually appeared. The lineaments and figures, which we owe to the master-workers on board, on canvas, or on metal, were not the makers of the Republic, but those who officially presided over its aggrandizement, and beheld its almost automatic decline.

## CHAPTER XLVIII

Maturer Official Machinery—Government by Departments—Leading branches of the Executive—The College, Great Council, Senate, Council of Ten, etc.—Limitations of the authority of the Ten—Story of Reniero Zeno—Peculiar principle of Venetian official life—Versatility of aptitude—Composition of the normal Executive—Method of procedure of the Ten—Beneficial operation of its presence and power—Checks on its abuse of authority—Its undefined jurisdiction—Its value as a permanent Committee of Public Safety—The Inquisition of State (1539)—Immediate origin—Membership—Erroneous notions about the Institution—A Milliner obtains redress at its hands—A religious fanatic visits the City and insults the authorities—The completed Constitution.

THE political machinery by which the Venetians governed themselves naturally underwent successive development and revision, as changed circumstances and requirements dictated from time to time. Even overlooking the long period during which the Constitution remained substantially unvaried, the Republic passed, in the course of more than ten centuries, from a rude federal community under different forms of consular or tribunitial rule to a type of administration all but monarchical, and thence to the ultimate stage of oligarchical autocracy, modified more or less by the periodical and transient presence of powerful personalities. Yriate has well observed that the reduction of the laws to a more perfect method and operation, instead of being prejudicial to general freedom, tended in an opposite way, inasmuch as the presence of a statutory code for the guidance and control of all alike from the Doge to the gondolier, and of an efficient police, was found to diminish the call for arbitrary official interference with individual action. It was indeed a political maxim at Venice that subservience to the laws was a source of liberty, which may be a different mode of expressing the same idea. Severe and even barbarous principles of reprisal deterred all but the most reckless offenders, for, toward genuine ignorance, the law was ever lenient.

The provision for the public service was at once exhaustively comprehensive and jealously minute. No labour,

ingenuity or cost was spared in rendering all the departments of the State, spending and administrative, efficient and adequate to current wants. A brief survey of the offices and magistratures engaged in the management of affairs suffices to impress on us the magnitude of the responsibility and charge which gradual conquest and aggrandizement had laid on Venice, as well as the corresponding genius which manifested itself for the control and protection of a dominion so extensive and so scattered, no less than of a territory at home beyond everything precious.

The rigorous penal laws and ubiquitous *espionage* observable here may at first sight strike the modern student with astonishment and repugnance; but the feeling is promptly mitigated when we contemplate the narrow topographical area of the city, the mixed and dangerous floating population, and the secret animosity of those neighbouring and other States, which Venetian progress and expansion had successively dispossessed of portions, or of the whole, of their sovereignty.

Some of the chief departments of the public service were:—

1. The Doge and his Councillors who, with certain adjuncts, formed the *College* or Signory.
2. The Great Council or High Court of Parliament; in the main a purely deliberative assembly, but in some points the directly nominating, and, in all important cases, the sanctioning authority. It was the supreme national tribunal.
3. The Senate, originally of sixty members, capable of augmentation by a *Giunta* or *Zonta* in cases of exigency, and selected from the Great Council. This was the body which took the initiative in all public acts, political transactions and diplomatic appointments.
4. The Council of Ten, the three *Capi* of which usually attached their names to resolutions and decrees.
5. The Inquisitors of State (1539).
6. The Procurators or Proctors of Saint Mark.
7. The Advocates of the Commune or *Avogadori di Comune*. These officers appear to have been the custodians of the Register of the Nobility.
8. The Quarantia Criminale, the three *Capi* of which were in many cases associated with other bodies for the benefit of their opinion.
9. The Quarantia Civile (*vecchia* and *nuova*).
10. The Signori di Notte (6 *al Criminale* and 6 *al Civile*).
11. The Magistrato del Proprio.
12. The six Savii grandi.



13. The five Savii di terra ferma.
14. The three Savii alla Guerra.
15. The Savii agli ordini (*or* da Mar).
16. The Savii sopra Mercanzia (1506).
17. The Proveditori alle pompe (originally two, subsequently five).
18. The Proveditore dei Canali. (In 1797, this officer is described as having a lieutenant.)
19. The Proveditori al sal (or Salt Office).
20. The three Camerlenghi di Comune.
21. The Gastaldi ducali. (Tellers or Ushers.)
22. The Proveditori sopra ogli. (An office connected with the management and control of the oil duties.)
23. The Proveditori alle biade. (The Government magazines of grain at St. Mark's and the Rialto were under their charge.)
24. The three Proveditori sopra banchi. (Instituted in 1502.)

There were the Capitularies for the various councils and boards which superintended and controlled the principal departments of the State; even the Decemvirs had theirs; and additions and alterations were inserted from time to time pursuant to resolutions of the Great Council. Previously to the invention of printing, the system of publishing for the use of members a table of bye-laws was more or less sparingly exercised; but the establishment of fixed rules for the guidance and control of the Councils formed part of the administrative economy, long before the days of Spira and Jenson; nor was the ducal promission itself more than a similar auxiliary to the recollection of the Doge. So soon as printed copies could be substituted for MSS., reissues were ordered, when alterations in the mode of conducting parliamentary business or in other constitutional details rendered them necessary.

Of the members of the Great Council from which the Senate was replenished, the Doge and the Grand Chancellor were elected for life, the rest for a varying term. It must be borne in mind that the Great Council itself might be carried to almost any number of members, many of them young patricians who were just qualified by age to take their hereditary seats; it was a very unwieldy and, in point of experience and ability, a very unequal assembly; and, while its votes were supreme, the national interest demanded that they should not, if possible, be passed without certain checks

and precautions. Measures and proposals came up from the more select body, the Senate, after thoughtful inquiry and debate; if it was judged requisite, the Senate was reinforced by additional members, and all were entitled to exercise their suffrage in the other House, where two at least of the Decemvirs attended to regulate proceedings and preserve discipline. While the administrative framework remained more or less loose and experimental, the Great Council frequently descended to points of detail which it ultimately left to the Signory, the College or the Ten. In 1255, for instance, we find it conceding to the Doge authority to export hawks and hounds duty-free. In 1281, it inhibited surgeons from practising till they were sworn in. In 1292, it reduced the penalty levied on equestrians riding to and from Rialto by San Salvador to Saint Mark's from 25 to 20 *lire di piccoli*. In the same or next year, no games of chance were permissible by its decree, except chess and backgammon. The former became a favourite amusement in Northern Italy; we hear of the two Lords of Padua playing at chess together in 1336. Even as late as 1393-6, this assembly continued to regulate the arrangements for keeping the parish clock of San Giacomo di Rialto in order, and, on the 5th of December 1393, it ordered the construction of a new one. It concurrently exercised a surveillance over the paving and lighting of the city. It appears from a passage in the Zeno case (1625-28), that in the Senate the Chiefs of the Ten were entitled to remain covered even in the presence of the Doge; and probably it was so in the Great Council.

The roll of the Great Council had originally not counted more than 200; but it increased in 1340 to 1212, and in 1464 to 1634, the figures returned as voting on the question whether the Doge should lead the crusade against the Turks. It therefore became almost as unmanageable an assembly as the old Arrengo or Folk-moot, formally abolished in 1425; and its unwieldiness naturally tended to impair its direct influence, and to strengthen the hands of the Executive.

The transactions of the Senate throughout the entire term of activity and prosperity, apart from purely political matters, were evidently directed toward the control and safeguard of the national commerce, and the existing records demonstrate with what uniform energy, courage and tact each piece of business,

as it presented itself, was handled, completed and preserved for future use. Sanudo in his wonderful *Diarii*, and the capital series known as the *Relations of the Ambassadors*, operate in a similar direction. Probably there is no State which has cast through its official records a stronger, truer and distincter light on its own history, and on the history of those which existed side by side with it. For centuries the life of Venice was inseparably associated with that of the continent to which it belonged, and reflected itself in distant regions which it had drawn nearer by its depôts and correspondents.

The minute and laborious attention devoted by the Senate to every detail connected with commercial matters, especially the Flanders Voyage which embraced England and parts of the old Netherlands, proves the value and stress laid on that branch of the national trade. These affairs were doubtless managed by committees which reported to the whole body, and the carrying business assumed ample and lucrative dimensions, as the products of the East were shipped westward, and those of the West distributed from port to port or dispatched to Oriental markets, in Venetian bottoms.<sup>1</sup>

Embassies were generally held for two years, in order to avoid the risk likely to arise from one person growing too friendly with a court; and the practice was in some cases adopted of inviting personages nominated to such appointments to occupy seats in the Senate prior to departure, as a means of acquainting themselves with business before the Government. An Act against recusants imposed a heavy penalty in the absence of a valid objection.

In addition to the individuals and bodies above enumerated, there were proveditors or other superintendents of every branch and section of a rather intricate system; and where all alike were subject to strict control, all alike who possessed the ability and qualifying rank were enabled to make the public service their career. In 1339, Andrea Dandolo was all but elected Doge in his thirtieth year, and succeeded to the throne four years later; and, so late as 1375, the Pregadi judged it necessary to prescribe that governors of provinces

<sup>1</sup> The registers of the Senate were classified on a departmental principle under *Deliberazioni, Misti, Secreta, Terra, Mar.*



were not to be under five-and-twenty. The Great Council, which met on Sundays and Saint's-days, except Lady Day and Saint Mark's day, sat in summer (owing to the heat) from eight in the morning till midday, and in winter from midday till sunset. There was no artificial light. The members found that the leaden roof attracted the sun, yet the occupants of the *Piombi* were nearer to it than their Excellencies. One of the guiding maxims of the Republic in the plenitude of its power and territorial grandeur was the interchange of almost all high officials, in order to familiarize each with any class of duties which he might be required on occasion to perform, or, again, to render him capable of judging the aptitude of others in his quality as a member of the Great Council or of the Senate. The aim was to secure a perpetual succession of statesmen or administrators for whatever posts under the Government, in the higher grades of the civil, military and diplomatic services, might fall vacant, and many Venetians of the highest families and social rank exhausted their opportunities of gaining varied experience, by filling employments the most diversified in character and details. A member of the Council of Ten might be called away to go as plenipotentiary to Paris or to Vienna. A Procurator of Saint Mark might be appointed to the command of the army or the fleet. A Privy Councillor of the Doge was expected to acquiesce in attendance on an inquiry into the state of the public slaughter-houses or of the drinking-water of the city. A retired envoy to some foreign court was liable to selection as Comptroller of the Mint or a Commissioner of Woods and Forests. One of the six *Savii Grandi*, who constituted the ministry of the interior, was not unlikely to succeed to the Governorship of the Arsenal or to the Consulate-General at Constantinople; and it was strange if he did not acquit himself with credit of both trusts.

Legal or constitutional questions, relevant to admission to the Great Council, were customarily referred to a Select Committee or *Collegetto* of privy councillors and advocates of the Commune. These were often points of parliamentary privilege; and a class of case which had a tendency to grow more frequent was that of mixed marriages, in which a patrician had become united with a commoner. It deserves attention that heavy stress was laid at an early date on the

presence and co-operation at cabinet councils of at least one of the high legal officers.

The Senate, constantly recruited from the Great Council and capable of extension to 160 or more members, discharged both deliberative and administrative functions when the Great Council had finally relinquished the practice of dealing with subordinate minutiae. The Doge, his six councillors, the Chiefs of the Forty, and others sat here *ex officio*. It was the originating body for all measures, which it sent up to the Great Council for its final sanction after they had been fully weighed and reduced to form. It directed the foreign affairs of the State, and with one or two exceptions it appointed to all embassies, receiving reports on the return of the envoys.

Thus it is transparent that, although the Venetians were sometimes addicted to the vanity of claiming a Roman descent, and of addressing each other from their seats in the assemblies as "conscript fathers," they were superior to the indiscretion of modelling their Senate on that of Rome. The only body in the Republic which bore any resemblance to the Roman Senate was the original council of *Pregadi* or *Rogati*, which was occasionally convoked in early days to confer on some urgent point of public policy, and had no permanent standing beyond the name.

The normal Executive was composed of the College and the Signory. The latter, consisting of the Doge and his councillors, made part of the College which included the chiefs of the *Quarantia criminale*, six *Savii grandi* chosen from the Senate, five *Savii di terra ferma* who managed the provincial and colonial business, three *Savii alla guerra*, or War Department, and five *Savii agli ordini* or *da Mar*, who constituted a Board of Admiralty. The *Savii grandi* prepared all the matters destined to go before the Senate or the Ten, according to the nature of the business and its urgency; and these responsible officials took it in turn, week by week, to act for the rest, so that in one sense the *Savio* on duty for the time being was the Premier. The hours of meeting depended on circumstances, and the same may be said of the duration of the sittings. If there was no matter of gravity or urgency, the members of the councils assembled after the early dinner, and dispatched the current *agenda*, but at critical junctures there was absolutely

no limit. Instances occurred in which, after a meeting of the Great Council, the Doge and his immediate advisers adjourned elsewhere to settle any matters of detail. It was not infrequent, when it was deemed desirable, for a foreign envoy, or even an eminent stranger, to be admitted to the College, the Senate or the Great Council, and accorded an honorary seat.

Outside these Departments, after the introduction of the Holy Office, about 1289, were three *Savii all'eresia*, who represented the civil side in all processes connected with the Inquisition.

Practically, the Signory, after the consolidation of the oligarchical system, was almost destitute of the faculty of initiative, yet, down to the close of the scene, strong personality always carried appreciable weight, and rendered the Doge with his immediate advisers a calculable factor in public affairs. It is a trait agreeable to the prevailing temper in all such matters, that the Doge was not in strictness supposed to move without the attendance of his counsellors, in whose presence his correspondence was to be opened, and who, in case of his temporary indisposition, were entitled to act in his name. The Dogeship was then held in commission.

The membership of the Signory varied; but a full Court comprised the Doge and his six Counsellors, one at least of the Advocates of the Commune (who gave legal advice, if required), and the Ten themselves; twelve of this number, not reckoning the Advocate, made a quorum. When the Doge attended, he presided in the middle of the semicircular arrangement of seats at one end of the chamber. His counsellors, in their crimson robes, supported him, and then came the Chiefs of the Ten in violet, and the other seven Decemvirs in black. The members of the Privy Council, even when they were in mourning for near kinsfolk, were strictly obliged to assume, during the exercise of their functions, their official colours.

The secretary of the Ten first read the letters which had been received since the last meeting, and then the charges against persons which had similarly accrued. If the accusation was a public one, it went without delay or difficulty to the vote, whether it should be entertained or not; but, if private or anonymous, five-sixths of the Council had to say that they



considered it a matter of general concern, before it was put on record.

The cases actually in hand were then taken in order, and when a prisoner was to be examined, a sub-committee of the chamber, usually composed of one Privy Councillor, two members of the Ten and an advocate of the Commune, was appointed to perform the task, employing torture at discretion. A report to the Council was expected to be forthcoming in fifteen days, and if it was of more than a certain fixed length, it was to be read by the secretary twice on different days to insure a thorough comprehension of all the facts.

It was finally put to the whole Board whether, having heard the full particulars, it was of opinion that the prisoner was guilty; even after the passing of a sentence amendments could be proposed, and the whole process was by ballot. If the ultimate balance of votes (there might be five ballots) was in his favour, the accused was discharged, or, if the circumstances justified it, committed to another tribunal. The Council thus neglected in ordinary cases no precaution to serve the ends of justice; the main difference between the old Venetian practice and our own was that there was no jury and no counsel for prisoners.

It is obvious that, whenever an acute political crisis arose, the course of action had to respond to exigencies, and certain forms were dispensed with in the public interest. There were even instances in which ambassadors to foreign courts received in times of difficulty two opposite sets of instructions, one from the Senate, the other from the Ten; and the latter was known to be the line to follow in complex cases or acute political crises.

This singular and, on the whole, beneficial feature in the Constitution has to be viewed as a permanent Committee of Public Safety lying outside the ordinary working limits of the Government, and in due time protected from itself by an inner force and safeguard, in the shape of an inquisitorial triumvirate of which one member was an outsider—a Privy Councillor. The jurisdiction of the Ten was never sharply and accurately defined, and in that laxity, assisted by mutual fear and distrust on the part of others, lay its immense strength. To affirm that it was guilty of irregular and arbitrary acts would amount to very little indeed, for it was called into being at

a crisis, and it continued during centuries to do its best to avert dangers before they reached a critical stage. It accomplished for a unique Government what no other combination or contrivance could have accomplished. A typical case occurred in 1511, when Gaspare Valiasco, a scion of a ducal family, had been condemned to death for the murder of a custom-house officer who denounced him for smuggling. The Patriarch approached the Ten, and pleaded the culprit's youth, good antecedents and noble ties; but he was dismissed with a firm refusal. The Advocates of the Commune interceded, and were deprived of their offices, and threatened with arrest and imprisonment. The sentence was carried out.

The methods of procedure pursued by the Ten as an independent tribunal, and the reciprocal limitations imposed on their power, were perfectly in unison with the whole constitutional system. The Council was elected by the Great Council for one year only, and the members were not re-eligible for the year immediately following their retirement. Every month the Ten chose three of their own number as chiefs (*capi*), who received and opened all communications addressed to their own body, prepared the *agenda* for meetings, and carried out decrees or resolutions which they usually framed and, when it was necessary, laid before the Doge for his formal subscription.

The chiefs, during their term of office, were under an obligation to abstain from all intercourse with their fellow citizens and legislators; they drew up on the first day of each month a list of all prisoners awaiting trial by order of the Council, with a view to a prompt gaol-delivery; they admitted all who desired to see them to an audience on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays; and before any arrest could be carried out, the chiefs were required to obtain a full statement of the facts, and the concurrence of four of the Privy Council and two of the chiefs of the Forty. The sternest adherence to rules and principles prevailed, and cases occurred in which a Decemvir was expelled, no reason recorded.

The private place of assembly in the sixteenth century was one of the smaller apartments of the Ducal Palace on the second floor, a circular room decorated by several eminent artists,<sup>1</sup> with large windows looking on the canal spanned by the Bridge of Sighs. Thomas the traveller inspected the *Sala del*

<sup>1</sup> Aliense, Bassano, Marco Vecellio and Veronese

*Consiglio de' Dieci* about 1548, and these are his own remarks: "There be (as they reckon) a thousand coats of plate, part covered with cloth of gold and velvet, with gilt nails so fair, that princes might wear them, besides divers other fair harnesses made of late, which are bestowed in so fair an order, with their divers kinds of weapons, furnished of the best sort, that a great while looking on could not satisfy me. This hall is divided into divers several portions, as the house doth give it, and every portion has his sort by himself very handsomely." It may be fairly presumed that it was in the seventeenth century, after the Spanish conspiracy of 1618, that, in a chamber adjoining that in which the Council met, an ordinary magazine of arms was regularly kept in case of sudden emergency. Lassels was told that there were always sufficient to furnish 1000 men, and he describes an ingenious mechanism by which the muskets might be discharged at the shortest notice.<sup>1</sup> At this point of time at all events, the Ten had a special guard under a captain, and the latter, suspected of disaffection or treason, was imprisoned, but subsequently released.<sup>2</sup>

The capitulary of the Decemvirs was subject to periodical revision, and was read to the Council annually in the beginning of October by the secretary. The clauses embraced an oath to study and promote the interests of the State, to attend meetings, on a summons from the chiefs, every Wednesday, unless some valid reason existed to the contrary, and illness or domestic or family affliction seems to have been the sole ground admitted for more than three absences. A furlough could only be obtained by one member at a time, and for no longer a term than fifteen days. On the day appointed for a meeting, no other council was to be called, and while the Board was sitting it could receive no one. When it became a question of assembling for an extraordinary purpose, and the Doge and his councillors disagreed, they were to state their reasons; if the Council of Ten concurred, their reasons were to be allowed, but otherwise the proposal of the Council of Ten was to be carried out. The entire text is occupied by a variety of disabilities and obligations of no general interest beyond the fact, that every possible check and countercheck

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, ii. 377, furnishes an engraving of this *Sala d' Armi*, but it does not afford the aspect of accommodating so extensive a collection.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 140.



was imposed, at any rate in theory and letter, on this redoubted tribunal. The question of the acceptance and payment of bribes was naturally not overlooked. The solitary clause going outside points of principle and routine was one which referred to the Glass Factory at Murano.

It is deducible from a case presently to be cited, that a Chief of the Ten could, *proprio motu*, suspend any law for three days, as it was competent for the Avogadors to do in the case of a decree of the Decemvirs. But as we may deduce from the written instructions delivered in 1431 to a secretary of the Ten in relation to the Carmagnola business, the validity of any important proceeding at all events demanded the concurrence of the legal advisers of the Executive.

The Ten wielded a power which was neither irresponsible nor occult. In fact, they almost invariably took care, in the presence of any momentous crisis or some public question of exceptional gravity, to invite the co-operation of supplemental members under the name of a *Giunta*, of which the composition and number varied. Singularly enough, it was eventually found that the summons of supplemental councillors on exceptional occasions, instead of diminishing the influence of the Decemvirs themselves, actually augmented it, as the careful selection of the provisional members or *Giunta* from all the other executive bodies virtually rendered the tribunal thus constituted a final court of appeal, and the whole power of the State was concentrated into one focus. The Ten felt at last the necessity of meeting a prevalent dissatisfaction by reducing the numerical strength of the *Giunta*, and seeking the concurrence of the Senate or the Great Council according to circumstances. In 1622, an instance presented itself in connexion with the notorious Foscari business, when the Ten handed over papers to the Pregadi, that the latter might come to such a conclusion upon them as they judged most conducive to the public interest.

It is of the greatest importance for us to understand that the corporate jurisdiction of the Ten wholly overshadowed its personality. The entire body was subject to annual re-election, the chiefs were removable from month to month, and were not at liberty to serve twice in immediate succession. Every precaution was introduced against the favouritism and other forms of abuse apt to arise from a prolonged tenure of

office; on the other hand, the numerical proportions of the Great Council and its active discharge of electoral functions saved Venice from the mischievous consequences which attended the frequent re-election of the *Dieci* at Florence from a narrower constituency, namely, the opportunity of gratifying personal or party pique at the expense of political opponents.

Yet a feeling of distaste and intolerance steadily grew up in the sixteenth century toward a power whose very absence of bias, while it might prove beneficial to the poor and the weak, was secretly obnoxious to the nobility. In a State which was so largely composed of two classes, an impartial administration of justice was apt to displease those whose resentment was formidable, and might not even conciliate those whose support was of slight value. There was an increasing disposition to revolt against the principle and basis on which the Executive was established, and the tendency of the Decemvirs to override the Great Council. The *bravo* scandal of 1539, in which the Ten had not improperly withheld redress from certain nobles implicated in a disreputable brawl, was made a ground of complaint at the time to the Quarantia; and fresh cases periodically occurred to shake the prestige of the tribunal on the one hand, and, on the other, to embolden owners of grievances or advocates of reform to attack an institution charged with arrogating to itself exclusively supreme jurisdiction. In 1582, an effort was made in the Great Council, when the Obstructionists prevented the election of the full quota of fifteen as the *Giunta* or *Zonta* to assist the Ten, to define the special functions which should be discharged by the latter, the members of which should be privileged as "secretissimi." The immediate dead-lock was produced by the choice of the procurator Andrea da Leze, who was alleged to have offered a sum of money for his appointment which the Great Council refused to confirm. A very distinguished man, Federigo Badoer, of ducal family, highly respected for his qualities as a statesman and for his culture, contrasted the Senate with the Decemviral Council, and pointed out the advantage and superiority of a body possessing greater weight and variety of experience; he quoted Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, for the saying, that the Venetian Senate was the wisest head in the world.

It was not till the following year that the *Giunta* was

silently abandoned, and that it was decided that the Senate should annually elect three Proveditors of the Mint to act in concert with the Ten, but without any spending power, which the Senate reserved to itself.

It is sufficiently familiar that the prevailing method of election to all offices of importance was the ballot, which Thomas the traveller saw in operation in 1548, describing the boxes as two in number, one for the Ayes and one for the Noes, unless there was a third for Neuters; each, he says, was of a different colour. But, in the admission to the Great Council of candidates under twenty-five years of age (when they might take their seats without challenge), the balls were of silver and gold, and only the latter counted.

A unique chain of political events is easily traceable between 1605 and 1624, of which the two former might be described as intimately connected, while the others more or less casually evolved from their predecessors. We refer, in the first place, to the historical schism between the Republic and Paul V. (1605-7), and the Spanish conspiracy against Venice in 1618; and, secondly, to the Foscarini tragedy in 1622, followed by the remarkable attack on the Council of Ten by Reniero Zeno. The incident of 1618 was not more certainly of Spanish origin than that of the earlier date, when the same influence moved with its utmost energy and malignity, in an attempt to raise against the Venetians a second European coalition. Foscarini was an actor, both in the occurrence of 1618 and in that of 1622—in the latter the principal figure and the unhappy victim; and the almost audacious attitude of Zeno toward the Ten, even with his strong connexions, although the way had been prepared for him by the proceedings of 1582-3, was only rendered possible by the false step taken by that tribunal two years previously, and the disillusionizing effect on many minds as to its infallibility.

All these circumstances are noticed elsewhere; but it may be the fittest opportunity to present here some account of the most courageous and most triumphant step ever yet taken by an individual in Venice, with a view to the censure and humiliation of the most powerful element in the most powerful of European constitutions. Reniero Zeno was peculiarly qualified for the delicate and hazardous task which he, with the promised or expected assistance of political friends, now



undertook. He was a nobleman of the highest rank, of the most approved capacity, of ample private means, and of unblemished reputation; among other posts, he had filled two successive diplomatic appointments at the Vatican, and had furnished most exact relations of his experiences; but his fearless and aggressive temper made his term of office at best a memorable one, as he rendered himself unpopular among the *papalisti*, and prevented Cardinal Ludovisio, nephew of his Holiness, from securing a lucrative appointment at Brescia.<sup>1</sup> In his dispatches, he took the opportunity of accusing the Venetian cardinal Dolfino of being in the pay of France, and of appropriating to his own use the greater part of the palace of San Marco at Rome, the gift of a former pontiff to the Signory: this occurred in 1621-2. He also imputed to Antonio Donato, ambassador at Turin and in London, the malversation of public money, which led to unexpectedly grave and troublesome consequences and a long correspondence between England and Venice. The Doge, on the complaint of his Holiness in regard to Zeno, sent for the Nuncio, and signified displeasure at the inability to satisfy the pontiff, but added that the ambassador at the Vatican had made no reference to the subject in dispute. In writing to Zeno, however, it was recommended to him to be less impetuous.<sup>2</sup>

There was a debate in the Senate with the object of recalling him; but he remained at his post, an ambassador-extraordinary being sent to discharge some special matters of business with the Curia; and, on the expiration of his term of office, his friends at Venice prepared an ovation, one of them (Gio. Antonio Venier) addressing to him a letter, which is still extant, full of eulogy of his patriotism and public spirit. A vacancy shortly occurring in the Privy Council, the opponents of Zeno put up their own candidate; but Zeno carried the day by a large majority (24th Nov. 1624). A question arose as to the immediate prosecution of certain defaulters in regard to payment of taxes; the general feeling was in favour of enforcing the law, but the new councillor

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Wotton, writing from Venice in February, 1621-2, in relation to the proposed Spanish marriage of Prince Charles, speaks of Zeno as "the most diving man that ever the Republick hath held in that [the Papal] Court, and of much confidence with the Pope upon old acquaintance." *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, vii. 201.

pleaded the financial distress caused by recent disturbances; and finally, if there was a law to compel settlement, he in his quality as councillor suspended it for three days. Thereupon there was a clamour that, instead of contenting himself with being a private citizen, he aspired to be a tyrant. Zeno seized an early opportunity, in the presence of the Doge, of rebutting this imputation; and the Ten, treating his act as disrespectful to the Serenissimo, summoned the offender to appear within eight days at the prison of the chiefs of the Council to account for his words. Zeno disregarded the order, and was eventually banished to Palmanova<sup>1</sup> for a year, his place being supplied by his father-in-law Bertucci Contarini.

This ill-advised measure increased the popularity of the exile. Before a third part of his sentence had expired, he was recalled; and on the 1st of August he was elected by the Great Council as a member of the Ten. He forthwith proceeded to secure the annulment of the unconstitutional elections of one of the sons of the Doge as a cardinal, and of two others to seats in the Senate. The Serenissimo yielded, pleading rather weakly his ignorance of the irregularity; and he took occasion, at the next meeting of the College, to lament that it should have fallen to his lot to suffer this sort of persecution. Those present were moved, and the senior Privy Councillor pointed out that acts sanctioned by the Signory should not have been revoked by the Avogadors, without the concurrence of a Privy Councillor, they having taken their orders from Zeno himself who had become a Chief of the Ten.

Between the sitting of the College and that of the Pregadi, Zeno presented himself at the private apartments of the Doge, and as a Chief of the Ten desired an audience. His Serenity returned an answer that he could only receive him in the presence of the Signory. When the latter had assembled, the Doge entered and placed himself between the Privy Council and the Chiefs of the Forty, and related what had occurred. Presently Zeno, attended by the two secrete-

<sup>1</sup> Howell, in a letter to his friend Capt. Francis Bacon, from Turin, 30th Nov. 1621 (vol. i. No. 42), refers to this as a very strong fortress, "Built according to the exact Rules of the most Modern Enginry, being of a round Form, with nine Bastions, and a Street level to every Bastion." He terms it "the best condition'd Fortress of Christendom." It had been built in 1593 under the dogeship of Pasquale Cicogna, and there are *oselle* commemorating its completion. Coryat, who may have seen it in 1608, characterizes it as inexpugnable.

taries of the Ten, made his appearance, and stated that it had been his wish to speak privately with the Most Serene, but that the Doge had intimated a preference for hearing him before his little Council (*Piccolo Consiglio*). He was invited to sit down, and to be covered; he obeyed, saying that he put on his cap as a *Capo* of the *Dieci*, but that as Reniero Zeno he preserved his customary reverence. He was proceeding, after a preliminary notice that he had a communication to make in respect of an infringement of the laws and the ducal promission, to read from a paper in his hand, when the Doge interposed, and begged him to say what he intended by word of mouth. There was hereupon a sharp altercation; the Doge mentioned that there was no necessity for any admonition, as he had already notified his readiness to cancel the appointments, and that in any case it was not competent for a single *Capo* to take such a thing on himself. Zeno prayed the Most Serene to listen to him as a favour, and, the Doge consulting his councillors and the others present, was advised by them that Zeno was in order. The latter deprecated any action by the College, this matter touching the promission which was not within their jurisdiction. *The Doge*: "O patience! Signore Cavaliere, we do not deserve this harass, we that are your kindred, and have studied your interests on all occasions." Zeno fell on his knees and began to reply, saying: "I beseech your Serenity for the love of God in this sort——," but the Most Serene rose, and left with the rest to attend the meeting of the Pregadi.

The latter had no sooner assembled and taken their seats, than a secretary of the Ten rose and read a long notice, setting forth that Reniero Zeno, as a Chief of that Council, proposed, as bound by his oath on taking office, to institute an investigation into certain breaches of the promission. The Doge awaited the conclusion of the delivery, and then gave an order for the election of two other persons to fill the places in the Senate vacated by his sons, for which Zeno at once blessed his Serenity, applauding his submission to the laws; and for his own part declaring that he was the most obedient servant of his Serenity and his most serene house, as he had shown in his sojourn at Rome, where he had refrained from waiting on any prelate, out of regard to his dignity as the Ambassador of a crowned head. Yet he at the same time



proposed the registration of the document in the ducal chancery for future reference. It was moved that the latter question should be left to the discretion of the Ten at their next meeting; but Zeno insisted on the measure, being pleased to observe that the Doge and his two sons might be perfect angels, but that they had to consider the principle at issue; after some farther discussion, the other two Chiefs directed him to resume his seat, but he declined. "Then," cried one of them, "we shall send for the Ten." There was a great uproar and confusion; the remaining Decemvirs arrived, and the admonition of their Capo was annulled.

At the next sitting of the Great Council, Zeno denounced the motion of his colleagues as an illegal encroachment on the prerogative of the deliberative assembly, and pointed out that the two other Capi were liable to a penalty of 2000 ducats under an ordinance of 1458. The view of Zeno was pronounced to be correct, and he submitted that the decision should be enrolled. This led to a farther debate which he terminated, by moving of his own accord that the offence should be condoned.

An election of new Capi took place, and Zeno became an ordinary member of the decemviral body. He had, by his persistent attacks on the Doge and his adherents, and by striking right and left, naturally incurred bitter animosity in the ranks of the families affected by his charges and criticisms; and, on the evening of the 30th of December, 1627, at five o'clock, as he was waiting for his boat in the portico of the Porta della Carta, and speaking to his colleague Pietro Sagredo, he was suddenly assailed, and severely wounded by blows from some sharp weapon, by five men who immediately decamped in the direction of the palace, leaving their victim apparently in a dying state. Zeno, however, revived, had the self-possession to make his way to the embankment, took a boat which happened to be there, and ordered the man to go as fast as possible to the residence of his relative Francesco Donato. As soon as the news spread, there was almost universal sympathy and indignation; and suspicion at once fixed itself on Giorgio Cornaro, one of the sons of the Doge. He and his four accomplices were commanded to surrender within three days. It was the general demand that the punishment should be exemplary, and that, in this case, it

must not be, according to the Venetian fashion, much cry and little action. Daily inquiries were made by large numbers of people at the house of the intended victim as to his condition. On the 7th of January 1626, Giorgio Cornaro was attainted and degraded, and the confiscation of his property ordered; his confederates were banished. But no active steps were taken to enforce these sentences; Cornaro took up his residence at Ferrara, and the family shewed no symptoms of decreased importance.

As soon as Zeno was convalescent, he made the Ten understand his dissatisfaction with its methods. He told them that he ought to have a body-guard and wear his official robes wherever he went; and he proposed that he should be elected an Avogador, in order that he might take in hand the observance of the clauses of the promission. Moreover, he contended that his recent affair appertained, not to the Decemvirs, but to the Great Council; and he was in favour of the election of a disinterested commission to afford him redress. The Ten intimated to him that he was too restless and turbulent, and was too apt to mistrust persons of honour on mere conjecture, while some went so far as to allege that, in claiming a right to parade the city with an armed escort, against the laws and custom of Venice, he resembled that Syracusan Dionysius who, by such means, usurped the government of his country.

Nevertheless, Zeno was, in July 1628, re-elected a Chief of the Ten with Angelo Morosini and Paolo Basadonna. He first went to church to render thanks for his recovery, and then repaired to the Council, accompanied by his guards. He was not merely requested to desist from a repetition of such conduct, but was warned that he must not attempt to renew a discussion on what had passed. The Council frankly informed him that his attitude and language had done much harm and caused great scandal, and that if there was any return to the same course, the law would be carried out against him with the fullest rigour.

The object of this rebuke observed strict silence till the 23rd, when, in the Chamber of Audience, he read to the Council a notice to the effect that, as he intended on that morning to open a debate in the Great Council on the subject of the ducal promission, the Doge and his family should be invited, agreeably to law, to absent themselves. This request

was not carried into effect, and Zeno, before them all, after expressing his gratitude for his escape, and his sense that he was more than ever bound to serve his country, unsparingly exposed all the abuses and vices of the existing system. He compared himself with the great Vettore Pisani who, persecuted and imprisoned, forgave all his enemies. Basadonna, senior Privy Councillor, replied, and again brought forward the old imputation, that the last speaker wished to dictate to the whole Government what it should do, and repeated a sentence which he had delivered on a previous occasion: "This Republic is such that it will endure no Cæsars"; which instantaneously drew from Zeno the rejoinder that he was no Cæsar, since it was not Cæsar's principle to argue with great councils or senates, as he could dispense with both, and that he imagined that if Basadonna and himself were impartially tried, he could guess which would be found to be the better citizen. There was a universal titter, because the repute of Basadonna was not immaculate. Zeno may not have been a Cæsar, but his tactics were not dissimilar from those of Tiberius Gracchus, and they were infinitely more remarkable and more daring under such an orderly and modern constitution as that of Venice.

The Doge had so far kept silence; but, at this stage, his Serenity disavowed all personal cognizance of the misadventure to the Cavaliere, and conveyed his profound sorrow, with his perfect approval of the sentence. He rather indiscreetly reminded his hearers of their obligation to the Cornari, his ancestors, for the island of Cyprus, which evoked audible signs of displeasure; and he energetically vindicated himself and his relations from any constitutional irregularities. Here Zeno interrupted in a loud voice with, "Signori Avogadori, it is your place to defend the laws." *The Doge*: "How, then? may we not speak?" There was a fresh scene and hubbub; and some of the ducal partisans beat on the benches, Cornaro continuing and concluding his discourse, when Zeno ejaculated: "*O libertà!*" He was bidden to hold his peace, but he took a paper from his pocket-book and protested that the privy councillors ought to be arraigned for meddling with the promission. He offered to read what he had written, but the meeting separated, and he set out for the Casa Loredano, accompanied only by his son and two attendants. The truth



was that the ducal family was almost as vulnerable as Basadonna, for, not only had members of it improperly accepted preferments and honours, but others were in trade. The public feeling was growing more and more sympathetic with Zeno and out of humour with the Government.

After dinner on the same day, the Ten met in the private apartment of the Doge, and the arrest of Zeno was mooted. It was deemed, however, too dangerous an experiment, and he was simply ordered to return to his own house, and report himself within three days. He failed to respond; no exertions were used to discover his whereabouts; and he was sentenced in his absence to a fine of 2000 ducats and to a long term of banishment. He removed himself to some point where he was within easy reach—within four-and-twenty hours' call.

There was a general commotion and excitement; it began to be forcibly apparent that the dignity and honour of the State were in jeopardy; and, again, there was a fear that Zeno might share the fate of Foscarini. The too preponderant power of the Ten became the absorbing theme of conversation and argument among public men of independent character; and, what was more particularly a ground of discontent and a plea for change, was their usurpation of supreme judicial authority without trial and without appeal. The fate of Foscarini was a weapon in the hands of Zeno and his friends, and the *Corneristi*, as they were called, not satisfied with their cowardly and foolish attack on their great political opponent, committed a second outrage on the morning of the 4th of August, 1628, by firing on Benedetto Soranzo, as he was disembarking from his gondola at San Biagio, while the Ten treated the matter with languid indifference, one of the culprits being a near kinsman of the Most Serene. Other miscarriages of justice supervened, and at length, on the 17th of September, the members of the Privy Council having withdrawn, the Great Council, on the motion of one of the Avogadors, Bertucci Contarini, whose speech lasted two hours, passed by 848 votes against 298 the following resolution: "That, by the authority of this Great Council, the motion of the Council of Ten of the 8th of July last, communicated to the Cavaliere Zeno, then a Chief of the said Council, together with the motion for his arrest of the 23rd of the same month, and the sentence of exile of the 29th, being contrary to law and right, we have

caused to be annulled, as if they had never had existence, and that, by the authority of this Council, it be an instruction to whomever it may concern, that all books, records and files relevant to the matter be destroyed."

On the publication of this decree from the Rialto, steps were taken to communicate the intelligence to the exile. He returned on the 19th of September, 1628, amid tumultuous public rejoicings, and went direct to his own palace at San Marcuola, where he remained in seclusion till the 21st, when the Great Council was appointed to meet. He there referred to himself with somewhat unwise and superfluous self-assertion, and at somewhat fatiguing length, and then passed to the favourite topic of reform. He was, as usual, interrupted and browbeaten; but he did not flinch; and victory was now at hand. Himself more than once a Decemvir and even a Capo, this dauntless and indefatigable champion of right and principle, against whom his worst enemies could bring nothing graver than a baseless and absurd accusation of Cæsarism, obliged the Ten to accept a new and modified capitulary, by which they were henceforth disqualified from revising orders of the Great Council, and by which the latter assumed, saving the points or matters specifically enumerated, the exclusive and sovereign title to regulate and control the entire executive system.

The episode, of which the salient features have been given at some length, eminently deserves attention and study as being, since the *Serrar del Gran Consiglio* more than three centuries before, the most striking and dramatic in these annals; and on the whole, looking at the solidity of the power of the Ten and the greater maturity of the constitution, the exploit of Reniero Zeno, which nothing but his position and character could have brought to so proudly successful a climax after a four years' bloodless struggle, seems to demand at our hands a higher encomium than that of the Doge Gradenigo, accomplished in a much shorter time by far more unscrupulous means.

It was not to the blame of Zeno that the body which he laid for the moment at his feet lived to regain its old power, and to sway the fortunes of Venice to the end. It must be to his glory that he was the only individual who ever made the Council of Ten sensible that there was one Venetian citizen—he a member of their own order and their own board

—a descendant of Doges—whose personal influence was superior to their corporate jurisdiction.

The tendency, however, to render the Decemviral body less and less an object of competition among statesmen grew as time proceeded; the distaste with which the Inquisitors were regarded, and their intimate identification with the Ten, increased the unpopularity of the office; and the re-election became from year to year more and more difficult, from the objection of many to associate themselves with a tribunal so repeatedly challenged and discredited, while others shrank from openly voting for candidates, because they offended such as they did not support. The latter inconvenience was obviated in 1667 by the adoption of the ballot; but the new phase was attended by abuses, and, among others, by the practice of dropping into the boxes ridiculous or imaginary names. Several experiments were made without much success, till, in 1676, Giovanni Sagredo submitted a proposal, which the Great Council accepted, that the Decemvirs should be chosen by ballot from the whole body of the ordinary Senate, with safeguards against the return of the same member within three years, and the concurrent presence of relatives in the first and second degrees on the Board.

A vast amount of unnecessary mystery and of melodramatic extravagance has been similarly attached to the Inquisition of State, which never probably kept its movements and action so secret as the modern revolutionary *Comitato Veneto*. Even before the establishment of the Decemviral Council in 1335 as a permanent tribunal, it appears to have become a practice to delegate to certain members of that body—usually a triumvirate—plenary powers whenever any question of more than ordinary importance, demanding secrecy and dispatch, arose. But there was this difference of principle, that the special conclave was composed, not as was the case with the Quarantia, exclusively of Decemvirs, but of two of that assembly and a Privy Councillor of the Doge, a third Decemvir, however, being nominated in the event of a vacancy from any temporary cause. In 1413 and 1415, Francesco Foscari, subsequently Doge, is found acting in this capacity in similar circumstances. The first instance in which such a course was taken appears to have been on the 3rd of January 1313, when three were so appointed with professedly temporary jurisdic-



tion. The provisional arrangement possibly suggested the permanent one; but the former had a duration of upward of two centuries.

What is known as the *Inquisition of State*, however, was seemingly not called into formal existence till 1530, when the Council of Ten, on the 20th of September, decreed that, at the next ensuing meeting held in October with the Giunta or Zonta, three Inquisitors should be chosen to adjudicate specially in matters relating to the improper revelation of State secrets, and should be bound to serve under a penalty of 500 ducats; and that their decisions, when they were unanimous, should be reported to the Great Council, and be treated as if they had been passed by the latter. Here we readily discern an extraordinary evidence of oligarchical supremacy, seeing that the Decemvirs virtually assumed absolute authority, and merely acquainted the deliberative assembly with the result of their own resolutions in conference with the Giunta.

The cognizance of the Inquisitors was practically unlimited; but unanimity was indispensable; and when that could not be arrived at, the question was referred back to the Ten for ultimate settlement. On the other hand, the Great Council never abdicated its lofty parliamentary prerogative; it was, when it chose to exert its jurisdiction, the highest court of appeal; and we have to retrace our steps a very short way to see how, in the famous case of Reniero Zeno, it directed the annulment of a decree of the Ten and the destruction of the papers.

It is more than doubtful whether the designation, *Inquisitors of State*, was really applied and recognized till toward the end of the century (1596).<sup>1</sup> The functionaries were simply known as *Inquisitors into Revelation of State Secrets*, nominally with a very specific and definite mission, actually with powers quite undetermined. The appellation itself has acquired odium from the barbarity with which the papal officers and delegates carried out the instructions of a distinct institution—the Holy Office. But it was a term and a thing handed down from Roman times, and was applied to other legal and judicial formalities exempt from the features with which the Church invested and discredited it.

Thirty years had elapsed since the League of Cambrai (1509), when this movement took place; and in the justifiable

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, *Gli Inquisitori di Stato di Venezia*, 1858, p. 24.

apprehension that another such coalition of the Powers might hereafter occur, the Government naturally sought to repress, above all things, the danger arising from treasonable disclosures of its policy and views.

In studying the Venetian annals, when we reach the sixteenth century, there is no difficulty in comprehending the object and wisdom of the Executive in creating a body such as these *Triumvirs*, taken from the Ten and the Privy Council in the proportion of two to one; for repeated instances occurred in which treason was detected even in the Decemviral Assembly, and the State owed its salvation to three of its citizens whose authority was almost plenary and absolute, while it was only annual. Its yearly duration was the safeguard of its employers.

The immediate occasion and motive of the formal establishment of the political Inquisition in 1539 was the betrayal of confidence on the part of some person or persons, who were in possession of the *secret* instructions delivered in 1538-9 by the Council of Ten to the Venetian plenipotentiary at Constantinople, preparatorily to the Treaty of 1540. Lodovico Badoer was directed to endeavour to procure a settlement, on the basis of an exchange of prisoners and territory equivalent to the arrangement of a *status quo ante bellum*; but he had in reserve the power of concluding peace on any terms; and, the Porte having gained by treachery a knowledge of the latter circumstance, the Republic was forced to surrender several places in the Morea. It was discovered that the informers were in the pay of the Court of France; three were executed, and the rest escaped. One of the culprits was secretary to the Ten.

The popular name for the tribunal of Three was the *Neri*, applied to the two members of the Decemviral body who habitually wore black robes; and *Rosso*, similarly applied to the delegate from the Privy Council. But in the seventeenth century, there was a growing disposition to abandon these distinctive official costumes, which once and long extended to all departments and grades of public life.

While the Inquisitors constituted a delegation from the Ten, and their political existence was coeval, they were furnished with an independent code of instructions, approved by the Great Council; and we are qualified, by the survival of an

authentic copy of this capitulary chiefly in the autograph of the secretary to the Ten, Angelo Nicolosi, and subsequently acquired by the Cavaliere Cicogna, to judge how ample and, at the same time, how circumscribed or defined was their jurisdiction. This series of regulations extends from 1411 to 1793, and was for the most part framed in the Council of Ten, sitting alone or in concert with the Giunta; but a few are directions sent down from the Great Council. The clauses anterior to 1539 refer to the body in its provisional and occasional capacity. The strictest secrecy is one of the earliest injunctions; but the orders and resolutions cover every department of the State and every section of society down to the control of casinos and cafés. A distinct prohibition existed against an inquisitor having any concern with the finances.

The necessarily constant need of an armed force to support political arrests and committals led to the assignment of a military guard to the Ten and their delegates, apart from the civil functionary who was charged with the warrant; and, in a case which occurred in 1780, the secretary of the Three carried out his instructions, accompanied by some Dalmatian soldiers under a colonel. Natives of the opposite coast were employed for a variety of purposes; the working crews of the war galleys were long manned by them; and, in 1406, an executioner is specified to be a *Schiavone*, which may be similarly construed.

The Inquisitors in concert with the Decemvirs sometimes committed serious mistakes which involved them in a common odium, as in the Foscari affair of 1622, and were occasionally attacked with some violence and reason, but never with such pertinacity as Reniero Zeno had exhibited in impeaching the Decemvirs from 1624 to 1628. The later incidents partook of a different and less heroic character, inasmuch as they belonged to a period of commencing freedom of ideas and speech. The great crisis for the Triumvirs did not arise till 1761, and originated in the expulsion from the capital by one of the Avogadors, Angelo Quirini, of a milliner who had not made certain bonnets or caps (*cuffie*) to the satisfaction of the mistress of the Governor of Brescia. The woman appealed to the Inquisitors from the arbitrary sentence, and it was quashed. Quirini was incensed at the stultification of his authority, and proceeded to organize a party of opposition to



the Ten and their delegates among the Barnabotti and others in the Great Council. The Inquisitors, apprehensive of a return of the scenes and experiences in the Zeno case a century and a half before, caused Quirini to be arrested on the night of the 12th of August at his house at San Moisè, and to be deported to Verona, where he was lodged in the fortress of San Felice. This strong measure brought the matter to a head; the moment the news spread abroad, the family and friends of the prisoner loudly called for inquiry and redress. On the 23rd of the same month, when the election of the Ten was due, the necessary minimum of suffrages could not be reached by any of the candidates; the attempt was repeated again and again with a similar result; and a private conference, composed of his Serenity, the six Privy Councillors, the three Chiefs of the Forty and the legal Secretary, took place in the Doge's own apartments to consider what should be done. It was decided to propose to the Great Council the appointment of a commission analogous to that which sat in 1628 in the Zeno business; the Great Council accepted this project on the 9th of September. The Commissioners were five in number: the procurator Marco Foscarini, the avogador Alvigi or Luigi Zeno, Quirini's colleague, Lorenzo Alessandro Marcello, one of the Chiefs of the Ten, Pier Antonio Malipiero, one of the Forty, and Girolamo Grimani, a savio of the Council. The conservatives had a casting vote, for only Zeno and Malipiero belonged to the opposition. The report was not presented till the 18th of November, for the Board went exhaustively into every possible kind of evidence and precedent; but the fruit of so much research and thought does not appear to have been considerable. The absolute and relative jurisdiction of the Decemvirs and Inquisitors was once more defined, and all civil suits were removed from their cognizance, the bonnet episode and a second one connected with the financial concerns of the Scuola della Carità having in fact produced the whole agitation, and dislocated for the time the executive machinery.

Such was the source and commencement of a difficulty which lasted, with intermissions, till 1780, and which two other champions of political liberty, Giorgio Pisani, a criminal lawyer, and Carlo Contarini, assisted in aggravating and prolonging. The committee appointed to report to the Great

Council on the whole subject discharged its duty in the most elaborate manner, and formulated certain conclusions, based on the constitutional precedents of 1628 and 1667, which were adopted; but Pisani and Contarini pursued their intrigues and declamations; there was even a *Società Pisanesca* to promote and disseminate the views of the agitators; and the supporters of Pisani carried his nomination, on the 8th of March, 1780, as Procurator of Saint Mark, which entitled him to a public ovation and a solemn audience of the Doge. The celebration not unnaturally partook of the twofold character of a splendid compliment to the successful magistrate and a wanton bravado to the unpopular tribunal. A ball and musical entertainment were given at the Pisani Palace; there were songs in honour of the hero of the occasion, illuminations and fireworks; the walls of the rooms were covered with inscriptions and symbols alluding to the subject of reform; the cards of invitation bore, instead of the words *Pax tibi Marce* usually accompanying the effigy of the patron evangelist, the legend *Pasti fuistis*; on the sweetmeats and confections were such mottoes as—

La science, le bon cœur, l'amour patriotique  
Sont-ils le fondement de la République ;—

and about the saloon were scattered slips on which was inscribed: *Oggi bordello, domani castello : oggi l'ingresso, domani il processo.*<sup>1</sup> *Dio ti guardi!* Revolutionary projects were broached or recommended on papers found in the balloting urns. At a dinner given by Pisani at the Bragora, he openly said: "Courage! let us be steadfast, and all will go well."

Nor did Angelo Quirini take, subsequently to the resettlement of the question, so long, so keenly and so angrily discussed, any immediate part in the debates or in the affairs of the Government. But he manifested to the last a cordial sympathy with the democratic movement in France, and with the sentiments of Voltaire and other thinkers of the same school or bent, who united in desiring fundamental changes in State and Church, and who had, even in official circles, a growing increase of sympathy with their aspirations and claims. In common with Pisani,<sup>2</sup> he does not seem to have

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Hazlitt's *Proverbs*, 1907, pp. 469-70.

<sup>2</sup> The writer, in his *Life*, 1798, explicitly declares: "Sapevasi da tutti ch' io non voleva far nascere una repentina morte dell' aristocratico usurpato dominio, . . . ma che voleva richiamare il governo già sussistente nei termini di giustizia."

desired to see any violent revolutionary changes at home, but merely a reduction of the power of the Ten and the Inquisitors to more moderate and secure limits. His course of action was the more disinterested, that, as a prominent official, he resembled his predecessor Reniero Zeno, the reformer of an earlier century, in his effort to trench on an authority which it might well have fallen to his lot to wield. On the other hand we must admire the freedom from bias and favouritism, which the decemviral body evinced in dealing with a public servant who was almost one of themselves. Zeno and Quirini,<sup>1</sup> equally scions of ancient ducal families, were types of that school of statesmen, not unknown to the less advanced stages of Venetian political life nor indeed peculiar to that soil, where men of family, wealth and worldly distinction are found in the ranks of an opposition composed of those who may gain much by success, and by failure can lose little. The ex-avogador passed the latter portion of his life in the society of men of culture like himself; he visited France and Switzerland, and made in the latter country the personal acquaintance of Voltaire. Part of his time was spent at Venice, where he was one of the promoters of a scheme for improving the navigation of the Brenta, and part at his superb villa of Altichiero near Padua, where he was surrounded by the monuments of his taste as a collector.<sup>2</sup>

Pisani had attracted some attention by his attacks on the oligarchy in general, and more particularly on the domineering procurator Andrea Tron whose postal scheme he unsuccessfully resisted. He does not seem to have had so influential a following even as Quirini, but he had the equal honour of being sent out of the way for a time. Revolutionary opinions were in course of formation, and men could no longer be safely treated as they had been in the palmy days of the Ten.

The *Quarantia Criminale* and *Quarantia Civile* had little in common beyond the name and the complement. The latter

<sup>1</sup> Quirini was equally a friend of the Doge Foscarini, an advanced reformer, and one of the Advocates of the Commune. It was a family which, so far back as 1310, had evinced a powerful democratic bent, when such views were shared by a feeble minority in the councils.

<sup>2</sup> He was seized by an apoplectic fit as he was coming out of his house at Venice on the 30th of December, 1796. He was in his seventy-fifth year, and was spared the pain of actually witnessing the fall of the Republic, although the crisis was then imminent. An account of the Villa Altichiero was privately printed at Padua by Justine Wynne, Countess of Ursins and Rosenberg, 4°, 1787, with a plan and twenty-nine plates.



was merely a court of civil jurisdiction without any executive duties; but the other Forty, in the persons of the three *Capi*, formed part of the Signory, and enjoyed a co-ordinate power with the Decemvirs and the Advocates of the Commune. Instances occurred in which one or more of the Chiefs contributed to constitute a provisional government during an interregnum. This appropriation of a far larger share of power than was originally lodged in the tribunal was unquestionably due to the prevailing complexion of the graver type of public delinquencies, and to the sensible need of a judicial element in the executive, in addition to that represented by the Avogadors. Under the Venetian law, or rather, penal system, crimes against the State were those most seriously regarded and most rigorously punished; and hence it arose that the presence and co-operation of the three Chiefs of the Forty became essential to the Government, when the advance of Venice to a foremost rank among European communities constantly tended to increase and complicate the difficulties of the Government, and to augment the danger of internal corruption and treason. We seem to discern in the proceedings relative to the constitutional movement of 1297-9, when the Great Council was closed against new families, the already distinct evolution of the Criminal Quarantia, from its normal standing into a prominent and acknowledged political factor; for the resolutions successively laid before the Great Council for its own reform were framed and submitted by the Forty, and in an official and public sense the Serrar was accomplished, and Venice converted into an oligarchy, by the pertinacious efforts of the latter, possibly inspired by the Doge and his party.

So we see that it comes to this. The Republic found itself, toward the sixteenth century, in possession of a Deliberative Assembly, as well as, down to 1425, of a National Convention (the latter only summoned on very special occasions), and of a Ministry which was numerous without being really complex or intricate. The Senate, the Ten, the College and the Signory, all played their parts and understood their several functions; even the Decemvirs knew how to yield gracefully and opportunely; and, when the necessity arose, the rest stepped aside to allow the *Serenissimo* to occupy the foreground, and to receive kings and princes and exalted personages of both sexes, with the dignity and freedom of a European sovereign.

The votes recorded by the members of such public bodies as the Great Council and the Senate underwent a process of verification at the hands of the *Censori*, who had a bureau in a doorway out of the Palace Court, where a vestibule was known as the *Atrio dei Censori*. The seat of this indispensable body became known, at least eventually, as the *Sala dello Scrutinio*, the walls of which became one of the receptacles for paintings commemorative of great Venetian achievements by sea and land.

The work of the *Censori* necessarily grew very heavy when the Great Council acquired such large proportions, and each division had to be taken in the lobbies or *bussole* appropriated to the Ayes, Noes and Neutrals. There were cases in which as many as between 1600 and 1700 actually voted, and, if the ballot was employed, the tellers had to collect all the tickets.

An English pamphleteer of the time of Charles II., when many abuses, unknown to the institution at the outset, had rendered the ballot far less secure as a test and a check, pronounced an elogium<sup>1</sup> on the mode in which it was then employed in the Republic, and lends his testimony to its beneficial effect. But the writer deals with the principle which was excellent enough, rather than with the result in reduction to actual practice. He evidently possessed a very slight acquaintance with the inner mechanism of the Venetian Government, as it existed in the closing years of the seventeenth century; and he is to be regarded as an optimist who describes a system as it should be, not as it, to a large extent, unavoidably was or became.

The decrees of the several Councils, either in the name of the Doge or in their own, were long proclaimed by the crier from the Gobbo of the Rialto, a small stone rostrum, originally the base of a column, carved into the figure of a hunchback supporting a winding stepway, which still exists in the Campo San Giacomo di Rialto, or from the Edict Stone at St. Mark's in the southern angle of the Church. An order of the Senate of the 14th of December, 1333, in regard to English and Flemish wools, was proclaimed on the following day by the crier Antonio.<sup>2</sup> The subjoined extract refers to the same object. "At the South corner of St. Markes Church," writes

<sup>1</sup> "The Benefit of the Ballot: With the Nature and Use thereof: Particularly in the Republick of Venice." Two folio leaves undated, but about 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1864, i. 7.

Coryat in 1608, "as you go into the Duke's Palace there is a very remarkable thing to be observed. A certaine Porphyrie stone of some yard and halfe or almost two yards high, and of a pretty large compasse, even as much as a man can claspe at twice with both his armes." Besides the use to which this stone is already described as having been applied, the same early writer informs us that it was the place on which the heads of traitors and malefactors were laid for three days and three nights, the smell of which, as he mentions, "doth breede a very offensive and contagious annoyance."<sup>1</sup>

The evolution from that loose form of government which distinguished the earlier centuries of independence into the cohesive and stringent political system which made Venice all that it was, and without which local conditions would have rendered the attainment of greatness and power impossible, was the fruit of a lesson slowly learned and circumspectly applied. The more thoughtful and more responsible citizens of the Republic had been gradually impressed by the evils attendant on the turbulent dissensions and disorders at home; and when they turned their eyes elsewhere, they beheld the same scenes and the same consequences. With the development of their commerce and wealth, a concrete and stable government was seen to be the grand policy and aim; and if we are apt to feel surprise that the Republic should not have sooner emerged from its civil and internecine struggles, we may advantageously remember that it was the first European Power to do so, and that it was consistent and undeviating, when it commenced, in knitting together the sole constitutional fabric suitable to its wants and possibilities. The great and natural difficulty of the promoters and supporters of oligarchical government was the fundamental circumstance that, in its very essence, that type of administration reduced within comparatively narrow limits the choice of public servants, and could not afford to overlook signal capacity. For centuries, indeed during the greater part of its independent life, Venice was subject to an emphatically personal rule; and the remainder of its history was a struggle between an artificial impersonality, and the irrepressible force of individual character asserting itself in defiance of all constitutional canons. More than once the Council of Ten, the Inquisitors, everybody, stood aside and

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, London, 1611, p. 188.



suffered some masterful individual to take the lead, and to avert ruin or win back victory. So far from pursuing an automatic policy or adhering to the letter of the laws, the Republic learned the necessity and wisdom of judging cases on their merits, and even of interposing, after the registration of a stern judicial sentence on some national hero and favourite, to stay farther proceedings.

The Signory, as a corporate executive force, found themselves, at the moment when their country yielded to inevitable circumstances and exchanged a municipal for an imperial policy, parties to a game of skill in which each of the players had to study his own welfare and aggrandizement, the victory falling sometimes to the cleverest and most callous, sometimes to the most free-handed. The Republic was so peculiarly constituted, that the governing class maintained the balance of power and the general security by acting and reacting on each other, and reserving for the fewest possible occasions the investiture of an individual with plenipotentiary discretion.

It cannot fail to impress us, as one of the most conspicuous and one of the saddest examples of the vanity of human ambition, that the later annals of an oligarchy which laboured so long to repress individual action owe nearly their whole interest to heroic episodes on the part of individuals, often carried out in opposition to the oligarchy.

The regulations for the management of public affairs, within and without, which strike a modern critic as so drastic and so pitiless, excepted and spared no one. The tenure of high office by all but the Doge and the Chancellor was studiously brief; and the Decemvir or Inquisitor, who was a party to-day to the committal of a fellow citizen to prison or to the cord of the executioner, was not exempt from the risk of suffering a similar fate to-morrow if he was convicted of a similar offence. Everything was subordinated to the interest and security of the State—personal deserts, domestic ties, human instincts. Yet, when no political or constitutional principle was at issue, even the Ten and the Inquisitors were by no means inaccessible to softer influences, and not infrequently reversed improper decisions by other departments.

The Venetian Executive represented the earliest attempt to organize a bureaucratic machinery and a plan for the distribution of public functions; and Venice also led the way in

founding the practice of diplomatic etiquette and official routine.

An impartial comparison of the Venetian and Florentine systems must result favourably for the former. The Tuscan Executive, even under the greatest and most capable of the Medici, was always more or less flaccid and always supremely venal and corrupt, while no tyranny could be more absolute, and no reprisal for injuries more barbarous or more undignified. The Lombard Republic would not have stooped to disfigure the walls of the Palace with coarse resemblances of political opponents head downward. It was deemed perfectly sufficient to award such a degradation to the bodies of criminals in exceptional cases.

There is, perhaps, no feature in the Venetian constitutional system which has been so seriously misrepresented as the unbending uniformity of the executive government; and this form of error may be easily traced to the malevolence of early critics, and the superficiality of modern writers of the French school. Now that it is competent for every one who chooses, to examine all the archives of the Republic from the Middle Ages to the fall—an interval of about 700 years—there is no difficulty in arriving at a diametrically opposite conclusion. For, in fact, the Venetians, in common with all other great communities, were obliged to regulate their policy, firstly, by the topographical conditions under which they existed and flourished, and secondly, by the immediate circumstances. The laws were stern and stringent enough; but not one of them was so stern and stringent that it might not be suspended or waived to meet an exigency. The cases are abundant enough in which sentences were mitigated, and there were instances in which they were not carried out. The Inquisitors resembled the elephant, which uproots a tree or grasps a sixpence. They dealt with the most intricate and critical affairs of State, or decided a case in which a *modiste* complained of having had her expulsion from the city ordered, because a lady was dissatisfied with the caps which she had sent home to the signora.

There was, just at the close of the fourteenth century, a good deal of religious propagandism and hysteria, and women in white caps marched in procession through the streets of various cities, chanting the hymn<sup>1</sup> *Stabat mater*

<sup>1</sup> Ascribed to Jacopani da Todi (1230-1306).

*dolorosa*. They vociferated *Pace e Misericordia*, and exhorted all to penitence and works of pity. A certain Fra Dominici, of the Order of Preachers, made an attempt to introduce this agitation into Venice, and one day, after mass at San Geremia, he, preceded by one Antonio Soranzo holding a crucifix, and followed by a troop of women, priests and others, marched to the square of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. There they found a chief of the Council of Ten, who snatched the crucifix from the hands of Soranzo, and ordered the officers of police at his back to disperse the crowd. The movement was vigorously put down, and the promoters punished.

A strange incident, still more subversive of all preconceived and current notions, occurred in 1550, when a violent fanatic from Urbino, one Matteo da Bascio, presented himself, and began forthwith to inveigh against all the institutions of the Republic. He pushed his way into the Ducal Palace, and consigned to hell those who were oppressing the poor and the innocent, the sellers and buyers of votes, the enemies of the widow and the orphan. This individual, like another Diogenes, was discovered one day in one of the courts of law, lantern in hand; and when he was interrogated as to his object he replied: "I am seeking Justice." The authorities exhorted him to transfer the theatre of his energetic proceedings to Chioggia. In two years he returns, hires a gondola and traverses the waterways, attracting crowds of idle and wondering spectators by his denunciations of official villainy and aristocratic luxury and vice. He introduces himself into the Saloon where the Criminal Quarantia sat, and in stentorian tones sends all the judges to hell. There was a disposition to order him into custody and punish such outrageous behaviour; but one of the Court, who was subsequently Doge, interceded for the fellow, and presumably in some way or other he was gently transported beyond the limits of the capital. The explanation, doubtless, partly lies in the fact that Fra Matteo was outside the arena of politics.

This qualified liberty of speech, and even action, was in the mind of the Venetian who gave the French envoy to understand that, in his country, men said what they chose—namely, on indifferent topics not affecting official questions.

There is a sentimental curiosity attendant on the contemplation of the Ten, closeted in their small chamber



upstairs, with its windows commanding the Rio di Palazzo, and its richly painted walls and ceiling, and thence directing mandates which were to be a law to all Venetians, the range of influence of which not infrequently, in the course of centuries, being limited only by the confines of the known world.

## CHAPTER XLIX

Procurators of Saint Mark—Magistrato del Proprio—Salt Office—Oil Office—Singular Case in 1340—Uffizio del Frumento—Magistratura delle Ragioni—Public Records—Disastrous Fires of 1479, 1483, 1574 and 1577—Avogadors of the Commune and other Tribunals of Justice—The Grand Chancellor—Order of Secretaries—Proveditorial System—Syndics of the *terra firma*—Itinerary of Marino Sanudo, 1483—Management of Colonial and Continental Possessions—Foreign Relations—Diplomatic Policy—Efficiency of Venetian Representatives abroad—Vails or *Douceurs*—The *Poto di Vino*.

THE Procurators or Proctors of Saint Mark, who were ultimately six in number, took official precedence after the Doge himself, and discharged functions of a very varied and equally responsible character, including those of overseers of the fabric of Saint Mark's and treasurers of the exchequer. They had their peculiar court and jurisdiction, and were exempt from the interference of all judicial tribunals. It was competent for them to hold concurrently other posts in the public service, even commands in the navy, embassies, and colonial or provincial governorships. The place of Procurator was in some measure a dignity apart from the performance of active duties; but, as it was habitually bestowed on the foremost men of the day, it naturally followed that it was enjoyed by many of those whose names are part of Venetian, if not of European, history. So peculiarly exalted was the preferment, that, in 1403, Carlo Zeno, in his dispatch announcing and describing the naval victory of Zonchio over the French and Genoese, makes his procuratorial take precedence of his naval rank of Captain-General.

Nevertheless, the office was, in the beginning, of a different and far more circumscribed nature, and owed its rise to the creation, about 810, of a Board of Public Works, when Rialto was selected as the final capital. In some form or other this institution survived till the close of the tenth century when, on the decease of Luca Talenti, Francesco Gradenigo was appointed Procurator of the buildings of Saint Mark's, and united with that function the charge previously fulfilled by the civic surveyor and architect.

On the other hand, in the seventeenth century, while the war of Candia reduced the Government to painful financial straits, the title Procurator was conferred on a number of rich citizens, able and willing to contribute to the public service; and as many as thirty were so created at one time on payment of a heavy fine.

Some dishonest transactions on the part of certain trustees, revealed by a monetary crisis in 1094, more or less immediately led to the institution of a new official department, entitled the *Magistrato del Proprio*, an apparent emanation from the Palace Court. It became its peculiar function to examine the legality of wills, to administer the property and effects of persons who might die intestate, to exercise a general control over the transfer and conveyance of estates, and to protect the interests and rights of the orphan and the widow. All wills were deposited in the *Proprio* after proof. The Republic, while it retained its standing at Constantinople, had a similar tribunal in that capital for the convenience of such of its subjects as resided or died in the Levant. The legacy duty collected at home was chargeable with the maintenance in navigable order of the lagoons, of which the record is consequently to be sought in a quarter where it might be least expected. A somewhat later branch of the *Proprio* was the office *Del Forestier*, which was found necessary to attend to the multifarious demands of foreign settlers or residents in the city.

The Salt Office at Venice, which pointed to one of the most ancient objects of industry and sources of revenue, and which must have existed in some rudimentary shape when the Gothic prefect Cassiodorus alluded to the traffic in 523, became in course of time very productive and important from a financial point of view. The utmost care was taken, as far back as the tenth century, to choose the sites and protect them from injury or encroachment, as the use of the commodity raised within the territories of the Republic was obligatory on all, and penalties of the severest character were exacted from persons convicted of offences by the proveditors of this department. In 1187, the revenue was mortgaged by the Government for twelve years as part security for the repayment of a public loan. At a later epoch, the large revenue derived from the salterns, direct or indirect, was at least



partly applicable to the execution or acquisition of works of art and public monuments, just as the coal and corn duties were in quite recent times in the city of London. The pension of 1500 gold ducats which the Executive engaged to pay to the Doge Foscari in the event of his retirement was to come from this source.

The fiscal control of the distribution of oil, which in mediæval times formed one of the staple commodities paid in kind to the ducal treasury, became, under a more systematic official organization, an independent department with its overseers or *visdomini*. The *Officiales ternarie* are specified in documents of 1339-40-49. These functionaries appear to have exercised control over the *Thirds of Oil*, and to have been empowered to levy fines and penalties in respect of the trade in that commodity. An early copper token reads on one side: *Prov<sup>i</sup> A Loglio*, and on the other: *Vecchia Ternaria*. This piece may belong to the sixteenth century; a state-paper of the 29th of August, 1511, mentions the *vecchia ternaria*. The consumption, in the absence of butter, was very large and regular, and the excise amounted to an appreciable sum. The Government seems to have levied a third (*ternaria*), for which in course of time a token was apparently given as a receipt, on the same principle as the later Russian beard-money, although it has been held that these *jetons* were struck in connexion with the free distribution of oil to the poor. The vendors of this cardinal staple had a special seal with an opposite type.<sup>1</sup> The almost unvarying practice of withholding from the currency its value as a medium of exchange, although the paucity of individuals able to read might render such information of slight use, led to a good deal of deception, and to numerous entries in the official archives relative to amercements imposed on salesmen of oil and other goods, who took advantage of the youth or ignorance of their customers. Count Papadopoli furnishes in one of his numismatic *opuscula* some very curious extracts from the records illustrative of such cases, seeming at once to shew the minute care taken to protect the public, and the disposition to clemency when the offender was poor.<sup>2</sup>

It is assuredly remarkable that we should have to-day

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced by Molmenti, i. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Del Piccolo e del Bianco*, 1887.

here, under our eyes, the names and addresses of parties to a case of delinquency which occurred in 1340, the very words used by the little boy who went into a shop five centuries and a half since to purchase a certain quantity of oil, the name of the coin (*bianco*) which he tendered in payment, and the amount of the change which was given to him, with the conclusion of the authorities that, as the culprits were in indigent circumstances, it was a case for leniency.

The *Uffizio del Frumento*, an apparent development of the still earlier *Magistrato alle Biade*, had to insure a constant supply of bread-stuffs, and to collect exceptional stores, in the face of a probable war with any power capable of intercepting shipments by sea or land or both; on the site of the present palace gardens were established public granaries in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

The *Magistrature delle Ragioni vecchie* and *nuove* were alike products of the second half of the fourteenth century (1368-96), and responded to the ever-expanding territory, trade and population. They took under their control all the public accounts, domestic and colonial, and had their staffs of clerks. Even the Mint fell under their cognizance, and necessarily proved fruitful of technical detail. The two boards may be described most intelligibly to English folk as a mediæval Somerset House, Audit Office and Customs, under one roof and management. In 1497, we hear of an Accountant's Office as a new institution—perhaps an old one on a new basis.<sup>1</sup>

An indispensable institution was the *Giudizia de' Cattaveri*, composed of three members, and combining the functions of a naval prize court with the charge of lost property and unclaimed estates.

Some departments were periodically modified or subdivided, while others came into existence to meet emergencies or unforeseen requirements. The establishment of a regular and distinct Board of Trade seems to have been deferred till 1506, when the five *Savii sopra mercanzia* are first mentioned as an independent branch of the Executive, although their duties must inevitably have been those of one or more persons centuries earlier. But the institution, in spite of the principles and even instructions on which it was founded, yielded little or no fruit, and did nothing toward an abandonment of Pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian), i. 254.

tection, and the old system was equally upheld by the Senate in 1563 and 1598.

The particulars in respect of the public service are mainly of interest, by reason of the triumphant proof which they carry with them of the unwearied efforts of the Government to arrive at the highest possible degree of efficiency, at a period when no other country in the world had any such official and bureaucratic mechanism to shew. Nor does an exposition of the system assist the modern inquirer or reformer, since the duties of functionaries were allotted and distributed on principles based on requirements, or on ideas so widely different from those now in force, that a separate jurisdiction was thought requisite to deal with charges of blasphemy in the face of the Holy Office. The recorded convictions are not very numerous, but they were limited to cases which came under official cognizance. The administrative system afforded a powerful contrast with the executive; in the former there was an infinite subdivision of authority; in the latter, the aim and result were to centralize. The Chancery alone, with its numerous staff of secretaries, notaries and clerks, illustrates the radical divergence of Venetian from English institutions. At Venice the Chancellor was the head of the Commons. In Great Britain he is the head of the Lords.<sup>1</sup>

In the proceedings which attended in 1521 the election by the Forty-One of a new Doge, two *gastaldi* or ushers are mentioned by name as waiting, probably outside the Tellers' apartment, to receive, when the bell rang, the first intelligence of the issue, in order to notify it to the proper authorities. These functionaries inherited the designation, and nothing more, of the magistrates who had formerly exercised supreme authority in Venice. They discharged a variety of minor administrative duties, and in 1485, the idea had been carried out, of creating a new *proveditorial* office to control the acts of the *sopra-gastaldi*, who formed a court of second instance or appeal from the decisions of the *gastaldi* themselves; it was another of those ingenious refinements which characterized the entire system of administration. Every member of it had his check, and that check his countercheck, who once more, in some

<sup>1</sup> It may be serviceable to refer to a schedule or table of the administrative departments and officers under the Venetian Government in Romanin, vii. 399-401.



mysterious manner, was obliged to render an account to a third department. Venetian bureaucracy took its cue from the higher levels of the constitution.

But this official type is not to be confounded with the municipal one attached to all the trading guilds, and, so far, more conformable with the original conception of the office and name, that in the *gastaldo* was here vested the supreme authority subject to ministerial supervision.

The *Seal*, like its analogue, the Oriental tablet, long universally served the purpose of attestation or approval throughout every department of a mediæval government, and possessed



Seal of Giovanni Dandolo (14th century)

equal force; nor was it an infrequent practice to dispatch messengers on important public errands with a verbal instruction, and this symbol as a token and a guarantee. At Venice and within the Venetian territories, every prominent official was provided with his seal, which he was bound to keep in safe custody. Some of them have, no doubt, been saved from the crucible; one at least is before us, that of Giovanni Dandolo, Podestà of Conegliano, near Treviso.<sup>1</sup> It is of bronze, is circular and uniface, and bears on the only impressed side the name and office of Dandolo, inclosing the winged and radiated lion.

<sup>1</sup> Was this personage the same as the father of the Doge Francesco Dandolo, who succeeded in 1329? The *Statuta et Provisiones ducales Terræ Conegliani* were printed at Conegliano in quarto, in 1610.

The Doge had two seals—the Great Seal for public dispatches, and the Privy Seal. During an interregnum, the Senior Councillor used his own, those belonging to the Doge being on each election broken and renewed. The directors of the salt-office of Chioggia possessed two silver seals; one, the larger, representing the Doge seated and bonneted, standard in hand, with the legend: *Sigillum Salis Com̄unis Venet.*, the smaller, with the head of the Doge and the words *Bulletta Salis*; these were also replaced at every vacancy of the Crown. In 1485, the letter congratulating Henry VII. on his accession was accompanied by a silver seal; and in 1512, the credentials of the envoy sent to the Sultan of Egypt had a gold one; but leaden seals had been in vogue from a very remote time, although the most ancient at present known is that of the Doge Dandolo (1192–1205). There is an almost continuous series of them, but they seldom present themselves in a desirable state of preservation. In the Bottacin Museum at Padua they show a seal of the Doge Steno (1400–14) in gold. But it is not the case that the Pontiff Alexander III. in 1177 first conferred on the Doge the right of using such indispensable appliances. As a homage to the Oriental passion for display, which the Venetians were not indisposed to reciprocate and copy, the credentials of the representative sent to Cairo in 1512, not only bore a pendant gold seal, but were written in letters of gold.

The seal, even in times and countries in which all the advantages and facilities conferred by typography exist, continues to play a prominent and indispensable part in the functions of executive governments and the details of official routine. To an original document on vellum, annulling in the name of the Doge Francesco Donato, on the 1st of February, 1547–8, a sentence passed on the Pappafava family, the official leaden seal is still attached.

The proceedings in connexion with the demise of the Doge in 1521 disclose the fact that the ring, which his Serenity wore *ex officio*, and which was broken and renewed at each vacancy, then bore on the seal attached the legend *Voluntas Senatūs*; it was formed of some stone like corniola or cornelian, similar to that used by Caterina Sforza-Visconti, Lady of Imola and Forli, and as a short interval was expected to elapse before a fresh appointment was made, a waxen seal was cast, bearing

the coat of arms of the senior privy councillor. We are here reminded of a similar custom in England, when the new King was wedded to the realm with a ring which it was the duty of a high officer of State—at the accession of Henry IV. in 1400 the Earl of Northumberland as Lord High Constable—to place on his finger. A precisely similar idea was attached to the annual wedding of the Adriatic by the Doge on behalf of the Republic.

The administration of justice was of course a branch of the constitution which emerged from the most primitive simplicity under the earliest Doges, and gradually attained an elaborate and almost complex maturity in the fourteenth or succeeding century. At first, as we have seen, under the account of the archaic *Curia Ducis*, the entire judicial system was conducted before one tribunal, originally under the Doge himself, and after a time by a court of delegates; but the growing needs of the State called for successive developments in this, as in other directions. Ultimately the civil and criminal sides were separated, each having, not its two or three judges as in the Middle Ages, but its grand committees composed of forty members (*Quarantia Civile* and *Criminale*), who were reinforced by two functionaries denominated Advocates of the Commune, successors to the ancient Advocate of the Palace. The Advocates exercised constitutional, as well as merely legal, jurisdiction, and associated themselves in all important emergencies, when criminal process was contemplated, with the Council of Ten whose *fiat* was insufficient without their quasi-judicial sanction, and might be suspended by them for three days.

The Advocates presided *ex officio* over the Heralds' College. Where, among a fixed number of families, the mere fact of legitimate birth was all that was required to admit a Venetian, on attainment of his parliamentary majority, to the Great Council, and where in many cases several branches of the same noble house existed with only differentiated coat armour, the systematic registration of names and bearings was almost an essential necessity. In later days, there were periodical enrolments of new names on honorary grounds or for a pecuniary consideration.

The parchment Register in which the names and other particulars were preserved is not apparently known of a date



anterior to 1506, which is tantamount to an admission that the earlier records have been lost. The entries comprise the dates of birth and marriage, and the declaration of the father, husband or next-of-kin before the Avogaria. The earliest inscription is of the 27th of September, 1506, and bears the name of Andrea Vittore Girolamo, son of Francesco, son of the late Andrea Bragadin and of Maria Bragadin. The last is dated the 5th of May, 1797, and commemorates Giuseppe Antonio Alvise di Alvise, son of the late Giuseppe Antonio Corner and of Giovanna Maria Fini Gradenigo.<sup>1</sup>

This was known as the GOLDEN BOOK, a unique institution which this Government had been the first to conceive, and which enjoyed a duration of centuries. In 1797 it was closed for ever, and remained only to attest the extraordinary succession of distinguished personages of all nationalities, whom it pleased the Signory to inscribe on its pages. It has now long since matured into an archive, and reposes at the Frari, for the inspection of any one who desires for historical purposes to turn over the leaves of what may be considered the most remarkable volume in the world.<sup>2</sup> In May, 1796, the Republic, anxious not to displease the new revolutionary government in France, ordered the Comte de Provence, subsequently Louis XVIII., to quit Verona. The Count complied, but requested the Signory to erase his name from the Golden Book, and to restore the armour of his ancestor Henry IV. The latter portion of the demand, at all events, was not executed; the armour is preserved at the Arsenal, but the sword has long been missing. Of copies or transcripts of the original MS. there is, or was, more than one. In 1645, while the country was in a state of anxiety and embarrassment on account of the commencing troubles in Candia, some one compiled, probably from official sources, a register completing the names and entries down to that date, and the work was continued at intervals down to 1716, forming two folio volumes with about 400 emblazoned coats of arms.

Some of the municipal guilds emulated the Government in the possession of a Golden Book in which the names of distinguished members or honorary associates were inscribed, just

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Count Papadopoli to the author, 27th January 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Romanin, x. 219. The *Libro d' Oro* is not to be confounded with the *Liber Auri Cancellariae*, which bore the same name.

as the Fishermen had their own doge whom the Head of the State condescended to recognize, and to greet with a complimentary salutation on his entry into that annual office.

In deliberations of exceptional gravity, the practice came into vogue of convoking a tribunal of which the membership depended on circumstances. If it was an affair demanding secrecy and dispatch, the Cabinet (so to speak) was customarily limited to the Doge and his Councillors, the three Chiefs of the Ten, the three Chiefs of the *Quarantia Criminale*, and the Advocates of the Commune. Sometimes the three Decemvirs took the entire responsibility, after consultation with the two Avogadors or Advocates. But, if there was an acute and urgent national crisis, such as that during the League of Cambrai, the question was referred to the Senate which might summon additional persons (*Pregadi* or a *Giunta*) to its aid; and there the proposals or measures to be laid before the Great Council for its decision were formulated. Previously to the existence of the Senate, the *Pregadi* were what their name imports, a body of trusty and experienced public men who were specially prayed by the Signory (the Doge and his Council) to meet for the settlement of any momentous question on which the Executive hesitated to act. Even when the Senate had been long definitely established, the recollection of the old custom was not lost, for the saloon in which it assembled bore the name of *Sala dei Pregadi*. Only in the rarest cases the deliberative assembly took direct action; its vote went back to the Senate or to the Executive for the arrangement of details, and was carried out in the name of the Doge. The personal intervention of the latter, beyond his right to express his opinion, was not in later times formally recognized; but the views and wishes of a man of great experience and high character—the qualities which recommended him to the electors—were never without their practical weight even under the oligarchy.

The creation and official endowment of the Grand Chancellor of Venice in the thirteenth century (1268), in supersession of the earlier office of Keeper of the Seal (*Custos Sigilli*), attested the desire of the governing families to afford some compensation to the people or citizens at large for the withdrawal from their hands of political power; for this high officer of State, who was chosen for life, was selected, not from the Great Council,

but from the *Order of Secretaries* or plebeian body, which supplied those highly essential adjuncts to the Councils and bureaux. The exalted personage, so preferred by popular suffrages, was chief of the ducal chancery and first secretary *ex officio* of all the Councils; he had free access to every assembly, but had no vote; he was qualified to enter on any public function; in official rank he followed the Privy Council and the Procurators of Saint Mark, but his emoluments were higher; he enjoyed the honour of a solemn entry into the city on his election, and at his decease his obsequies were performed with the same splendour as those of the Doge. The Grand Chancellor had under his jurisdiction the Ducal Chancery and the *Archivio Proprio del Doge* or Inferior Chancery, and this department of the State eventually comprised its Ducal Chancery, the Secret Chancery and the Archives of the Council of Ten.

It was to the Chancellor and the Ducal Notary, probably owing to their clerical aptitude, that in early days the dispatches addressed to the Signory by ambassadors and others were delivered, in order to be opened and perused before their consideration by the Doge and his advisers. In one instance, the Chancellor, Raphael Caresinus, who was one of the thirty plebeians specially called up to the Great Council in 1381, in consideration of their patriotic services during the War of Chioggia, was ennobled, long after his entrance on office, without losing his position. Caresinus is one of the band of Venetians who have obliged posterity with accounts of the times in which they lived; but of course his work long remained in MS., if not unknown, and to his contemporaries he was purely the meritorious public official.

The subjects of Venice who were not inscribed on the register of the Great Council were not unexceptionally debarred, however, from official life. The services of members of the unprivileged families were utilized in many ways and directions, where political caste did not intervene, and individuals exhibited character and capacity. A plebeian was eligible, for instance, to the honourable and responsible post of a *Padrone* or Master of the Arsenal, and persons of secretarial rank were employable as residents at minor courts or on temporary missions. The secretarial staff under the Chancellor was necessarily numerous, and was composed of highly-trained



persons competent to perform all kinds of clerical work of a confidential nature, and, in the case of the diplomatic service, even to correspond with the Government in the absence of the chief, or to take charge of the national interests where no embassy yet existed, as in the case of Russia prior to the eighteenth century. Others were attached to the Councils, prepared the agenda, and entered the minutes of proceedings—extremely delicate and weighty duties which seem to have been performed with general fidelity.

The usual hour for the assembly of official bodies was nine, which allowed about three hours before the midday meal. But, before the members proceeded to their respective places of meeting, they were accustomed to loiter on the Broglio, where they conversed with acquaintances, listened to applications for their interest in a current business, or congratulated newcomers on their election to some board or employment. A considerable portion of the day was occupied by the more zealous or responsible functionaries, and their work not infrequently extended till a late hour of the night. During the earlier period, confession was a feature in the routine, and was very rarely and reluctantly neglected; but Lalande, writing in 1790, seems to suggest that this observance was then far less general.

It is to be easily inferred from surviving evidences that the Courts, and even the old tribunal, which sat at the Palace, soon learned to look with respect on title-deeds and other archives, and owners of property displayed a corresponding solicitude for their preservation. This accounts for the millions of items at the Frari and elsewhere. Even in this Venice was Oriental: everything was committed to writing.

It was a practice the origin of which is referable to the middle of the twelfth century, and even, perhaps, farther back, to register the proceedings by resolution of the Great Council, the Council of Forty and other bodies on their respective minutes; and this collection of minutes, which was carefully preserved, became in time one of the most important branches, if not the most important, of the National Archives. Inasmuch, however, as the latter must have been repeatedly destroyed in the successive conflagrations which consumed their repositories, a conclusion may be safely formed, that posterity is indebted for a knowledge of the contents of these registers to the prudent

multiplication of copies by the Government of the day ; and it is more than probable that those from which Sandi and Romanin so largely quote existed, as they had long existed, only in the transcripts of originals which had perished many ages before the author of the *Venetian Civil History* was born. The names of the books which incidentally occur are sometimes suggestive of their origin or object, while others seem to defy solution at the present time. We meet with the following which, from their frequent citation, may be taken to represent the leading authorities of this class outside the Capitularies and the Promissions :—

<i>Liber Albus or Blancus</i>	<i>Liber Frigerius</i>
„ <i>Antelmus</i>	„ <i>Fronesis</i>
„ <i>Auri Cancellariae</i>	„ <i>Leona</i> (Maggior Consiglio)
„ <i>Cerberus</i>	„ <i>Marcus</i>
„ <i>Ceremoniali</i> (records of public receptions, festivities, &c.)	„ <i>Misti Consiglio de' Dieci</i>
„ <i>Commemoriali</i>	„ <i>Neptunus</i>
„ <i>Deliberazioni Senato</i> (max, sbirro, misti, secreta)	„ <i>Novella</i>
<i>Diana</i>	„ <i>Pilosus Avogariae</i>
„ <i>Esposizioni Principi, Maggior Consiglio</i> ( <i>Spiritus</i> and other books)	„ <i>Padovinus</i>
„ <i>Fractus</i>	„ <i>Presbyter</i>
	„ <i>Regina</i>
	<i>Registro Costi</i>
	„ <i>Ottobonus</i>
	„ <i>Raspe</i> ( <i>Avogariae</i> )
	„ <i>Rettori</i>
	„ <i>Surianus</i>

Four lamentably memorable episodes affecting the official papers of the Republic were the fires of 1479, 1483, 1574 and 1577, the last named immeasurably the most fatal. It swept away, not only archives, but many valuable paintings and objects of antiquity. It was never known with any certainty what perished on this occasion, but steps were taken to obviate, as far as possible, the recurrence of such a calamity. Long after the general employment of wood in architecture, fire continued to make serious havoc here as elsewhere, and partly, no doubt, from the absence of adequate appliances for extinction. Yet negligence and thoughtlessness, com-

bined with the prevailing use of naked lights, were the most frequent agencies of destruction, and it is impossible to wonder at the continuous and wholesale ruin arising from this cause, when we see, for example, in the *Ménagier de Paris*, that it was thought in France to be a necessary precept to members of a household in the fourteenth century, not to put out the candle before getting into bed, by flinging the shirt or chemise at it.

The elaborate provisions for the welfare of the continental territory and the colonies command our approval and respect, if we look at the ideas and principles by which the Republic was governed, and in which she and her contemporaries had grown up. We may be disposed to criticize the unique disproportion of the Venetian base to its gradual superstructure—a disproportion appreciated as far back as 1221—and the conservative spirit which refused, in the last years of the eighteenth century, to adapt the constitution to the changing sentiments manifest on every side.

Annual tours of official inspection were undertaken to all the points on the *terra firma* within the Venetian frontiers, in order to report on the state of fortifications, to audit accounts, and to satisfy the Government at home that everything was in form. Similar supervision was periodically exercised over more distant dependencies. It happened that the syndics of *terra firma* in 1483 were accompanied by Marino Sanudo the historian and diarist who has left to us an account of his and their itinerary.<sup>1</sup> The party visited between fifty and sixty towns and strongholds, commencing with Padua; and Sanudo has illustrated his narrative by a series of curious diagrams, evidently executed by himself. He was a youth of seventeen; and the work, in the circumstances, is marvellously good. He enters into particulars which are neither novel nor interesting, but he informed himself, on the other hand, of many statistical and administrative points, to which it is remarkable to find so young a man directing his attention. The figures which he supplies of the emoluments of the Venetian officials strike us as eminently moderate, in comparison with those bestowed on military commanders and the general freedom with which the Republic dispensed its resources.

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerario di Marin Sanuto* [or *Sanudo*] *per la Terraferma Veneziana nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII.*, edited by Rawdon Brown, 4to, 1847.



Foreign relations were largely committed to the discretion of the Senate, which received the reports of all the envoys to European and other courts on their return, and delivered to them, when they set out on their journey, written instructions for their conduct, varied by the circumstances. The deliberative part was undertaken by the Senate, but the immediate communication was between the representative of the Republic and the Cabinet or College. Apart from his relation drawn up from loose papers or drafts, and put into suitable shape for the ear of the Senate, each envoy was expected to keep his Government informed at short intervals, even daily (if it seemed desirable), of the course of events within his observation, and more particularly of political incidents or symptoms which might strike him as likely to affect Venetian interests. His mission was of variable duration according to circumstances. In 1498, Andrea Trevisano was absent in England eleven months and fifteen days, and spent 4300 ducats. The *Relations of the Ambassadors* do not survive without exception, even from 1425, when it was first ordered that they should be committed to writing; and of the acts of this character belonging to earlier times we possess only the bare record and purport.

In the first place, the envoys were by a decree of the Great Council, on the 22nd of December, 1268, bound to deliver before it a *vivâ voce* account of their mission and its incidence, and on the 24th of July, 1296, a farther ordinance directed that they should pronounce it, equally by word of mouth, in the Council which had instructed and dispatched them. All these verbal diplomatic reports have naturally perished. After its acquisition of the dominion in the Indies, Spain followed the Venetian precedent, and called for similar reports on the periodical return of its representatives in those parts. An excellent general idea is capable of being formed of the character, tenor and scope of the *Relations of the Ambassadors* to the Councils on their return, from the published collections, the separately printed account in 1664 of the mission of Angelo Corraro to the Court of Rome, and the interesting and well-known work of Mr. Rawdon Brown. The Reports presented a complete picture of the political, social and personal constitution of each country, and were of immense value in determining the attitude and tone of the Executive, for

whose private use and benefit they were originally drawn up. These accounts are wonderfully minute and comprehensive, and even enter into scandal and gossip, where eminent personages were concerned. Of course it occasionally happened that the Venetian representative was mistaken or misinformed; and we can call witnesses on the other side. The representatives of the Signory at the Vatican were selected with a special view to the tactful management of his Holiness and the College, and any other personages of influence, and each succeeding envoy was furnished with the means of ingratiating himself with all whom he judged likely to be useful to his employers.

In his account of a diplomatic visit to Venice in 1494, Philip de Commines affords the incidental information that the Milanese representative to the Signory received 100 ducats a month, free quarters, and three barks for his use, all provided, not by his employer, but by the Power to which he was accredited; and the historian adds that the same course was pursued in respect of the Venetian resident at Milan, the water-service excepted, as there they went on horseback.<sup>1</sup> This practice, so completely at variance with modern ideas, and, indeed, in conflict with the independent status of the diplomatic service was not, however, in general vogue, for the more usual principle was identical with that now in force; and we have in many instances the actual terms arranged by the Government of Venice with its emissaries. The system pursued, according to Commines, in the case of Milan was ostensibly exceptional.

The now generally recognized theory that, not only an ambassador from a foreign State, but his house and household are exempt from interference or service, as appurtenances of the country to which they belong, seems to go no farther back than the early part of the eighteenth century, although in the seventeenth there had been, on the part of the Venetians, a certain amount of delicacy and aversion against infringing on the liberties of the embassies. The Signory, indeed, was, as a rule, easily induced to condone any offence or misdemeanour committed by a stranger, so long as it had no direct political significance. In 1617, Sir Henry Wotton successfully interceded for the Earl of Oxford, the circum-

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, livre 7, ch. 15.

stances not being serious, and, in the time of Queen Anne, the Government, at that juncture solicitous to preserve amicable relations with Great Britain with which Power it was in diplomatic contact in the cause of European peace, apologized for an affront offered to the servants of the Earl of Macclesfield. On the other hand, an instance has been already adduced, in which, so comparatively late as 1539, forcible possession was taken of the Spanish embassy by reason of the place having become a harbour for dangerous political characters.

The works of Alberi and Tommaseo, the relations of Michele Suriano and Marcantonio Barbaro concerning the Court of France shortly before the massacre of St. Bartholomew,<sup>1</sup> with the Calendars of Venetian State Papers and the Diaries of Sanudo and Priuli, afford material and shew ground for rewriting, on a more realistic and veracious basis, the histories of nearly all the older States of Europe. The system was introduced in order to furnish Venice with the means of judging what all her contemporaries were doing or planning; and now it fulfils a different function, by admitting the whole world to a knowledge long confined to the bosoms of an oligarchy. The men whom the Republic intrusted with these missions seem to have been eminently observant and sagacious; they even gave their country the benefit of the doubt, by noting in their correspondence facts which might or might not be beside the immediate point. But, when an emergency or a crisis was imminent, their promptitude was marvellous. In the case of the League of Cambrai, not a moment was lost by the Resident in France in communicating the news of the conclusion of the European coalition against the Republic. It usually occupied from nine days to a fortnight for a messenger to travel from Paris to Venice; but on this occasion a letter written on the 7th of February, 1509, at Blois, 105 miles from the French capital, was received at the ducal palace on the morning of the 14th. The envoy required no special authority to disregard expense in such a matter, and his courier, a member of a privileged corps (*Corrieri della Serenissima Signoria*), must have almost flown. Not improbably, in anticipation of the event, a relay from point to point had been arranged. This service of public couriers was recruited from the *terra firma*, chiefly from Bergamo, and a spirit of emulation clearly existed among them as to

<sup>1</sup> Separately edited by Layard for the Huguenot Society, 1891.



who should beat the record, but seven days was perhaps a minimum. In 1498, a courier sent from the banks of the Loire to notify the death of Charles VIII. reached Mestra on the seventh morning, having killed thirteen horses under him. These were of course expresses, for the ordinary messenger travelled at a far more leisurely pace, if we are to trust to a hypothetical proposition in an *Abaco* published at Venice about 1525, in which from seventeen to twenty days are quoted as the time allowed for travelling from Venice to Rome or *vice versa*, a distance of 300 Italian miles. Yet, elsewhere in the same book, a courier travels 30 miles a day: the speed naturally depended on circumstances. In 1475, the Venetian ambassador's courier at Namur undertook, for a fee of six ducats under special conditions, to deliver a message in Venice in eighteen days.

The alertness attributed to the ambassadors of the cinquecento epoch was not confined to Venice or even to Italy. Sir Richard Wingfield, in the sixteenth century, from the velocity and ubiquity manifested by him, acquired from the Italians themselves the punning nickname of *Volante*: he was the prototype of the first Earl of Peterborough, celebrated by Macaulay. Not infrequently it occurred that this rapidity of movement on the part of envoys of all grades bore important fruits, as when, on the receipt of the news at Venice of the death of Louis XII. of France on the first day of the year (1515), while the Cambrai affair still engrossed attention, a special courier was sent post-haste after Sebastian Giustinian who, on his way to London as successor to Andrea Badoer, had been instructed to call at Paris and deliver letters of congratulation and presents—a ring for Florimond Robertet, who had been Secretary of State to Charles VIII. and was reported to be a personage of exceptional capacity and influence, and a jewelled cap for the royal bride whom Louis had newly espoused. The courier overtook Giustinian at Lyons, and handed him dispatches adapted to the altered circumstances—condolences to the widow, and condolences mingled with congratulations to the new King, “le gros garçon.”

The reputation of these Reports, of which no early printed copies were made, had the effect of multiplying them in MS. and even of producing inaccurate or false versions. The original text was sometimes allowed to leave the hands of the

owner, and an instance is given, when, in 1609, a diplomatic personage fell in at Rome with the orations which he had himself delivered at Venice.

The nomination of resident ambassadors at foreign courts formed no part of the European diplomatic policy till the fifteenth century was very far advanced; and the various independent Powers contented themselves with dispatching special and temporary representatives with credentials and instructions, as often as occasion required. It merits a passing notice that, in the early part of the sixteenth century, one of the couriers employed by the Signory was Giovanni Gobbo, whose name calls to mind a character in the *Merchant of Venice*. Andrea Badoer, a member of a ducal family which enjoyed almost regal power while England was under a heptarchy, was the third regular envoy to the Court of England, and arrived in London while Henry VII. yet lived. He was recommended partly by his excellent knowledge of our language which, he tells his brother in a letter of 1512, was as little understood at Venice as modern Greek or Slavonic in London; his pay was to be 120 gold ducats a month for which he was to be accountable to no one. But his expenses were heavy; he was expected to keep five servants, who were to be mounted, and to have each his own horse. Owing to the unsettled state of the Continent from the formation of the League of Cambrai, Badoer travelled *incognito* to his destination, and his credentials were forwarded by another channel. He held his position from 1509 to 1515, a convincing proof of the confidence of his employers in his ability and loyalty, as two years constituted the usual limit.<sup>1</sup> He was evidently in special favour with the King, for, at the launch of the *Henri Grâce de Dieu* in October, 1509, his Venetian colleague and himself were invited, and Henry himself shewed them over that and the other galleys, because he thought that they would appreciate the sight. His visitors must have gazed with at least equal admiration on the sublime dandy, whose dress on the occasion is carefully described by one of them.

Nevertheless, so early as 1510, Badoer is bitterly complaining of the hardships of his position, the heavy outlay which he has to incur, the unpunctuality of payments from home, and the rumours that he gambles and leads a gay life.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian), ii. 250.

The Venetian representative certainly lay on no bed of roses ; he draws a most piteous picture of his condition, and lets us know that he is living on borrowed money. He applied to the Venetian bank of Lorenzo Pasqualigo in the City ; but Lorenzo (as he styles him) had no orders. In 1515, he borrowed money from the Knights of Rhodes who were importuning him for repayment, and in the same year, when the King knighted him (he assures us that he neither sought nor desired the honour) and gave him a chain, he was obliged to pawn it with the Master of the Rolls for 300 ducats. His successor was that Sebastian Giustinian, whose correspondence with his Government from 1515 to 1519 has been partially published ; but, during the last part of his term of office, Badoer seems to have had Giustinian as a colleague, and at one point of time three representatives of the Signory are specified as engaged in conducting the diplomatic work, and moving backward and forward between England and France. Truly Badoer himself must have been exceptionally unfortunate or improvident, as it is difficult to conceive that a Government like that of Venice, particularly in such circumstances, could have stinted its representative at the English Court, leaving his salary in arrears, when it was so important to preserve a good appearance before Henry and his courtiers. But Badoer recommended himself, perhaps, as a man who had the ear of the King.

A sketch of the itinerary of Giustinian in 1515 is capable of being drawn from his own dispatches to the Government, and other contemporary sources, and it is deserving of insertion as an illustration of modes of travel and phases of life long grown purely historical. He was associated with Pietro Pasqualigo, the difficult political situation having induced the Government to strengthen its diplomatic standing with a friendly Power. Pasqualigo had started first, but the two colleagues were to meet at Lyons. Giustinian left Venice on the 10th of January, 1515, and reached Chioggia on the 12th, from which place he addressed a few lines to the Signory. On the following day, he was at Goro on the Adriatic, where he heard, through the courier Benedetto sent post-haste from Rome, of the death of Louis XII. of France. He wrote home to say that, if the change at Paris appeared to demand altered instructions, he would await them



at Ferrara, where he found himself on the 14th, and where, out of respect to the Signory, the Duke entertained him at his own expense. The envoy was lavish of his assurances of the esteem in which the Venetians held his lordship, who declared himself the Doge's good servant, and Giustinian appears to have been provided with independent letters of introduction to the Duchess, the famous Lucrezia Borgia, who was very bland and gracious. Here he received the expected advices from his employers, and duly acknowledged them, and, on the 16th, he took leave of the Duke and Duchess who intimated a hope that the new King would not be worse than his predecessor, and would prevail against the common enemy, the Spaniard, but that they (the Duke and Duchess) should share the fortunes of the Signory. The 20th found the embassy at Pieve Pelago, in the Modenese, at the foot of the Apennines, a place belonging to Ferrara, and a ducal courier was sent thus far to render assistance to the party. He proved very useful from his intimacy with the route. The next halt was at Lucca on the 25th, where the latest news was that of a recent act of aggression on the part of the Holy See, successfully resented by the intended victim, Alessandro de' Pij or Pico, Signore of Mirandola. The passage of the Apennines had been unusually trying, owing to the deep snow and the bad roads; but Giustinian was most warmly received by the authorities, who accommodated him and some of his staff in their own houses. They eulogized the constancy and courage with which the Signory had maintained its ground against the late European coalition, but complained of the Florentines who aimed at seizing their city and territory. His Holiness, however, was on their side. The intelligence of the appointment of the Duc de Bourbon as Grand Constable of France had arrived; and the reappearance of the French army in Italy was to be expected. On the 3rd of February the travellers were at Genoa, where Giustinian paid a visit to the Doge who was in bed from a wound received in a recent engagement. The ancient enemy of Venice treated its representatives with every mark of honour and cordiality. The advent of the French King was expected to be postponed a little, till he had arranged certain matters with England. The country was so infested by dangerous characters, that the embassy proceeded by sea from Savona to Monaco, and thence over difficult roads to Nice, where it was even more enthusi-

astically greeted than on the Italian side. The journey was embarrassed on the one hand by land thieves and on the other by water thieves; the arrangements were adapted to meet these alternate contingencies. At last they reached Avignon which they left on the 23rd, arriving safely at Lyons, but without their luggage. Letters, dated the 1st of February 1514-15, were awaiting him here, in which he was supplied with detailed directions how to act and to see especially the Queen Mother and the Constable de Bourbon. The letters of credence embraced the ulterior visit to England where Giustinian was to replace Andrea Badoer. Pasqualigo was to return to France and relieve his predecessor in Paris. After a fruitless stay at Lyons for the missing baggage, the ambassadors purchased a new wardrobe, and departed for the capital through the Bourbonnais, where they encountered the Mantuan envoy on his way home, and Teodoro Trivulzio of Vigevano, accompanied by no less a person than the Chevalier Bayard. From the former it was gleaned that Francis I. was deferring his Italian campaign, pending the result of the Swiss movements toward Dauphiny. The earliest letter from Paris is of the 20th of March, and speaks of the King as "under the rod" of the Lord Steward, as well as under petticoat government; but their reception at his hands was very gracious; it took place on Sunday, the 25th of March. On seeing the envoys, his Majesty rose from his seat, cap in hand, as did all those with him. After the delivery of the Latin address, to which the Chancellor replied, the King expressed his readiness to hear at a private interview anything which his visitors had to say, and the two repaired with his Majesty to a window in the audience-chamber where they exchanged views. They waited on Mary Tudor, the widow of Louis, and offered her compliments, but withheld, agreeably to orders, the presents which she would have received had the late King survived. On the 30th they set out for England, carrying with them the solemn vows of Francis that he would never desert the Signory, and that, within a twelvemonth or so, he looked to see it once more in possession of its entire dominion. They directed their course to Boulogne from which a letter, dated the 17th of April, represents the weather as answerable for delay in crossing the Channel; but the time was not wholly lost, as information was elicited from the Governor of the place that,

on the 5th, a treaty had been concluded at Richmond between France and England, to hold good, it was alleged, during the lives of the contracting parties.

The travellers embarked at Boulogne for Dover on Easter Tuesday, the 10th, and were four-and-twenty hours at sea. The 12th finds them at Canterbury where they fell in with the French envoys. The latter assured them that the Venetians had been included in the treaty, but that Spain was not mentioned: Tournai was to remain English. They quitted Canterbury, passed through Rochester where they were joined by many of their countrymen, and at Deptford were met by two delegates, commissioned to welcome them in the name of the King and to escort them to London, the transit from Venice to London having occupied upwards of three months. They entered the metropolis, numbering altogether with the royal detachment of fifty, all in one livery, two hundred horse. They had probably heard beforehand that his Majesty was at Richmond where an appointment was made for St. George's Day, the ambassadors being conducted thither by barge. Of the subsequent residence of Giustinian in England some account has been given in the main narrative. He was not relieved till 1519, a flattering testimony to his character, but a sore trial to his personal feelings, as, during all that interval, he was isolated from his family. He was more fortunate, however, than his predecessor Badoer who represented his country from 1509 to 1515, and who, as we have heard, found his post at times excessively uncomfortable, partly through the critical state of affairs arising out of the League of Cambrai. The dispatches of Giustinian, aided by collateral evidences, cast immense light on the contemporary history of England and on English manners and persons, since the writer omitted nothing of a remarkable or striking character which he saw or heard, and he naturally saw and heard much which to him was apt to seem strange and deserving of preservation. Like Badoer, he succeeded in keeping on good terms, amid constant provocations, with Wolsey and the rest of those about the King. He had a far more favourable opinion of Henry than of his minister. He shared the usual characteristics of the Venetian in a never-failing display of tact, self-government and urbanity, and amuses us by such figures of speech as were apt to be



familiar to his ears at home: *to be at the helm, to navigate against wind and tide, not to push off too far from the shore, not to leave the shore without a rudder, and larboard and starboard.* The Venetian of the grand old school, by virtue of his wide culture and experience, was at once a statesman, a soldier, a man of business, a linguist and a scholar; and while he superintends the affairs of a bureau or an embassy, he might spend leisure hours in literary and scientific studies, and in friendly correspondence with the authors and artists of all countries. Giustinian formed the acquaintance of More and Erasmus and his temporary colleague Pasqualigo, before he quitted England, and was admitted to an audience of Catherine of Arragon whom he could address in her own tongue. Badoer had piqued himself on his proficiency in English. A small episode which occurred at Greenwich early in the May of 1515 will serve to illustrate our meaning, and to justify the stress laid on the present class of witness. The King, says Giustinian, called him into an arbour (there were May-day celebrations in progress), and said to him in French: “‘Talk with me awhile. The King of France, is he as tall as I am?’ I told him there was no great difference. ‘Is he as stout?’ ‘No.’ ‘What sort of legs has he?’ ‘Spare.’ He opened the front of his doublet, and, laying his hand on his thigh, said, ‘And I also have a good calf to my leg.’” Henry added that he had visited France, but had never been able to see the present King before his accession, and then turned the conversation to other matters.

The troublesome and painful experiences of Giustinian's immediate predecessor, Andrea Badoer, were so varied in the course of his passage from Venice to his destination in 1509, that an outline of the circumstances may be acceptable, particularly as he approached our shores by a different route. He had been selected for the appointment on the 31st of January. The announcement, he tells his brother long after in a private letter, came to him as a surprise, and he at first stared at the Doge when he was formally notified of the fact. He felt no scruple, however, in accepting the mission, the secret object of which was to persuade England to go to war with France, and so divide the League, for, he farther says, “no one, by God, was so well fitted for it, as he understood not only French and German, but English,” for which he

thanked the Almighty. He was to receive 100 ducats a month; but he started, before monetary details could be arranged, with a mere trifle in his pocket, as if he had been just going to Mestre or Treviso. The Doge loved him, he says, and urged him to undertake the charge: “‘Knowest thou not,’ quoth his Serenity, ‘how those whom the Council of Ten sends on such errands of urgency are rewarded?’” He was sixty-two years of age, we are informed, took six days to get ready, and was only twenty-six days in reaching London, whereas it had occupied Giustinian more than thrice that time. He rode incessantly day and night in disguise, he affirms; on the St. Gothard, his horse fell under him while he was travelling in the dark on slippery ground, and he received a severe wound on his right leg and narrowly escaped being dashed down a precipice. When he reached the next inn it was Shrove Tuesday; he could get nothing for his supper but bread and wine, and he was obliged to dress his wound himself. The next morning he arrived at Basle at nine o’clock and embarked there on the Rhine. At a certain point, the party with their horses were put on a large vessel laden with merchandise; the ship was capsized and broken up on a shoal, Badoer, his attendants and the horses passing the night there and counting the hours. He tells us that the German craft was neither caulked nor pitched, but merely nailed together like the little barges which bring eggs to Venice. The ship was repaired and brought its passengers safely to Strasburg. Badoer, afraid in the unsettled condition of Germany to betray his nationality, passed, now for an Englishman, now for a Scot, and once, on his way to carry some message to the Emperor, he stained his features and pretended to be a Croat. Next, when he had left the German frontier behind, he played the part of an English courier, and so under various pretexts he made his way to Calais. Here he was stopped by the French soldiers, to whom he pretended that he was an Englishman on his way home from Flanders; they let him proceed, but followed in his track within a bow’s shot of the walls of Calais, where he met with an armed English barque which he engaged, and so crossed the Channel. He had to purchase a complete outfit in London before he could present himself anywhere, and then it transpired that the old King was ill and unable to see him. In a few days

the King died, and the credentials were of no use. But, owing to his hospitality to certain noblemen at Venice before he dreamed of coming to England, the formality was waived, and he was introduced to Henry VIII. with whom he almost immediately established a friendly understanding. He was the earliest resident envoy that the Signory had sent to London, and the urgent circumstances explain the innovation. Badoer was undoubtedly a nobleman of exceptional ability; but he impresses us with the notion of his being rather magniloquent and rather moody, for, almost as soon as he sets foot on English ground, he has, according to his letter of 1512 to his brother, prevailed on Henry VIII. to write a series of letters to European potentates, exhorting them to become good friends with the Signory. On the other hand, he seldom ceases to complain of want of funds, of the reduction of his salary, and of the ostensible disapproval of his conduct by his employers. He signalizes at a very early stage the dishonesty of his English servants, one of whom stole a silver-gilt ewer worth 28 ducats. After six years' service, when the time at length came for him to make room for Giustinian, he found himself unable to leave on account of the absence of remittances, as a promised draft of 1000 ducats on a banking-house in London was overdue, and even Giustinian failed to bring it with him. We do not learn how the difficulty was adjusted. Badoer had run into debt; his expenses were heavy; his pay had been curtailed and was irregular; and it was whispered that he was extravagant. The picture of the boundless splendour of the Court, which he and others have drawn for our edification, would not leave any margin for an official participator in those brilliant scenes with a stipend of 70 ducats a month, unless he enjoyed a private fortune. Although his successor was ready to assume his duties, Badoer was still awaiting news on the 3rd of May—the latest date which we have.

We collect from one of the letters of Giustinian that, in certain cases if not uniformly, in order to guard against possible miscarriage or interception, he enclosed a duplicate of his dispatch in the next communication.

We incidentally acquire a knowledge that the goodwill of Henry VIII. toward the Republic long survived the troubles of 1509, if, at least, we are to draw any conclusion from the



fact that, at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533, the King, who watched the ceremony unseen, selected as his companions the French and Venetian ambassadors.<sup>1</sup> This special regard may have been partly due to the friendly service rendered to England from time to time, in communicating special political intelligence affecting the interests of that Power. From the Venetian point of view, during the Wars of the Roses in England and during the reigns of Henry VII. and his son, the increasingly complex nature and scope of European affairs, and the tendency of England to intervene in ecclesiastical as well as secular matters made Venice more solicitous of keeping in touch with the English Crown, and of gaining, for the information of the Senate, reports of all that could be gleaned by a diligent use of eyes and ears.

On the other hand, after the troubles which attended and succeeded during many years the League of Cambrai, the Signory evinced a desire to spare the expense of a resident embassy in London. The diplomatic relations between the two Courts were consequently more or less intermittent, and devolved on special envoys or the consul. Elizabeth took very much to heart the indifference of the Signory, and omitted no occasion, when any one from Venice or going thither fell in her way, of expressing her surprise and vexation, and soliciting intercession, while she was lavish of attentions to any Venetian of family who happened to visit the country. It was not Elizabeth alone who suffered neglect. Henry VIII. had, during all the later years of his reign, to look back to the time when it was almost a daily event for him to converse with the courtly and widely-informed Venetian delegates, who were not afraid at need to be candid. One motive which actuated Venice in relaxing her immediate political intercourse with England was an apprehension, as the Reformation began to assume a definite shape, of giving umbrage to the Holy See which, since the relief of the general European tension of the earlier part of the century, had practically become the most appreciable factor in Italian politics.

We possess a minute account<sup>2</sup> from a Venetian pen of the coronation of Queen Mary at Westminster on the 1st of October, 1553. The writer says that eight of his countrymen

<sup>1</sup> *Lettres d' Henri VIII. à Anne Boleyn* (1826), p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Coronazione de la Serenissima Reina Maria d' Inghilterra fatta il di primo d' Ottobre, mdlviii.* 4°.

besides himself were present, and that a representative of the Signory formed one of the diplomatic corps. He seems to describe the eight gentlemen as merchants, and tells us how they were attired, velvet and gold predominating, giving also full particulars of the costumes of the Queen herself, who was on a litter surmounted by a canopy and drawn by mules, and of her retinue. The Princess Elizabeth and the divorced Queen, Anne of Cleves, followed her in a carriage. The Duchess of Norfolk, the Marchionesses of Exeter and Winchester and the Countess of Arundel were on horseback. The way to the Abbey, which our eyewitness makes a mile and a half in length, was spanned by triumphal arches with loyal and complimentary inscriptions, of which the contemporary tract preserves the terms. In the church, the new sovereign was conducted to a throne erected on a dais approached by ten steps, and sat down for a short time. She then rose, and was presented to the people by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, who asked them if they would have as Queen the true heir to the crown, to which there were acclamations of *Yes! yes!* The narrator does not omit to notice the appearance of the Champion, prepared to defend the title of her Majesty against all comers, or the presence of the Earl of Derby who officiated as Lord High Constable; he says that the ambassadors were afterward summoned to kiss hands. There is a description, also probably by a Venetian, of the festivities and *juego de cañas* held in 1554,<sup>1</sup> of which a correspondent apprises Cecil in a letter from the Court of the 12th of October.

In 1558, upon the accession of Elizabeth, the Republic hesitated to send an envoy to congratulate her till it was known what attitude she was going to adopt toward the Holy See, and nothing was done; for, although the Queen was not much fonder than the Venetians of giving way to "the old man," as she termed a supreme pontiff rather younger than herself, the latter had to recollect that they were Catholics, and that the goodwill of the Pope was not lightly negligible.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Narratione particolare d' Inghilterra*, 8° [Venetia?], 1555. The earliest relation of a Venetian envoy to London was apparently that of Giovanni Michiel who delivered his credentials in the summer of 1554, but his extant dispatches commence only in March, 1555.

<sup>2</sup> The plot of William Parry, a lawyer, to depose Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne, 1584, is said by Parry himself, in a letter to Burleigh and Leicester from the Tower, to have been "conceived in Venice."

His Holiness retaliated on the Queen by branding her as "una trista."<sup>1</sup> In 1597, at a much more advanced period in her career, Elizabeth expressed through Dr. Hawkyns who was then at Venice her desire to take the opinion of the Republic which she greatly loved and esteemed, on the question of the succession to the Crown, before she wrote on the subject to the Pope. This was shortly before the appearance in 1600 of George (afterward archbishop) Abbot's interesting reference to the Republic in his *Brief Description of the Whole World*. Singularly enough, in August 1598, Lord Sanquhar presented himself at Venice in the name of James VI. of Scotland who had really sent him to wait on Clement VIII. at Ferrara, in order to enlist the Papal support of his claim to the English Crown, although, subsequently to his accession, James represented that Sanquhar was solely accredited to Hungary.<sup>2</sup>

In 1603, the Republic accredited to Elizabeth, avowedly for the purpose of obtaining redress for certain grievances against English corsairs and of establishing a better understanding for the future, the secretary of legation, Scaramelli, who had a prearranged audience of the Queen on Sunday the 16th of February. The account which he transmitted to the Doge is extremely interesting and characteristically minute. He describes Elizabeth's dress and her demeanour toward him. When he knelt to kiss her hand, she gave him her right which he saluted, her Highness saying, "Welcome to England, Mr. Secretary; it is high time for the Republic to send to see a Queen who on every occasion has done it so much honour." During the interview, Elizabeth continued to stand, and exhibited great good humour, although she reproached the Republic with having delayed so long to send a representative.<sup>3</sup> Cecil was in attendance. The complaints were referred to a special committee: the Queen, in addressing Scaramelli, spoke in Italian, which, she told him, she had learned as a girl.

<sup>1</sup> Howell (*Familiar Letters*, ed. Jacobs, p. 348) says that Elizabeth would refer to Sixtus V. as *Sica-cing*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1864, xlix.

<sup>3</sup> A glance at the works of Alberi and Tommaseo will shew that the Signory paid far less attention to England, except at critical emergencies, than to other European Powers, even under the Tudors who had, on the whole, befriended and supported Venice at junctures of exceptional difficulty and danger. We observe what view Henry VIII. and Elizabeth took, but, in fact, Henry VII. had been equally cordial.



In conversation with the Venetian delegate, Elizabeth spoke of her isolation—of being outside the European circle. This was by no means a new grievance, for, in 1512, Henry VIII., in talking with Lorenzo Pasqualigo, the ambassador of the Signory, is made to say: "I marvel that the Signory should never have written me a letter, seeing what a friend I am for her, as for her sake I shall wage this war on France, so that she may recover her territory, and for this she ought to thank me." When Pasqualigo rejoined that his country had made acknowledgments in the usual way, the King admitted as much, "yet," said he, "would a letter from the State produce a different effect, for I should have it read to my Council. It would be to my satisfaction and to the Signory's advantage."

It was not so long subsequently to the audience given to the Secretary Scaramelli that the last of the Tudors died, and that James I. succeeded to the throne. Such an exceptionally important occurrence naturally struck the Venetian Government as one which demanded prompt and particular recognition. In the autumn of the same year Pietro Duodo, who had filled other diplomatic appointments in 1592 and 1598, arrived in England, where he remained from September, 1603 to February, 1604. In a Report written by one of his suite, there is mention of his reception at Court,<sup>1</sup> and he enters into particulars of the country, its area, population, army, navy, customs, natural products and history, so far as the compass of a slender octavo volume would allow. Room was found even for a transcript of an ordinance of James I. on matters of religion, which may have impressed the envoy as likely to prove just then interesting to his own Government.

A diplomatic visit to London in 1609–10, by Francesco Contarini, a representative of the Signory, shews that the Master of the Ceremonies was deputed to meet the distinguished stranger at Dartford. This he did on the 15th of January, saluting his Excellency in the King's name. The bill of expenses for bringing him and his suite to London has been preserved—two four-horse coaches at 20s. a day, and one

<sup>1</sup> Phillipps, MSS. 1913, 5302, 8°. Now in the Marciano. An account of it was most obligingly communicated to me by the Cavaliere Frati, librarian of that institution. Unknown to Alberi and Tommaseo.

two-horse coach at 15s., besides one of the Queen of England's coaches to accommodate the ambassador. Suitable quarters had to be found for the distinguished visitors in the City.

A very exceptional and tragical case, which almost presents the aspect of a psychological phenomenon, meets the eye in the diplomatic annals of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, in connexion with the appointment of an ambassador to the Court of England. In June, 1616, Antonio, son of Nicolò Donato, was chosen to succeed the representative whose term of office had expired, but he was detained in Savoy upward of two years longer on important business connected with the embassy, and did not reach London till late in the autumn of 1618, when his country was absorbed in the Spanish crisis. Donato was quite a young man—about five-and-twenty; but he had won a character for remarkable ability, and easily ingratiated himself with those with whom he came into official contact. He had brought with him separate credentials to the King of Great Britain and the Queen, and letters patent from the Doge, all equally dated the 4th of September, requesting all friends and ordering all ministers and subjects of the Republic to allow a free passage for himself, his household, retinue and goods. But on the 15th he was still on his way, and the splendour of his train and equipments is pronounced by a contemporary observer as amazing. He had probably arrived in London earlier, but the first glimpse of him in the available records is afforded on the 30th of November, 1618, when he addressed a dispatch to the Signory, mentioning his predecessor Contarini in eulogistic terms, and referring to negotiations with Savoy.

In a communication from Contarini himself to his Government, prior to his départure from Dover on the 1st of October, 1618, he speaks of Donato as a personage of great talents and rare endowments which, coupled with his natural splendour and magnificence, display themselves more and more, and gain for him additional esteem, reminding the whole British Court of the renown of his ancestors. Contarini had a good deal more to say of a similar purport. On the 3rd of January, 1618–19, Donato sent two farther lengthy advices to his employers. They dealt partly with political differences between England and France, and the efforts of Venice in Paris and London and of the Duke of Savoy to restore amity. Till March, 1619, matters pro-

ceeded in a normal manner. On the 14th of that month the Venetian Government formulated separate notifications to the King, Queen and Prince of Wales, of the desire of Donato to return home for some time on urgent grounds, but the motion did not receive the requisite majority in the Senate. On the same day, Donato sent two letters to the Government without naming the point; but on the 15th the Senate seems to have been in possession of farther details, involving an implication of serious charges which might prove unfounded. Donato craved leave to return home on important affairs, and a succession of motions was put to the ballot, but negatived. On the 2nd of April the Senate conceded the application on the arrival of his successor. He was assured of the friendly protection of the Government which expected him to prove his innocence. A triple notification of the circumstance was made to the King, Queen and Prince of Wales. Nevertheless, Donato remained, and continued to keep his employers informed of all that was going on, no allusion to any difficulty or suspicion being discernible in the correspondence. On the 5th, advices reached London of the early arrival of the new ambassador who had been transferred from Madrid. Political matters were almost at a standstill in England by reason of the illness of the King; Anne of Denmark was dead; and the Venetian ambassador was in touch with Buckingham.

An unavoidable delay occurred in the supply of the prospective vacancy, and, on the 17th of May, Donato unexpectedly declared to his secretary Marioni his intention to start that very evening for Venice by the quickest route. He carried with him the highest testimonials and the best wishes of many friends who grieved for troubles of the exact nature of which they were so far ignorant. He travelled *via* Dunkirk. On his arrival he attended a meeting of the Senate, on whom he produced by plausible representations a favourable impression; but, strange as it may seem, the Government was not yet in possession of certain particulars, and Donato, apprehensive of damaging disclosures, absconded, and was successful in making his escape back to England. On the 4th of July, 1619, he was at Gravesend.

Toward the end of the previous month, Marioni, the Venetian secretary of legation in London, had received from



his Government the ensuing notification from the Senate, dated the 20th of June:

"We have deprived Antonio Donato of his ambassadorship and of his nobility, banished him from our territory, and confiscated his goods. We direct you, so soon as you receive this, and before you communicate it to any one, to lay hands upon all his goods of whatever kind and upon all documents public and private. You will inform his Majesty of our decision by means of the ministers and, if necessary, by asking for a special audience of the King. We send you special letters of credence for asking for these goods. You will make a careful inventory of the said goods and papers, and send it on at once, awaiting farther orders in this matter."

The same mail conveyed to Marioni the terms of the judgment against Donato:

"That Antonio Donato, son of Nicolò, be deprived of the office of ambassador in England, and of his nobility, and that his name be deleted from the books of the Avogaria di Comune, and that he be banished from Venice and her dominions for ever; and if he is taken he shall be hanged between the columns of St. Mark, with a reward of 3000 ducats to whoever takes him in Venetian territory and 4000 ducats outside. He may never be released from this banishment or receive any pardon or remission of his sentence even at the instance of princes, except from a unanimous vote of the councillors and chiefs of our College. His release may not be mentioned for twenty years. All his goods, of whatever kind they may be, shall be applied to our treasury as trust property during his life and for ten years after his death. The above sentence shall be published at the first meeting of the Great Council and at St. Mark's and the Rialto, also on every first Sunday in Lent during his life."

We might have remained unaware of this extremely flagrant dereliction of duty on the part of Donato, had not a second vote been taken, that "the nature of the offence should be placed on record, namely, that while ambassador in Savoy he handled the public money, of which he embezzled a large proportion both directly and indirectly, hoping to enrich himself in this way."

It must offer itself to our criticism as a remarkable circumstance, that Donato should have had these heavy amounts passing through his hands for remittance to others, without a word or a suspicion transpiring of the malversation through so considerable a share of the money not reaching its appointed recipients. It was only at the last moment that the bubble burst, the crime was exposed, and the mystery of the profuse expenditure of the culprit solved.

On the 5th of July, James I. had had no official news about Donato, and retained the opinion that he would easily clear himself; but, on the same day about noon, the Venetian courier brought Marioni the distressing intelligence, accompanied by a letter from Donato himself, written at Gravesend the day before, and handed to the messenger who received from the secretary fourteen Spanish doubloons for his travelling expenses. Marioni had scarcely read the dispatch when Donato made his appearance. He discounted the contents of the papers and departed, while the secretary proceeded in his carriage to Greenwich, where he waited two hours till the King returned from hunting. The Earl of Arundel who, he says, obtained him an early audience, was in attendance with Buckingham. James heard all that Marioni had to say, and pleaded that he could decide nothing without consulting the Council. "I will send you the reply on Sunday," his Majesty said, "but if the Republic has confiscated the goods in her State, why do you want those here to be put in guard? you ought to shew a little mercy." Marioni vainly expostulated; the King rose from his seat, left the room, and went to supper. Arundel had interpreted for the secretary. Donato and he crossed each other, the latter driving in his coach to Greenwich, and seeing, not the King, but Buckingham, whom he interested in his favour. He subsequently saw the Savoyard ambassador, and when Marioni met the latter the same evening, he seemed to be in a state of doubt whether he ought to move in the affair against Donato. Shortly after midnight, when Marioni was in bed, a gentleman called to announce that the King had decided to send instructions to Secretary Naunton to send men on the following morning to secure Donato's property and to make an inventory, and invited the secretary of legation to attend the process and witness the sealing. But when Marioni arrived the business was complete; all the coffers and all the doors of the rooms had been sealed with the royal arms. He was informed that Donato had sold a great deal to cover his expenses, and had burned in the night all such papers as remained in the embassy, those which he had found on the premises on his arrival from Venice having been destroyed by the alleged order of the Council of Ten.

The matter was brought before the Council, and Marioni

was duly summoned to hear its views and enunciate his arguments, but it was impossible to make the Primate and his eleven colleagues see the point. "Canterbury," as Marioni styles him, cited the laws of God and nations; the Doge might, if he thought proper, bring a civil action against Donato; or, if it could be shown that any of the things belonged to the Republic, they might be reserved. Arundel added that he was sure that the Doge and the Republic would understand their reasons.

Marioni, writing home on the 9th of July, concludes his report in these words: "I fear your Serenity will be very dissatisfied with this result. I have done my utmost, crushing all my feeling for Donato who was my beloved master." He stated that the seals were not removed from Donato's house, and that the Savoyard ambassador had called on him, and would, he thought, let the Prince of Piedmont who was in France know what had happened.

July passed, and the Venetian Government had no information about the matter, or about Donato. But, at the beginning of August, Marioni received a dispatch of weighty importance, setting forth the true facts relative to the standing of an ambassador, and conveying in unvarnished language a severe rebuke to the King and his advisers, not so much for their ignorance as for their undignified levity.

"You will go to his Majesty, and say that, since our Republic has had an ambassador with him, we thought that we possessed a house there with the usual ambassadorial privileges. . . . You will tell his Majesty how much we esteem him, and urge him to order the seals to remain unbroken, and that the house be recognized as belonging to the Republic. . . . In addition to the first crime of embezzling so much public money, he has taken possession of the Republic's house, and accuses himself of having laid hands on public documents, saying he has burned them. . . . The laws of the country have nothing to do with the matter, since in the ambassadors' houses the laws of their own princes pertain."

Two passages in the motion submitted to the Senate were on reconsideration expunged.

James and his creatures, however, continued to shield and even court Donato, although he confessed to the King that he had taken 17,000 ducats in Piedmont as a commission on payments to the Duke of Savoy from Venice. His Majesty asked whether it was a Christian act to let this



gentleman die of want. Donato had realized a considerable amount by sales, and he owed the Post Office over 800 crowns for which an application was made to the embassy after his withdrawal.

The negotiation and controversy lasted till the end of the month. On the 23rd Marioni travelled to Rufford in the vicinity of Sherwood Forest where James was hunting. The King invited him to join in the sport, and to take dinner in the garden of the house. But, in the interview which succeeded, nothing was gained. The Secretary stood, while the King paced up and down the room. He writes:—

“I told him I had received a reply by express courier to the letter I had written about my request to secure Donato's property. . . . I read the letter which his Majesty looked over, following with his eye. . . . He asked, ‘What does the Republic want?’ I said: ‘To obtain their house in London and also Donato's person.’ The King began to writhe with merriment, and laughed immoderately, going four or five paces away from me.”

Marioni found that he had had his long journey for nothing. The question was referred back to Naunton, and Secretary Calvert finally wrote by the King's direction, that Donato had only burned useless papers or copies in conformity with instructions, and that the rent of the embassy was paid by him and not by the Republic; that, by the law of nations and for his own honour's sake, his Majesty took him under his protection.

So this notable affair ended. The feeling in Venice was unmistakably strong, but the incident occurred at a highly critical point of time, when the Signory had their hands more than full with the Spanish business, and it was perhaps deemed impolitic and unsafe to carry insistence farther. The view held by James himself seems to have been that, if he had taken speculation at home so seriously, he should have had no one to serve him. The personality of Donato, his years considered, must have been really powerful. Almost at the last opportunity which we have of catching a glimpse of him, he is gaining ground, making friends, and commanding sympathy; while the Republic is viewed with a sort of disaffection for its drastic hardness toward an unfortunate man. Such rigour was a peremptory element in the Venetian system, when circumstances demanded it, but it was not so

in England under the disreputable Stuarts. There was an amount of tension in the case which might, had the resources of the Republic not been otherwise deeply engaged, have led to the arrival of a Venetian fleet in the Thames. The Tudors would have surrendered Donato.

The succession of the Tudors in 1485 proved, on the whole, favourable to the Republic, although the latter had exerted itself at all times and in the face of many difficulties to maintain friendly relations with the late dynasty. In the very year of Bosworth Field, the Signory had sent an elaborate letter of condolence to the last of the Plantagenets on the death of his consort, but there does not appear to have been any formal communication between the two Powers on the accession of Richard. In the same eventful year for England, however, the Doge forwarded his congratulations to the new King, and, in 1496, the English ambassador Urswick or Bainbridge, waiting on the Emperor Maximilian at Augsburg, met the Venetian representative Zaccaria Contarini, and reminded him that the Doge was the first European sovereign who felicitated his master, and addressed him as King of England. He added that Henry had the ducal letters with the pendent silver seal, and that he (Urswick) was directed, on his way to Rome in the following year, to thank his Serenity,<sup>1</sup> and to make the assurance that Henry entertained for the Signory the highest regard and respect.

Henry VII. manifested a sincere friendship for Venice, as his son did after him, and made its representative at his court clearly understand that, in such a bias and sympathy, he stood almost alone. On the 27th of July, 1506, the Captain of the Flanders Galleys notified to his Government that his Majesty had invited him to dine with him at Sheen, and that he went there with sixty horsemen and other noblemen and gentlemen, and was accorded a joyous reception. Henry offered to knight him, but he declined, being contented to quarter the Lion of England on his family arms.<sup>2</sup> He was conducted by his royal entertainer to a small apartment at the palace, where he saw Catharine of Arragon, widow of Prince Arthur, playing on the spinet with the Lady Mary Tudor, then nine years of age.

<sup>1</sup> Urswick reached Venice on the 23rd of August, 1487, and was received with marked distinction. *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian), i. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Cappello is recorded on his tomb at Sta. Maria Formosa as "the man whom the King of Britain delighted to honour."

He expressed to Cappello his views about the danger which the Signory incurred through the jealousy of the European Powers.

Altogether, the momentous change in the English Government, while it could not affect or control a certain drift toward new commercial ideas and principles inimical to Venice as they slowly developed themselves, operated beneficially in imparting a larger measure of stability to the political relations between the two countries. Although England did not establish a permanent embassy at Venice till a much later date, the importance of friendly reciprocity was fully realized, and occasional envoys on behalf of either Government were frequently finding their way across the Channel. As far back as 1340, a bishop of Bisaccia, a subject of the King of Naples, had been deputed to take Venice on his way and deliver a message from Edward II. of England. The nature of his mission is elsewhere explained.

In 1522, while the Signory was suffering from the severe strain occasioned by the complex relations between England, France and Germany, a representative of Henry VIII. (Richard Pace) is described as being at Venice, and as lodged in the private residence of the Doge at Santa Maria Formosa. On the 24th of December, thirty-two silver tankards were stolen out of the house, and, when mass was celebrated at St. Mark's on that and Christmas Day, the English ambassador absented himself, because he would not yield precedence to the French envoy, partly on account of the enmity between them; at the same point of time, Don Hieronimo Adorno, brother of the Governor of Genoa, and the protonotary Sir Gregory Casal<sup>1</sup> were charged by Henry VIII. with special missions to the Signory. But Pace was beyond comparison the most notable figure and the most capable functionary, and had made many friends in England. He apprised the Council of Ten that two personages likely to be useful to the Signory were Sir Henry Marney and the then newly elected Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo the diarist characterizes Casal, who (as well as Urswick or Bainbridge) is introduced into the play of *Henry VIII.*, as "molto inepto e non pratico di stato."

<sup>2</sup> During his visit to Rome, Pace utilized his classical knowledge, having been, during his eventful life, a Reader at Cambridge, in translating certain *opuscula* of Cicero, and caused the work to be put to press at Venice in 1522, dedicating it to Tunstall.



In 1546, an English Lutheran was suffered to take up his residence in a quasi-diplomatic capacity, having introduced himself as the bearer of letters sanguinely soliciting the Government to assist the Protestant cause against the Papacy and Charles V., and, about the same time, a Venetian, Baldassare Altieri, is found acting as English or British agent at Venice, and collaterally exerting himself on the same side.<sup>1</sup> He printed in 1550 a very remarkable exposition, nominally addressed to Edward VI., of the state of religious parties in Germany.

Sir Henry Wotton held the post of resident ambassador of Great Britain during several years in the time of James I., and his name is the most familiar to our ears from his independent personal eminence. His services, both to his own country and to the Republic, were manifold, and he was an eyewitness of the thrilling occurrences which preceded and attended the closing years of his friend and neighbour in the city, Fra Paolo Sarpi. On the 3rd of January, 1618-19, the Council of Ten accorded him special leave to visit the study and inspect the treasures of Andrea Vendramin.

From 1635 to 1639, the post of Resident at Venice was held by Lord Feilding, who was accommodated at the Giustiniani Palace at San Moisè. He seems to have been succeeded by Lord Fauconberg who died in 1652, when his widow applied for the place of ambassadress, and urged that, as a daughter of the Protector, she was quite capable of representing Great Britain.

In the same year (1652), Thomas Killigrew the dramatist had been sent as British Resident at Venice on behalf of Charles II. then in exile; he had quarters assigned to him at the Molin Palace, but his gross misconduct led the Signory to make an order for his departure from the Venetian territories.

The Venetian ambassador in London informed Sir Edward Hyde, it appears, of the unusually abrupt and summary course taken, and, in a letter to Sir Richard Browne on the 6th of August, Hyde states that the King is very much concerned about it, and intends to investigate the facts "from respect to that commonwealth with which the Crown of England hath always held a very strict amity; and his Majesty's ministers have in

<sup>1</sup> *Huth Catalogue*, 1880, pp. 24-5.

all places preserved a very good correspondence with the ministers of that State, and therefore his Majesty is the more sensible of this misdemeanour of his Resident." But the King appears to have intimated, through Hyde to Browne who probably informed his kinsman Evelyn, that he would have preferred the adoption of the ordinary course of laying a formal complaint against the culprit, since it might seem that the Signory had taken advantage of his Majesty's troubles to act in an unusual way, although he had been assured that there was no such feeling on the part of the Venetian Government.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the commencement of the Civil War in England in 1641, the foreign residents met with rather unceremonious treatment. In a letter dated the 18th of November in that year, to the King who was then in Scotland, Sir Edward Nicholas notes: "Friday last . . . the Venetian Ambassador complained at the Council Board, that his letters had been opened by the Committees of Parliament, and he was so much incensed at it, as he then made his protest, and thereupon withdrew himself (as I hear) to Greenwich till such time as he shall advertise that Republic with that affront, as he termed it." The writer mentions that the Tuscan representative had also taken offence, and points out the injury likely to accrue from such proceedings to those trading with the two countries.

The representative of Charles I. to whom Sir Edward Nicholas alludes was Sir Gilbert Talbot, who states in a Memorial on another subject in 1680, that he had served his Majesty eleven years at Venice, and that he calculated his loss of pay (doubtless during the Civil War) at £13,000.<sup>2</sup> There is an anecdote of Talbot that, when he gave the Doge Erizzo an account of the defeat of the Royalists at Marston Moor in 1644, his Serenity was moved to tears, and promised to prevail on the Government to assist Charles I. But it appears that Erizzo was too impulsive or that Talbot did not accurately recollect what had occurred, as the Signory did no more than condole and regret, excusing themselves

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*, 1858, iv. 249-50. At Knole, Sevenoaks, a former seat of the Sackvilles, they shew the Venetian bedroom in which Nicolò Molini, the Venetian ambassador, once slept, and the furniture is alleged to be the original suite, but this is doubtful. (Thorne's *Environs of London*, 1876, i. 407.) There is no mention of Molino or Molini in Alberi or Tommaseo.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Ellis, *Memoir upon the King's Jewel-House*, 1828, p. 12.

from agreeing to a loan, on the ground that the war with Turkey just then absorbed their resources.<sup>1</sup>

The naval revival of England under the Commonwealth and Protectorate had their indirect value in Venetian eyes; but the Signory probably to some extent foresaw the instability of the new form of government—one of military and sectarian origin. From a desire, however, to ascertain how affairs proceeded in England, and reluctant to commit itself to any premature declaration, the advisers of the Doge sent a Secretary of Legation, Lorenzo Panlucci, to London, unprovided with credentials. The reception of this informal delegate was by no means favourable or complimentary; for the Master of the Ceremonies, Sir Oliver Fleming, with whom he had arranged an interview in Westminster Park as it was then called, on discovering that Panlucci had no papers (credentials), rated him soundly, intimated a suspicion that he was a spy and upbraided his employers with harbouring Killigrew. The English authorities were just then on the alert, as some French agent had lately presented himself in London to reconnoitre and report in the interest of the Stuarts.

In 1668, Evelyn the Diarist describes the ceremonious and friendly reception of Signore Mocenigo, then accredited to the Court of Charles II. Two years later, the Senate exceptionally granted an audience to the English consul, George Hailes, who was commissioned to announce the arrival of an ambassador extraordinary from England. Evelyn was still carrying on his Diary when, on the 28th of April 1696, "the Venetian ambassador made a stately entry with fifty footmen, many on horseback, four rich coaches, and a numerous train of gallants."

At a masquerade given by the Venetian Ambassador at Somerset House, it has been said that Mrs. Hervey (1720–88), subsequently better known as Duchess of Kingston, appeared as Iphigenia in a flesh-coloured, tight-fitting suit, with a cincture of fig-leaves round her loins, and that the Princess of Wales cast a veil over her. The story is by no means incredible, looking at the gross indelicacy of the age and the notorious orgies of people in the highest circles.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers*, 1864, i. xc.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Memoirs of Elizabeth Chudleigh*, the frontispiece of which exhibits her as she presented herself on this occasion. There is a trace of the veil, but the print does not give the lady a mask. In 1745, the wife of the Venetian



Casanova informs us that, when he was in London, the diplomatic representative was Pietro Businello, whom he subsequently met in the capacity of secretary to the Inquisitors of State. In 1754, the Venetian Resident in London was, according to a letter from Dr. Johnson to Thomas Warton, Signor Zou who lived in Soho Square. But, in 1768, the ambassador, Tommaso Quirini, appears to have been accredited, and, on the 28th of April in that year, was knighted by George III. The last English representative accredited to the Republic was Sir Richard Worsley, who stayed long enough to make known to the Signory the victory off Cape St. Vincent, and also to receive his passports from the French Secretary of Legation on the 12th of May, 1797.

The localities in London frequented by the Venetian diplomatic agents during successive centuries are to a certain extent ascertainable. For a very lengthened period, special missions and the co-operation of consuls in the metropolis and at such places as Sandwich and Southampton were accounted sufficient; and when the embassy to the Court of England became an established institution, casual notices assist us in indicating where the members were lodged. But no explicit intelligence reaches us, in regard to other political centres to which Venetians were in the course of ages continually accredited, such as Paris, Madrid, Vienna, Constantinople and, above all, Rome, where the church of St. Mark became, in the seventeenth century, the property of Venice, as a gift from the Holy See. Although, even after the fall of the Republic, the *Palazzo di Venezia* at Rome was still occupied as a diplomatic residence by the Austrians, yet, looking at Italian conservatism and the peculiarly close and, on the whole, amicable relations between the two Powers, it may previously have been the permanent headquarters of the representatives of the Doge.

There are casual or incidental traces of a Venetian element in the English capital, chiefly of merchants who had branches or agencies there, and required consular or diplomatic assistance and protection. In 1438, the will was proved of one of the Venetian family of Lippomano, who owned property,

envoy gave a splendid inaugural masked entertainment at the Embassy in Frith or Thrift Street, Soho. But we do not seem to know whether it presented any feature similar to that which was distinguished by the presence of Mrs. Hervey.

and probably resided in Bread Street, London; in 1481, a Venetian merchant, a member of the ducal house of Contarini, is described as of St. Botolph's Lane, London, and, about 1509, a Venetian Bank, doubtless for the convenience of subjects of the Republic, was established in the neighbourhood of Lombard Street, by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, of whom we have heard. The addresses of the diplomatic agents of Venice down to a comparatively late date are uniformly within the civic bounds; in 1617-18, the Venetian embassy was installed in Sir Paul Pinder's house at Bishopsgate; in 1657, Charterhouse Square is described as a place where it had its quarters. But, in or before 1750, when the city had grown less fashionable, the embassy moved westward and fixed itself successively in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, where a chapel was attached, in Frith Street, Soho, and in Soho Square. Independently of the ambassador, as far back as 1409, there was a Committee of Merchants in the English metropolis for the discussion and protection of Venetian interests. The institution may have been an outcome of the egregious Bembo grievance of the preceding year.

The Government, from at least the sixteenth century, adopted a code or codes of cyphers in its correspondence with its agents abroad, or in confidential communications with its other representatives; and it became a special function to draw up these dispatches in secret characters, or to translate them into ordinary language. It occasionally happened in the passage across the Channel, that papers were insufficiently protected from a rough sea and were so saturated as to be almost illegible.

Ambassadors usually received complimentary presents from the Courts to which they were accredited, as a rule, on taking leave; but these were returnable to the Signory, unless special permission was accorded by the latter to the contrary. This regulation dated back to the 23rd of September, 1257, when it was ordained that nothing might be accepted or at least kept, exceeding a nominal value. The secretary of legation, Lionello, at a later date obtained leave to keep a chain presented to him by James I., and the Ten, on the 8th of November, 1617, voted him a special gratuity of 100 gold ducats as a tribute to his zeal and ability. In 1523, 500 gold crowns had been awarded to Jacopo Suriano by Henry VIII., and Suriano was

allowed to retain the amount, by reason of the heavy outlay to which he had been put in accompanying the King, Wolsey and the rest across the Channel to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, with three-and-twenty servants and eleven horses.<sup>1</sup> Some of the costly dresses and equipments used on that memorable occasion were procured from Venice, and, according to an indenture dated the 29th of April, 1519, cost £200, but from a second document signed by Andrew Windsor, Master of the Great Wardrobe to Henry VIII., it appears that the bill remained unpaid in 1529.

The expenditure of the Republic on diplomatic service, which was never stinted, must have long continued to be enormous; and probably, on the whole, owing to the address and tact of the personages selected to represent their country, the cost was not unremunerative. The Venetian envoy was a model of adroitness and of pliancy to circumstances, and could keep within just whatever bounds the state of the case seemed to him to demand. It is true that he carried instructions from the Senate, somewhat hampering his discretion, but it was not unusual for him to possess alternative orders, and, when he was a man in whom his employers reposed more than ordinary confidence, he virtually had a free hand. When the matter at issue was one of unusual importance or delicacy, two delegates were often appointed with the double object of securing a second opinion and a second pair of eyes and ears. Coryat mentions in his *Crudities* that, six years before, probably in 1602, he had met the Venetian envoys at Salisbury. On another occasion we hear that the representative of the Signory followed Charles I. to Newmarket.

There was, as external relations became more intricate and difficult, a correspondingly increasing jealousy and intolerance of communications between members of councils in their personal capacity and representatives of foreign courts, especially where there was friction or distrust, as more particularly in the case of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; indiscretions of this class were sometimes visited with terrible severity. On the contrary, the Republic found itself down to the end unable to cope successfully with

<sup>1</sup> The meeting had been planned as far back as February, 1515.—Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*, 1854, i. 46. The Field was between Guines and Ardres in the Pas de Calais. The sovereigns met at the Château d' Hardelot.



the abuse and scandal, created by the practice of some of the foreign embassies in harbouring dangerous political characters, who were at all times ready to perform any sort of service in return for an asylum; and so flagrant and intolerable became this mischief, that once or twice the Government overrode all diplomatic scruples, and forcibly entered the premises of the French or Spanish representatives.

The system of Vails or *Douceurs* may be accepted as entering into the practice of diplomatic strategy. The time soon came, after the arrival of the Republic at a certain stage of eminence and wealth, when no one who had done her a distinguished service, or was likely to do so, was left without a reward in honours or in money. In 1345, the Prince of Botzen in the Austrian Tyrol received a purse of 200 ducats for operating the League against the infidels. The next year, the pontifical general, Dolfino of Vienna, had 1000 ducats as a gratuity, and Jacopo da Carrara, "come hither," 100 *lire*. In 1390, the Signore of Mantua was not only entertained at a banquet, but was presented with a gift of sweetmeats and 30 ducats. All this was very Oriental, but it was almost exclusively *ex parte*, for the Republic accepted no equivalents, unless it was some unimportant gift from a crowned head to the Doge retained from fear of giving umbrage. The gifts presented to all classes of people on every variety of occasion, crowned heads inclusive, must in the course of centuries have represented an amount of incalculable magnitude. They formed part of the constitutional and administrative system, but scarcely more so than was the case elsewhere, except that the Venetians gave, but were debarred from receiving, presents in any shape. In England under the Stuarts, distinguished visitors were loaded with gifts which amounted to bribes.

Very few instances are on record, in which the Venetians came into conflict with the English at sea. The earliest appears to have been in 1319, the particulars of which occur elsewhere; the latest was in 1488 when, on Christmas Day, off St. Helen's near Ryde in the Isle of Wight, the Flanders Galleys were ordered by three English ships to strike sail. The Venetian commander, Pietro Malipiero, notified that they were friends, whereupon the English tried to board the galleys. Malipiero blew his whistle, beat to quarters, and killed eighteen of the assailants, with a loss of two of his own

men. The trading fleet, however, was chased into Southampton. Malipiero addressed himself to the King, and the Bishop of Winchester was sent to institute an inquiry. It is to be concluded that the English were to blame, for the bishop decided that his countrymen must bear their loss, while he adjudged to them, by way of *solatium*, a *poto di vino* or gratuity.

So far as extant records enable us to judge, the political relations and correspondence between England and the Republic attained their height of prominence and regularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while the views and will of the Signory remained a signal feature in every European change of parties, and the Venetian voice was clearly hearable in every Court and every market.

It was a principle and regulation, dating from the critical Cambrai epoch, that no ambassador or other official person employed abroad or outside Venice should correspond with any individual at home on affairs of State, but only with the Signory (11th July, 1510). This injunction was renewed and confirmed during the very embarrassing and intricate relations with England, France, Spain and Germany in 1522, and, moreover, it was laid down that no member of the College (Cabinet), Senate, or Council of Ten should communicate any report of the private deliberations of the Executive.<sup>1</sup>

The ambassador might not take his wife with him; but he was bound on prudential grounds to have a cook from home, on whose good faith he could rely. The *dolce maniera* which there has been occasion to notice was not really peculiar to Venice; but, taken with the substantial means of ingratiating himself which he habitually carried with him, it unquestionably helped forward many a political accommodation. In point of fact, we encounter everywhere in early Italian transactions the same sort of specious urbanity, and find the Republic of San Marino addressing Venice as "*nostra carissima sorella*." This suavity extended to the provincial administrators of the *terra firma* down to the last days of the Republic. In 1770, when Giovanni Pesaro left his office as Podestà of Vicenza, a volume appeared there containing valedictory verses to celebrate "*la Prefettura da esso gloriosamente sostenuta*."

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), iii. 225.

The consular system was necessarily regulated by suitable principles of appointment, administration, pay and other details; but there does not seem to have been any published specific Capitulary or Code for this service, analogous to the Spanish *Consulado del Mar* which was issued at Barcelona about 1484, and was periodically reprinted. It acquired the character of a standard authority on the subject, and included a provision for a court of appeal.

In more or less intimate alliance with the diplomatic service, this system acquired a peculiar importance and weight, so far as Anglo-Venetian relations were concerned, from the appointment of men of at once commercial experience and social standing, who at need were capable of managing any business in London and other ports; and for centuries, indeed, all international transactions and correspondence remained on an absolutely casual footing.<sup>1</sup> In 1319, the syndic accredited to the Court of Edward II., in connexion with a grave outrage on Venetian trading vessels in Flemish waters, was instructed to propose or arrange the establishment of a consulate in the English metropolis, for the purpose of dealing with matters of ordinary import; and it may be deduced from the existence of a *Vice-consulate* in London in 1408, without any suggestion that the institution was a novelty, that something was concluded in pursuance of the official initiative of the antecedent century. In 1449, Marco Barbarigo, born in 1414, son of the Procurator Francesco, filled the post of Consul for Venice in London. The consuls at this time appear to have been annually appointed. In 1496, Pietro Contarini, a merchant, and at one time the captain of a galley, is found acting as Venetian consul.

In 1427, we meet with a document, in which Robert Lockyng, public notary and clerk in holy orders in the diocese of Lincoln, attests an affidavit with his mark at his dwelling in the parish of St. Peter's, Sandwich, by Hugh Rys, burgess of Sandwich, consul of the Venetians, Genoese and Catalonians, and William Rawlings, clothier of the same town, in reference to the freight of a ship named the *Santa Maria e Santa Reverenda*, consisting of wool, tin and grain which had been irregularly sold in 1420. A single person thus officiated here for three Powers, and it may have been so at Southampton,

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), i., introd. l.



Rye, Lynn and elsewhere. On the 18th of April, 1495, the Venetian Senate appointed Thomas Oure consul at Southampton "with all the usual forms and conditions." It appears singular that the question was raised in 1588 by the Senate, whether there was any one acting in a consular capacity for Venice in London, and resort was had to the embassy in Paris, which stated that a native of Corfu, resident at Venice, was a sort of self-constituted official, and had appealed to Paris to settle a dispute between England and the Signory, in regard to the duty on currants.<sup>1</sup> The circumstance points to a state of imperfect intelligence, reconcilable neither with a decline in the call for Venetian imports nor with the normal tactics of Venetian bureaucracy.

In 1652, Cromwell wrote to urge the recognition as consul of one Hobson who was appointed accordingly. He was apparently a resident, as his name occurs in 1640 in correspondence with Henry Hyde, one of the brothers of Edward, and English consul in the Morea. Toward the latter part of that century, the post had ceased on either side to preserve its old purpose and utility. Evelyn, as a member of the Council of Trade and Plantations, notes, under the 21st of December, 1672, having "settled the consulate of Venice." Strangely enough, a second Hobson, a Romanist and a Jacobite, became consul in 1688, and celebrated a *Te Deum* at Santa Maria Formosa on the birth of the putative Prince of Wales in that year; the Government with which he was officially associated only recognized William III. as Prince of Orange.

The members of foreign factories were under an obligation to contribute, toward consular and other expenses, from two to five per cent. on the estimated value of cargoes, and we meet with not infrequent complaints of these dues having fallen into serious arrear, and consequent threats of surcharge. The cost of couriers also came out of this fund. Strictly speaking, the customs were not entitled to allow the clearance of any goods, till the owners had arrived at a settlement. In 1445, the London factory was in debt to the amount of 14,000 ducats. A great deal of laxity or indulgence is manifest.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (Venice)*, i. lx-lxi.

## CHAPTER I

Organization of the Navy—Maintenance of vessels—Classification—Interchangeability of the Navy and Mercantile Marine—Loans of ships to other States—Mediterranean and Gulf Squadrons—Oarsmen—Burial-place near Southampton—Letters of marque—Sovereignty of the Adriatic—Assertion against all Powers—The Arsenal—Reference to it in Dante's *Inferno*—Signal loyalty and value of the Workmen of the Arsenal—Development—Statistics—Venetian Shipwrights engaged by Peter the Great in 1698—War Department—Crossbow practice—Venetian Militia.

THE maritime greatness of the Venetians had, in a certain sense, its source in the ever-recurring necessity of protecting the commerce of the Republic against the inroads and attacks of the Saracens, who had successively gained possession of Syria, Egypt, Barbary, Spain, Sicily, Southern Italy, Cyprus and Candia, and who sought to support and extend those conquests by the study of navigation and the maintenance of well-appointed fleets. To oppose these formidable antagonists, to repress their piratical excursions, and to render the ocean an open field to trade and enterprise, became the interest and aim of the Venetians; and, in following them to their attainment, the Republic insensibly acquired a naval predominance and a commercial ascendancy, which indemnified her for the enormous expenditure and severe sacrifices entailed upon her subjects for centuries.

When the faulty organization of the Navy, and the vicious system under which the Signory, influenced by an unwise jealousy, allowed the management of that force to fall are considered, it will cease to be surprising that the Venetians occasionally sustained crushing reverses, and it will rather become a source of astonishment that their arms were attended by such a large measure of success. Whenever a fleet was to be dispatched on any distant or important undertaking, the chief care was to provide a General Officer, who seems to have been recognized under the simple designation *Capitano*, and to whom the supreme charge of the armament might be intrusted with safety and confidence. The next object of

solicitude was the appointment of a Council of Civilians (*Consiliatores Stoli*), which, though not strictly limited, rarely exceeded two. These Councillors were not furnished with any authority to interfere in matters of merely general discipline and detail; but it was their province to tender their advice to the naval commander on all difficult points of judgment on which a divided opinion might exist, to impose a veto on any intended step on his part, which they might conscientiously consider disadvantageous to the public service, and to decide, by a plurality of votes, any question of moment which might arise. This expedient, which seems to have come into operation when the Doge himself no longer commanded in person, in order to meet the difficulty and delay arising from communication between distant points, and which was subsequently introduced with the most unhappy results into the Dutch Republic, was adopted by the Venetians at least as early as the twelfth century; it was one which, while it seldom exercised a salutary influence, was frequently productive of the most unfortunate and, more than once, fatal consequences.

Subordinate in rank to the Commander-in-Chief were the Proveditors, who seem to have corresponded with the Generals of Division of the other Service, and below the Proveditors were the Captains of the Galleys or *Sopracomiti* whose authority, originally large and too loosely defined, was gradually circumscribed, as experience pointed out from time to time the cogent necessity for the improvement of naval strategy. In 1293, a decree passed the Great Council on the 10th of August,<sup>1</sup> by which it was rendered a capital offence on the part of Captains of Galleys to desert the main squadron, or to detach themselves from it without due authority; and, already during the short administration of Giacomo Contarini,<sup>2</sup> a *reformation*<sup>3</sup> had appeared, which exposed any captain, returning from a mission or voyage in circumstances of ignominy, to a penalty of 100 marks of silver. In accordance with the decree of the 2nd of February, 1295,<sup>4</sup> the election of Captains or Counts of Galleys was subsequently made by ballot in the Great Council.

A *Camerarius* or Treasurer was appointed to every squadron; in his hands were lodged the funds from which monthly pay-

<sup>1</sup> Marin, v. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Among the Venetians this term was equivalent to *Bill* in England, and *Projet de Loi* in France.

<sup>4</sup> Marin, v. 199.



ments were made to the officers and men. The Captain generally received fifteen soldi grossi per mensem; the engineers, of whom on an ordinary galley of war there were two, ten soldi; the archers and cross-bowmen, five; the cook, four; the ship's clerks, of whom there were four, seven and a half; the steersmen, of whom there were often as many as eight, seven and a half; the common oarsmen, four; and others in proportion. The entire complement of the vessel reached from 260 to 280 hands, exclusive of troops, and the monthly expenditure upon each such equipage, independently of the pay of the soldiers, fell very little short of 1250 grossi or 2500 soldini. If this calculation be carried somewhat farther, it follows that the mere working crew of a squadron of fifty sail cost the Republic, for six months (the usual term of a campaign) in bare wages without rations, no less a sum than 750,000 soldi or soldini. During the earlier centuries, the men who worked the oars were exclusively free and paid hands; it was not till a comparatively late period that the galley-slave was employed. In a commission dated from the Ducal Palace on the 12th of April, 1485, appointing the Captain of the Flanders Galleys, there is mention of an Admiral as an officer subordinate to the Captain and to be boarded at his expense, and we read in the same document of musicians and two medical men as included in the staff. This body of instructions is one of the most elaborate extant, and deals with all imaginable details.<sup>1</sup>

Two *Judices Stoli*, or Judges of the Fleet, accompanied every flotilla of importance. The office of these magistrates, which was probably filled in most cases by members of the judicial bench at home, was purely temporary, and their jurisdiction was strictly local. They carried with them a statute-book of maritime law for reference and guidance, several of which survive in collections.<sup>2</sup>

Down to the middle of the fourteenth century, the Republic does not seem to have possessed what could be strictly termed a Navy. Whenever a war broke out, or it became necessary to act on the defensive against the sea-robbers of Barbary or Dalmatia, the usual practice was to impress and fit out the requisite number of merchant vessels, for which a stipulated price was sometimes given, but which were often obtained

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), i. 148-52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. xlv.

gratuitously; and a Camera del Armamento<sup>1</sup> existed, where seamen were required to enter their names. At the close of hostilities, the vessels were released from their obligations, and applied or reconverted to the uses of trade. But the rule was never probably very strict in this respect; the principle of voluntary subsidies and contributions was carried at Venice to such a height, that the State was not infrequently relieved from the burdens which weighed upon the governments of other countries. The munificence of private individuals relieved it, not merely of the expense of chartering galleys, but in some measure of taking mariners into pay; and the modes of conducting a war were so various and so manifold in points of detail, that it is impossible to arrive at any uniformity of custom. There seems, however, to have been a system of official pre-emption in force in cases of exigency, analogous to that which is at present exercised and recognized by European governments. The practice of keeping in commission two or even more independent fleets at different points originated in the trading expeditions, which carried the means of protection from hostile or predatory attacks, and may be accounted the prototype of the latter-day European system of distributing the naval forces of a Power over the waters within its jurisdiction.

The constituent elements of the navy, and the composition of the innumerable flotillas which the Republic, in the course of a thousand years, equipped and dispatched for commercial and belligerent purposes do not come very clearly before us anterior to the eleventh century. The Annals incidentally name certain descriptions of light and heavy craft which were thus employed from time to time, and which naturally, as the wants of the State multiplied, underwent improvement and extension. We become aware of the principles of draught, poundage and seaworthiness which were recognized, but the variation from modern usage and nomenclature is a serious obstacle to a distinct and accurate understanding of the subject. The Venetians naturally borrowed at the outset many of their nautical theories and plans from the Greeks and Romans, while their local maritime service inevitably adapted itself to the

<sup>1</sup> The practice of impressing merchantmen for belligerent purposes was common in early times in other countries, and was of usual occurrence in England under the Plantagenets.

peculiar character of their insular territory. The need, which arose quickly enough, of protecting themselves against piratical incursions from the freebooters of the adjacent coasts, whose skill and daring rendered them formidable adversaries on the sea, brought with it, as an indemnity for terrible losses and sacrifices, the compulsory development of a marine and the demand for an arsenal; and it is easy to perceive, how the receptive genius of the new Power profited by every suggestion and experience, till, in a direction so vital in all respects to national well-being, its rulers succeeded in outstripping the rest of the world by incessant devotion of time, thought and money to the fight for the first place among the peoples of the earth.

The Republic originally classified its fleet into *maggiori* and *minori*, both propelled by sails and oars but of different calibre; and in course of time were introduced transports or *uscieri* and *portocavalli* for conveying to more or less distant points troops and horses. The *maggiori* just mentioned were otherwise known as *galere grosse*, which at a later period acquired the designation of *galeazze*, the counterpart of the Spanish galleon; but they seem to have corresponded to the *dromoni*, large, powerful vessels furnished with two banks of oars and two turreted fighting decks capable of accommodating 200 soldiers. These men-of-war were regarded, even by the Greeks in the eleventh century, as so powerful, that one of the Byzantine writers characterizes them as floating rocks. The *minori* were subsequently distinguished as *galere sottili*; they possessed a single bank of oars and were not turreted; and were employed where speed was essential, or where lighter draught, as among the lagoons themselves, became a necessity. In 1529, we hear of the approbation by the Senate of a proposal by the celebrated naval architect, Vettore Fausto, to construct a *Quinquerema* or ship of five banks of oars, which was viewed as a doubtful experiment, but which was found to answer as a means of facilitating and expediting the transport of heavy artillery. Many years before—in 1498—there were already vessels capable of taking aboard a hundred guns. In 1520, it was decided to reduce the dimensions of the trading galleys to 160 feet, because it had been found that the existing scale made it necessary, when the vessel left the Arsenal, to contract the upper deck, and that the difficulty in resort to the oars



involved danger and loss, as experience had recently shown at Rosetta and Aboukir.<sup>1</sup>

The magnitude of the scale, on which preparations were carried out so far back as the commencement of the thirteenth century, involves the obvious conclusion that, long prior to the day on which Dante wrote his passing account elsewhere transcribed, the organization and expenditure on this service was relatively enormous, while, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the charge was far less onerous than elsewhere, by reason of the common adaptability of vessels to trade and war, and the unfailing contributory aid of private individuals.

Naval efficiency was one of the earliest aims achieved, and was the last public interest to be relinquished. Other nations had, of course, taken advantage of Venetian inventions and improvements, just as Venice availed itself of earlier prototypes; and there was a continuous struggle for the retention of maritime supremacy. The authorities at the Arsenal were long wisely reticent on the secret methods which enabled the Republic to gain and hold the lead, and raised their officials above temptation by a generosity of payment perfectly unprecedented, accompanied by an exemplarily severe code of punishment for any disloyal revelations. As a matter of fact, the shipwrights and other operatives reveal themselves to us throughout as models of devotion and patriotism. We soon hear of schools of Naval Instruction where those destined for the profession, on completing their education at ordinary seminaries, acquired the training and qualification necessary to enable them to enter on their career.

Venice was not unwilling to lend its ships on suitable terms, as it actually did to England, France and other Powers; the Republic also permitted its subjects to take service on English men-of-war. When the *Mary Rose* was lost off Portsmouth in 1545, she had on board thirty Venetian marines and one Venetian carpenter;<sup>2</sup> and when the country was not calculated by its geographical position or political importance to become dangerous, we find the Republic even responding to a call for naval constructors—from Sweden in 1540, and from Russia, still in its infancy, in 1696, when Peter the Great was

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), iii. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Two Venetians, perhaps of the number just mentioned, received 40 marks sterling between them for their efforts toward raising the ship, 8th Dec., 1545. See Hooker's *Life of Sir Peter Carew*, ed. by Maclean, 1857, p. 131.

building his first regular fleet at Voronezh on the Don, and was beginning to combine with Poland, much to the relief of the Signory, in operations against the Porte. It was of course posterior to the foundation of St. Petersburg that the Venetian ships engaged in the Northern trade visited that new port, when, it is said, the Slavonic seamen forming part of the crews were able to understand the Russian speech.<sup>1</sup>

No doubt the Government defrayed as a rule the cost of armaments, including the wages of the crews; and it soon acted on the necessity of restraining a competition injurious to the public service in time of war, by prohibiting owners of merchantmen from offering a higher scale of pay than that given by the State.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, there is positive testimony that a specific obligation to furnish the Executive with ships in lieu of ship-money was exercised and acknowledged; and in 1187, when a squadron was to be sent to Dalmatia, the contract into which the Doge entered with certain owners of vessels provided, not for any hiring price, but for redress in case of loss or damage. The transaction was feudal rather than commercial.

The numerical complement of vessels in the Arsenal at the time of the greatest prosperity—about 1450—has been computed at 3300, manned by 35,000 hands and employing, in their maintenance and renewal, a staff of 16,000 skilled operatives. The ready convertibility of merchantmen into vessels of war and *vice versâ* was an essential element in the system, partly due to the never-ceasing necessity, in old days, of carrying on board at all times the means of protection and attack.

The crews and oarsmen of the Flanders and other galleys were chiefly Slavs from the opposite coast of the Adriatic, and a special burial place for those who died in circumstances permitting or necessitating it at one time existed at North Stoneham, about four miles from Southampton, and not far from the canal between that town and Winchester. The old church has undergone fundamental alterations since its original erection, and much of the space is absorbed by memorials of the Flemings, lords of the manor. At a remote period, this build-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Whitworth's *Account of Russia in 1710*, 8°, 1758, p. 110. The Czar employed Dutch carpenters, two Italians and a Greek master from Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, ii. 332.

ing is supposed to have held similar remembrances of the strangers who left their bones in a foreign land, and might naturally desire such a place of repose as they had at home. It was a sort of cell to the mother-chapel at Venice, for in front of the altar of the church lies a stone slab, perhaps from a Flemish quarry, resembling in shape a sepulchral brass, having at the angles quatrefoils with the symbols of the Evangelists, and in the centre a double-headed eagle with expanded wings. Round the edge is: "*Sepultvra de la Schola de Slavoni Año Dñi. M.CCCC.LXXXXI.*"<sup>1</sup>

One or two points claim attention in this case. The distance of the place of interment from Southampton had been prompted by the distrust of the townsmen, and the fear of desecration in the occasional affrays with the foreigners or in their frequent absences, and it was explicitly set apart for the use of the Slavoni (chiefly Dalmatians), not for the Venetians themselves. Again, it is not improbable that this slab was actually a cenotaph, and marked, not the spot where all these Slavoni were laid, but the ground within the limits of which the bodies were periodically deposited, while the church and its precincts remained in their original state. The retention of this place of sepulture did not perhaps extend over a very long period, for the regular commercial relations on the old footing gradually slackened. The subjects of the Republic successively abandoned London and Southampton and even Winchester, whither they had finally retired as safer, if not more convenient, and where they succeeded in procuring the establishment of their own court of Claims and Awards; and in 1532 the visits of the trading fleet came to an end. But the cemetery at North Stoneham occasionally counted among its inmates members of the Venetian crews, who chose to penetrate, during their stay at Southampton, many miles into the country, where they were waylaid by highwaymen.

The necessity for the permanent maintenance of a squadron of observation in the Gulf, if not in the Mediterranean, was created at a very early stage of autonomy by the systematic piracy of the Narentine and other corsairs, whom the persistent efforts of the most powerful maritime State of the Middle Ages failed to crush; but there was a second exigency of a

<sup>1</sup> The present writer visited the spot, and helped the rector to lift the marble slab.



different class, which involved a combination of administrative vigilance and serious outlay; namely, the establishment and support of custom-houses and coast-guards on all stations and at all ports of entry. The staffs appointed to this service naturally reflected in their types the rude and unquiet times to which they belonged, and carried, not only weapons, but body armour; nevertheless the smuggler and contrabandist were, no doubt, able to earn comfortable subsistence, and undersell less unscrupulous or more timid competitors. Even the trader discovered, as has been elsewhere pointed out, that the *searcher*, as he seems to have been called, was not always superior to financial persuasion; but otherwise, if a passage in the English version of the *Suppositi* of Ariosto is to be credited, was remorseless in his examination, not only of luggage, but of the person.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the naval forces raised in time of actual war, the Republic licensed privateers on the principle of the modern letters of marque, and often found the services of these independent allies or auxiliaries more effective in proportion than those of a cumbersome flotilla. The privateer sometimes proved useful in clearing the Gulf of other uncommissioned mercenaries or rovers of his own class. There has been a recent allusion to the employment in the foreign merchant service of recruits from Dalmatia, which also yielded candidates for posts of a certain class in Venice itself; and forced labour performed a considerable share of the manual operations at sea.

The nomenclature of men-of-war was governed by a variety of considerations. The structure of the vessel, the name of the saint's-day on which it was launched, its reputed capacity for defence and attack, its contribution to the renown of a fortunate and celebrated commander, and other reasons or fancies influenced and swelled the vocabulary. We meet with such appellations as the following, some of which are indicative of the proprietorship of noble Venetian families:—

L'Aquila or  
Il Mondo Intiero (1204).  
L'Aquila d'Oro (1654).  
L'Arduina.  
La Boccacorte.  
La Bragdina (1496).

Il Bucintoro (1311–1728).  
La Capella.  
La Capitana (1257).  
La Contarina.  
La Coressa.  
La Cornera.

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<sup>1</sup> Gascoigne's Works, ed. Hazlitt, 1869, i. 233.

La Dolfina.	Il Paradiso (1204).
L'Erizza.	Il Paramor (1657).
La Fama Volante (1667).	Il Pellegrino (1204).
La Forza.	La Pesara (1466).
Il Giove Fulminante (1660).	Il Profeta Elia (1657).
La Giustiniana.	Il Real (1657).
Il Gradenigo (1618).	La Roccaforte (1264).
Il Gran San Giorgio (1654).	La Rosa Mocenigo (1657).
La Liona (1252).	La Salute.
La Madonna dell' Arsenale.	Il San Nicolò.
La Madonna della Salute (1660).	La Santa Maria.
La Madonna di Curzola.	La Santa Maria di Curzola.
La Malipiera (1470-1495).	La Santa Maria e Santa Veneranda (or Reverenda).
La Mantella.	La Squarcia (1470).
La Margarita (1654).	Tutt' il Mondo.
La Morosina.	La Vittoria.
L'Oreste (1797).	La Zorza (1495).
L'Orsola Bonaventura (1654).	
La Pandora (1498).	

The historian De Monacis places it on record that the queendom of the Adriatic, which dated from the thirteenth century and immediately arose from a casual circumstance, was symbolized by the capture of a sword-fish which a Venetian trawler presented to the thirteenth-century Doge Soranzo—evidently as a prodigy which was new to those waters; and the incident, according to the contemporary narrator, created a deep impression throughout Italy. By the treaty of 1355 between Venice and Genoa, the latter sought to retaliate in some measure for the assertion of the exclusive title to the Adriatic, by closing the Gulf of Genoa against the Republic. We find the Queen of Hungary writing rather querulously and indignantly to the Doge in 1481, because certain domestic or household requisites, ordered from Italy, were delayed in transmission, by the necessity of procuring leave from his Serenity for her Majesty's ship to cross the sea.

The tenacious and fearless, almost headstrong, spirit, with which the Venetians upheld their exclusive pretensions to the sovereignty of the Adriatic, is convincingly demonstrated by incidents belonging to widely-distant periods, and affecting Powers of very unequal rank. In the thirteenth century, the Patriarch of Aquileia was not only compelled to close his ports against his own subjects, but to allow a consignment of wine which his Eminence had bought in the March of Verona for his own cellar, to be shipped to him as a favour in a Venetian bottom. When the Emperor Maximilian was

arranging his coronation in 1493, and prepared to cross the Gulf, the Venetians interposed, but lent his Majesty a vessel for the purpose, at the same time promising him 100,000 ducats in aid of his expenses—a double indignity which the Republic felt itself secure in offering to impecunious Cæsar. The Venetians were situated differently from those feudal or financial magnates of Germany and Italy, such as the Fuggers of Augsburg, who invested a portion of their wealth in exchange for territorial possessions and the power of imposing tithes. The Venetians patronized the patrons of others. In 1510, Spain tried, it is to be concluded unsuccessfully, to obtain galleys from the Pope to convey troops across the Gulf, doubtless under the persuasion that the flag of his Holiness would be respected, and that the Signory would be absorbed by the League of Cambrai. In 1542, a fleet of galleys in French pay, destined for the relief of the town of Marano, then besieged by the Imperialists, sailed from Naples, and was in due course stopped by the direction of the Senate.

About 1618, when the affairs of Bohemia were occupying a larger share of attention than would perhaps have been the case, had not Great Britain contracted, a few years before, an alliance with that country through the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of James I., with the Elector Palatine, the question was again agitated, because the King of Spain announced his intention of sending, by sea to Trieste across the Adriatic, help to oppose the Bohemians, all the other means of approach having been closed; and Frederick had written a long letter to Sir Henry Wotton about the matter. On the 21st of February, 1618–19, Wotton had an audience of the Doge who said to him: “We shall never permit a passage through the Gulf, so long as we have power to resist”; and no more appears to have happened. But the Venetian secretary of legation in London reported, under the date 20th of June, 1619, a visit from the Savoyard ambassador, to inquire whether it was true that galleons of Naples had crossed the Gulf, and landed a large force at Trieste to help the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria against the Bohemians. The secretary inclined to the view that it was a fiction, as the Captain of the Gulf would have intercepted them, and no such intelligence had come to his ears. On the 5th of July, Marioni saw the English Secretary of State, Naunton, who informed him that



James I. had heard the report, and did not credit a word of it. There are some significant sentences in a dispatch from Pesaro, Venetian ambassador at Turin, in which he speaks of an interview with Sir Isaac Wake, the English Resident there, and states that he inculcated the benefit which accrued to Bohemia and the Palatinate, from the strenuous resistance offered by the Signory to the passage, across their territory as well as through the Adriatic, of troops sent by Spain to support Austria.<sup>1</sup>

A correspondence from 1674 to 1678 between the Ragusan Abbot, Stefano Gradi, and the Procurator, Stefano Nani, possesses a special relevance to the immediate question, as it turns upon the arrest of certain vessels of Ragusa, because that city had omitted the prescribed and customary salute from the fortress on each visit of the Captain of the Gulf to its waters. In the autumn of 1752, the Ragusans sought the mediation of the Porte in regard to certain alleged exactions of the Venetian Excise, and the complaint was so far justified, that the Government sent an inquisitor to Curzola in September to investigate the matter. The result was that the Captain of the Gulf was remanded home in custody, but eventually acquitted of the charges against him. The dispute, however, was not settled till 1754, when Ragusa was exempted from the payment of Gulf dues, and merely required to present, every third year through a deputation, a silver rod of the value of twenty sequins to the Captain of the Gulf, as an emblem of the suzerainty of Venice.<sup>2</sup>

In 1630, the Infanta Maria, sister of the King of Spain, proposing to travel by sea from Naples to Trieste with a Spanish naval escort, on her way to solemnize her marriage with the King of Hungary, son of the Emperor, was stopped by a polite intimation that the presence of foreign men-of-war could not be permitted on the Gulf, and that the Signory would defend its right by force of arms, but that it would place at the disposal of the most serene Infanta a convoy of its own galleys for the purpose, free of charge. Spain and the royal bridegroom gave way; and the great lady was conducted to her destination with all the honours due to her rank. At the same time, the Signory was so staunch,

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), 1617-19, p. 588.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, viii. 464.

that its Resident at Naples signified to the Spanish Viceroy that, if the princess persisted in her purpose, she would expose herself to the danger of coming into contact with the Venetian guns; and the necessary orders had been actually given to the Captain of the Gulf. The Doge duly received from the Emperor *the most effusive acknowledgments*.

But the title to the exclusive control over the navigation of the Gulf and to the treatment of that sea as territorial water was one which could hardly be maintained, when the maritime preponderance of Venice had been shaken by the rise of Spain, England and Holland, and when the reduced power of the Republic at sea had favoured the re-establishment of filibustering along the opposite coast and in the Mediterranean on a larger scale than ever. Not only Austria, but Turkey, was heard to complain, that the State, which forbade any other to send ships of war into the Adriatic, neglected to provide in an adequate measure for the protection of traders and private persons in those waters, and, although the Government occasionally took steps to assist and justify its pretensions, and now and then even resumed the old attitude, the grasp was sensibly relaxed toward the closing years of the sixteenth century, when a third-rate naval power like Florence could, under pretence of looking for infidels, presume to institute a right of search by the Knights of St. Stephen on Venetian vessels. These outrages and the representations of other countries, which Venice knew to be often in collusion with the pirates, were met with a dignified front, and were either explained or withdrawn; but the situation was gradually converted from a position very proud into one rather false, by the same chain of circumstances as that which was to render Venice itself an anachronism. The present question and pretensions are, after all, very much in accord with the demands of other governments, including that of England, to a salute from all foreign vessels within its jurisdiction, and at one time even in French waters as far as Calais. The most absolute closure of the Adriatic was not more than consonant with the circumstances, apart from the altered papal concession of 1177 which *per se* was not practically valid or operative.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1742, a foreign squadron was escorted across the Gulf in what is said to be the usual manner; and

<sup>1</sup> See Pepys, ed. 1858, i. 233, 237, 240.

forty years later that brilliant and admirable character, Angelo Emo, last of the great Venetian captains, once more performed the greatest prodigies of skill, valour and daring, and commanded the seas with the most inadequate resources. In modern times, the Sublime Porte claimed in somewhat similar circumstances the exclusive control of the Dardanelles or Hellespont, and the right was conceded by the international treaty of 1841.

The Arsenal, which is a conspicuous object in the twelfth-century plan published by Temanza in 1781, was under the management of three functionaries who were designated the *Padroni* or masters. The mastership was a sufficiently honourable and advantageous post, and might be held by a plebeian. Each of these officers resided in a separate habitation, respectively known as *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, perhaps on no better ground than on that of a playful homage to the author of the *Commedia*, who was equally responsible for the baptism of some of the prisons under the Palace. Independently of the extensions under Austrian rule, the Arsenal underwent five stages of development between 1303 and 1564. The New Arsenal dated from 1325, the *Nuovissimo* from 1472; the latter accommodated 100 galleys, and was popularly designated *Babylon*. The rope and cable factory, where the hemp was warehoused and the cordage was made, was a separate establishment with its own staff. The Executive of the Arsenal varied from time to time, but care was always taken to secure the services of the persons most familiar with naval details, and it was a strict regulation, that one of the chiefs should take his turn in sleeping on the premises and keeping the keys.

In addition to the masters or master (for the authority was occasionally vested in a single person), there were the Grand Admiral,<sup>1</sup> three Proveditors of the Armament elected triennially, the five Paymasters of the Naval Forces renewed every month, and the Presidents of the mercantile marine, whose functions comprised the provision of free oarsmen (*galeotti*) for the galleys. The latter were recruited to a considerable extent from Dalmatia, Albania and other trans-

<sup>1</sup> The title Admiral was not known to the earlier Venetians, but, on the Flanders galleys, there was an officer of authority of this name subordinate to the Captain.



Adriatic provinces, and their ages ranged between twenty-five and forty. These numerous departments imply a very large and costly staff; but thousands of skilled operatives were employed in the building yards, and there were, besides, all those who superintended the powder magazine and the ordnance.

Within the ample circuit of those walls, were stored parks of artillery, gunboats, floating batteries, ammunition and arms of all kinds, and a museum of antiquities was eventually established, to a large extent by the munificence of an Englishman, James Pattison. The gunboat and the floating battery were alike introduced here at a very early date; both performed excellent service, especially the latter, which was first used on the Po about 1480, and by Angelo Emo in 1785<sup>1</sup> in his operations against Tunis. Lassels the traveller notes, about 1670, the presence of a well within the precincts, the water of which could not be poisoned, *by reason of two pieces of unicorn's horn at the bottom of it.*

There is a clear indication that, even in the eighth century (726–37), some facilities already existed for the accommodation of shipping. In the Temanza draft, the Arsenal occupies a considerable area; it is girt by a high wall similar in appearance to that surrounding the Piazza, with a tower at the southern angle; and we know that, during the dogate of Ordelafo Faliero (1102–17), a sensible development in this arm of the service took place, by the conversion of a morass at Gemelle or Zimole near Olivolo into new docks, not in lieu of the older establishment, but in addition to it. The modern institution stands on the same site; its development kept pace with that of the Republic, and its boundaries were periodically set back between 1104 and 1328, until the institution began to assume its modern aspect and proportions. The Arsenal to which Dante alludes became in course of time the *Arsenale Vecchio*. It is tolerably certain that he was already acquainted with the Venetian capital, when he proceeded thither on behalf of his friendly patron the Signore of Ravenna in 1320–1; for, in the *Inferno*, he has left us a unique picture of the Arsenal as he saw it. When we consider his active, roving life, it is almost safe to take his personal familiarity

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, ii. 14, 291. The reference on the latter page should read: "See *supra*, p. 14."

with the city and its rulers, its institutions and its inhabitants for granted—

We halted to behold another fissure  
Of Malebolge and other vain laments;  
And I beheld it marvellously dark.  
As in the Arsenal of the Venetians  
Boils in the winter the tenacious pitch  
To smear their unsound vessels o'er again,  
For sail they cannot; and instead thereof  
One makes his vessel new, and one recaulks  
The ribs of that which many a voyage has made;  
One hammers at the prow, one at the stern,  
This one makes oars, and that one cordage twists,  
Another mends the mainsail and the mizzen; . . .<sup>1</sup>

This passage was set down from ocular observation, no doubt many years prior to the last visit of the poet to Venice as the envoy and advocate of the Lord of Ravenna, which took place shortly before his death in 1321. The cold reception with which he met at the hands of the Government, and the failure of the negotiation, are said to have hastened his end. The liberal employment of pitch is noticed by Casola in 1494, and oakum was not spared in caulking the planks, so that, as the canon says, the roof of the cabin was watertight. A large and constant supply of pitch or tar was also demanded for cables and cordage.

Those works by which Dante is known to us circulated in his lifetime very sparingly, even among his friends; and it is quite probable that not a single copy had reached Venice or been seen by any Venetian at the time of his diplomatic visit. The discriminating appreciation of literary merit had scarcely yet set in, moreover; nor would the indifference to the genius of the poet on the part of the Signory have been very unpardonable, if MSS. of his works had been much more widely diffused than from their nature was likely or prudent, when we consider how imperfectly all writers of the first eminence have been comprehended by their contemporaries, even in the most polished ages. We possess from the pen of an English writer who spent some time on the spot an account of the Arsenal as it appeared to him in 1548. He beheld, he tells us, 200 galleys ready for service at short notice, and every day in the year a new galley might be built, such was the

<sup>1</sup> Dante's *Inferno*, tr. Longfellow, xxi. 4-15.

store of seasoned timber ever in hand;<sup>1</sup> the artillery and arms which fell under his observation would have sufficed, he thought, to furnish 100,000 men. He estimated the number of workmen at 600, which is less likely to be exaggerated, since, in 1618, it appears to have been even greater.

Yriarte<sup>2</sup> has entered into rather laborious technical minutiae respecting this supremely important and vital element in the Venetian constitution or system—the varieties of craft and their carrying capacity, the immense and indefatigable care bestowed on the maintenance of efficiency and discipline, the terrible outlay periodically incurred by reason of fires and explosions, and the valuable arm which the working staff formed in consequence, on the one hand, of the strict military drill and control enforced, and of the liberal scale of pay and provision for families on the other. The operatives of the Arsenal were treated by the Government, not only with the most generous consideration, but with implicit confidence. Daily rations of wine were served out to them; detachments of them were charged with mounting guard at the doors of the Palace and the council-chambers, and, when any sudden tumult arose in the city, a body of these stout fellows was brought to the scene to quell it. The Arsenal itself was strongly fortified and vigilantly watched; for that and the group of buildings, comprising the Palace and its adjuncts, were the two objects to which the aims of conspiracies against the State, either domestic or foreign, were almost exclusively directed.

In the sixteenth century, when Venice was face to face with Turkey in the East and Spain in the West, the government of the Arsenal was considered so responsible a post that a single Proveditor was placed over it, in the person of Marcantonio Barbaro, one of the Procurators of Saint Mark, a patrician of the most unexceptionable character and of the widest experience. This was in 1575, four years after Lepanto; the appointment was for three years; Barbaro was not required to give up his Rectorship of Padua University, and he filled the office more than once. It was one of general superintendence and of supreme authority, under which

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *History of Italy*, 1549, ed. 1561, fol. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Vie d'un patricien de Venise*, 1874, p. 298 et seq. Molmenti, in his fifth chapter, enters into ample details on this subject (*Vita Privata*, i. 123-54).



the Grand Admiral acted as practical chief of the entire corps of operatives of every description. The appointment of Admiral had to be ratified by the Proveditor-General. But the Ordnance Department seems to have been under the control of a separate officer since 1491, and it demanded incessant attention and care, especially when gunpowder came into common use. In 1603, the Arsenal contained, it is stated, 800 pieces of artillery.

Part of the area devoted to this truly national establishment was occupied, as time went on, by the artillery dépôt and store magazines, and by covered basins where trophies of naval victories were laid up. The whole place had undergone gradual development and extension. Surrounded by lofty walls, and bathed by the waters of the eastern lagoon on three sides, it was as secure as possible from external attack, and at night watchmen were on duty in the square flanking towers, to forewarn the authorities of the approach of danger or of any suspicious appearances. When, in addition to field ordnance, fire-arms were gradually introduced, the Venetians were probably among the foremost to export to the East of Europe, if not to Asia, muskets of which the pattern and precision underwent periodical improvements. The Arab term for this weapon was Bunduqui, probably a clumsy corruption of Venedig, the German name for Venice.

Every year, as a compliment and homage to the service, the Doge paid a state visit of inspection to the naval yards and docks; and no pains were spared to preserve at once the efficiency of the institution and the loyalty of the staff. On other special occasions feats of dexterity and address were not unusual. In 1574, when Henry III. of France visited the city, a galley was built, rigged, and fitted for launching while the king dined, and mounted with a cannon, weighing 16,573 pounds, which had been cast in the same space of time.<sup>1</sup> The Arsenal was the favourite object of nearly all the distinguished visitors to the city down to the last. In 1769, the Emperor Joseph II., having arrived *incognito*, while he declined most of the attractions prepared for him, desired to see this historic place.

A Spanish account, drawn up prior to the battle of Lepanto, states that the expenditure of Venice on her Navy

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's Diary, 1858, i. 214.

and Arsenal was then 200,000 gold ducats a year; and, in 1603, it is said by a second Spanish authority (the ambassador of Philip III. at Venice) that 200 galleys were in readiness for sea. A French writer in 1664 makes the annual outlay for material, wages and saltpetre about 249,033 ducats, although at that time forced labour had been largely substituted for the free service, which cost about twenty pence a day per man, the duty, like that in the Arsenal, being long regarded as privileged and artificially remunerated. But these and other statistics are more or less untrustworthy. It is only too certain that, in the eighteenth century, the figures had shrunk in proportion to the decline of power; and even in 1680, when the Turkish war was proceeding, the Arsenal which, in 1570, could employ 16,000 artisans and 36,000 mariners, had only 500 in time of peace and 2000 in time of war. During the days of prosperity, every article of use for maritime purposes was of the highest procurable quality. The Genoese ascribed the success of their great rivals at sea to the extraordinary proficiency of their shipbuilders and the excellence of the timber employed. But, even in 1646, it was one of the recommendations of the body appointed to reconsider the coronation-oath of the Doge prior to a new election, that his Serenity should present himself at the Arsenal once a quarter, *without previous notice*, by way of checking irregularities and abuses. Lassels the traveller, who visited Venice three times about 1670, assures us that even then the Arsenal was unparalleled, and that "indeed the Arsenals of Paris, Genoa, Zurich, Naples and Geneva seemed to me to be little gunsmiths' shops in comparison of this."

Coryat in 1608 had been delighted by the sight. He says: "Certainly I take it to be the richest and best furnished storehouse . . . of all the world, . . . one Albertus Marquesse of Guasto . . . said, that were he put to his choice to be lord either of foure of the strongest cities of Italy or of the Arsenal, he would preferre the Arsenal, before them."<sup>1</sup> Our excellent author takes the opportunity to declare that if, before he started to see Venice, four of the richest manors in his native Somersetshire had been bestowed on him, on condition that he should not see that city, he would have refused the said manors!

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 217-8.

Several species of vessels were in vogue for belligerent purposes, apart from the *lintra*, the *barca* and the *gondola*, devoted to internal and domestic use. This in the same way as elsewhere was a gradual development. The ordinary light galley or *ganzaruolo* probably came first, and long sufficed the demands of the State; but with the growth of power and empire, accompanied by the necessity for defence and protection, arose the need for ships of larger dimensions, and for the creation of a Navy, an Admiralty and an Ordnance. The original galley was reinforced by one of heavier draught and ampler compass and by the *cocca* or transport. As early as 1375, the term *bucentaur*, subsequently applied to the ducal state barge, signified any strong seaworthy sailing craft; but the use in this wider sense seems to have been discontinued. The *fusta* or three-masted galley is mentioned in very early records, and continued to form a feature in the system during a century and a half;<sup>1</sup> these were followed by the famous galleass, a floating fortress with its fifty guns and 1500 or 1600 trained marines. Even the light galleys, employed for rapid transit and movements, ultimately carried fifteen guns, and were 135 feet in length; the heavy galleys were 175 feet long. It was long before any other country could compete with the Republic on her own element with such armaments, for the initial outlay was prohibitive;<sup>2</sup> and when the Venetians sustained reverses at sea during the height of their power, it was due to the indiscretion of the commanders or some unforeseen fatality, rather than to any shortcomings of the Executive.

When the time arrived, betraying the earliest symptoms of financial decadence among certain of the aristocratic houses, and prompting the expediency of supplying the poorer nobility with a respectable profession, the Government adopted the plan of apprenticing young patricians whose pecuniary expectations were moderate, to commanders of vessels who were to take special charge of them, and assist them in acquiring the rudiments of naval management and warfare. It was an idea suggested by the inherent proneness of such youths to contract bad habits; but it is fairly clear that even such a Government had a difficulty in enforcing the principle, and that captains

<sup>1</sup> One was moored in the Thames above London Bridge in 1638. *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), i. 331 note.

<sup>2</sup> In 1521, Henry VIII. of England called on the City of London to defray the cost of a fleet and was met by a refusal.



were not eager to undertake the charge, as these naval cadets (*Nobili di poppa*) were entitled to occupy the portion of the vessel where their quarters were, and were apt to be in the way. The withdrawal of the younger scions of the aristocracy from demoralizing environments at home and their early training to a manly profession were calculated to be doubly beneficial, and the Government is heard in the middle of the fifteenth century loudly inculcating the importance of the policy, having regard to the vital worth of the Navy to the Dominion. It was a different case, and a far more painful one, in which, in 1477, it was proposed to appoint two impoverished nobles as cross-bowmen on one of the galleys bound for London.<sup>1</sup>

The institution of a regular official machinery for the clearance of merchandise and the collection of harbour and other dues formed part of the process, by which the executive government was gradually developed from a feudal and practically monarchical system into an elaborate and complex administrative engine. For several centuries, the control of the sources of revenue remained to a large extent in the hands of the chief magistrate and his immediate retainers or dependents, and, throughout the busiest and most prosperous period of Venetian history, an old-fashioned establishment near San Biagio in Castello seems to have answered and fulfilled all the purposes of a custom-house, and to have been under the management of the *Visdomini da Mar*. The old, turreted Dogana, delineated in the Dürer plan of 1506, may have stood there numberless years, but it was eventually superseded by two buildings, one for goods brought overland, the other for those which were sea-borne. Casola, on his return from his pilgrimage in 1494, landed at the latter on the Grand Canal, and paid duty to some one, he says, on some account or other, before his baggage was transferred to a gondola. Quite a series of historiettes and anecdotes might be collected of the experiences of travellers of all times with the customs, and of the amenability of the collectors to a *douceur*.

When the long prominence of Venice as a belligerent State had sensibly receded, and its participation in European affairs became occasional and languid, the Government continued to maintain the navy on a tolerably efficient footing, and still had

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), 1864, i. 137.

at command the old militia or *cernide*, computed at about 30,000 men, ready to take the field in any emergency.

The keen interest and vigilance for the national security and honour manifested themselves as late as 1687, during the influential life of Francesco Morosini, in the commission to the public cosmographer, Marco Vincenzo Coronelli, of the Order of Minorites, to execute an exhaustive account of the shipping and craft of all countries, including America, a sumptuous quarto volume containing sixty-five copperplates, and even embracing pictures of pleasure-boats designed by the author. The extensive variety of naval denominations, described as in vogue at that date, comprehends the world's resources in this direction.<sup>1</sup>

In 1784, the expedition to Tunis consisted of twenty-four vessels, including six of the line; and, down to the very end, forty or fifty sail were kept constantly in commission, to protect the Gulf, the islands and the adjacent littoral.

The Romans, the Goths, and the Lombards had successively offered their institutions as models to the first race of Venetians, and we see the military notions, principles and names in use among the insular settlers, which had met with adoption at the hands of the successive masters of the territory immediately contiguous to the lagoons. The necessity for some efficient means of protection from possible attack, and a natural taste for martial exercises, made the establishment of schools of military training under suitable instructors one of the earliest cares of the tribunitia, if not of the consular, executive. It has been shown that in the sixth century means were taken to found a national force, to which the several divisions of the settlement contributed its quota, and which was capable of uniting, in case of an invasion, under the leadership of a Master of the Soldiers. It is not difficult to understand that, comparatively speaking, this feudal organization had fuller scope and greater utility in the earlier stages of constitutional development, in an open and scantily-peopled area, than when every variety of political circumstance had arisen and matured,

<sup>1</sup> In 1258 we hear of *Taride* as in use in naval warfare, but it is more than possible that at different periods similar vessels became known under changed names. From the earliest times, some method of water-carriage became necessary, especially prior to the multiplication of inter-insular bridges, and the most primitive craft were the *barca* and the *lintra*, which preceded the *gondola*. Compare what is said *supra*.

to render the presence of a permanent military force on such ground inexpedient and dangerous. While the germ discerned as in existence in the Gothic epoch survived down to quite a late date, the militia of six wards never attained more than a civic and municipal character, and, equally with the ducal body-guard, ceased, as soon as the Government became solid and centralized, to exercise any prejudicial influence on affairs.

The War Department of a later era had its committee or board of *savi* or sages; but, at the outset and in primitive days, it was probably under the management and surveillance of the Doge and his immediate advisers. Before the introduction of fire-arms and artillery, the cross-bow, sword and dagger formed the offensive weapons of the infantry, and the spear of the horseman. In the use of the *arbalista* or bow, every Venetian was trained as soon as he reached the age of fifteen, and was liable to service till he attained the age of thirty-five. Registers were opened in the several municipal divisions of the city and its suburbs, in which were inscribed the names of the members of the corps; and at Christmas and other seasons of festival, especially after the yearly regatta, this organization displayed its efficiency before the Doge and the nobility. The equestrian skill of the Venetian youth became noted in the thirteenth century; but the cross-bow practice and drill were treated as, above all things, essential, and certain points about the city were appropriated to ranges and targets, where the militia, under their local officers, acquired their experience or maintained their efficiency. The names of the localities where these *bersagli* were situated have been handed down to us. One lay near the *Ghetto* or Iron Foundry, a second outside the Arsenal near the Church of the most Holy Trinity, a third in the Campo San Polo, a fourth at Sant' Angelo Raffaello, otherwise called Sant' Angelo dei Mendicoli, and a fifth was at Lido. This was, of course, before fire-arms became general, but long outlived the introduction of modern appliances. Every outward-bound ship, destined for a distant and more or less hazardous voyage, carried its complement of cross-bowmen who had passed the requisite examination at the Arsenal, and of these at least two were of patrician rank, and at need could assume the chief command.

In a primarily and professedly maritime State an army had no existence; and Venice thus largely escaped from the evils



and horrors of the tyrannical, licentious and costly system, under which the Italian *terra firma* for centuries was a continual prey to the mercenary soldier. Machiavelli<sup>1</sup> has eloquently exposed the nature and magnitude of the injury and peril from the inherent venality and cupidity of such forces which, besides their ordinary pay, claimed ransoms and booty, and expected perpetual re-equipment. Outside the militia of the six wards and the ducal body-guard or *Excusati*, the walls of the Arsenal embraced all that the Republic possessed in the shape of national forces. In the more and more frequent contingency of a foreign war, a treaty with some condottiero was concluded when operations on the *terra firma* were contemplated; and this proved the arm on which its employers could the least rely, and to which on more than one occasion they were nearly sacrificed. These *Venturi* or *Forestieri* were principally drawn from Italian sources; but cases occurred in which Greeks (Estradiots) and Walloons were engaged; and, owing to the generous terms accorded by the Government, offers came from all parts of Europe, even from Spain, from England and from Scotland. One or two instances, however, offer themselves in which resort was had to a conscription, but this plan was limited to occasions which concerned the immediate mainland, and to the period when military operations had not yet begun to extend over all parts of the peninsula. In 1336, a return of the able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty and sixty gave a total of 40,100; this census was ordered in view of a then impending contest with Padua. That appears to have been the earliest case in which the Republic engaged as its commander in the field a foreign condottiero, and entered on the pernicious system of associating with him two Venetian civilians as proveditors.

Akin to the local militia were the provincial *ordinanze*, which were composed in a somewhat similar manner of the adults of the dominion on the *terra firma*. At its full complement this useful force was estimated at 30,000 men, maintained at an annual cost of 100,000 ducats: it was drilled on Sundays. But, in the relations between Venice and its Lombard subjects, we seldom encounter any notice of the employment of this force in active service, and it was possibly no more than a military police charged with municipal duties.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Florence*, book vi. ch. 1.

The ordinary Board of War was comprised of three sages who formed part of the College and were responsible to the Senate, but in emergencies various other methods were adopted. The number of functionaries was reinforced from other bodies even to as high a total as a hundred ; this tribunal was clothed with executive and deliberative powers, and if the state of affairs grew acutely critical, the Council of Ten took the supreme direction into their own hands.

The provision of space in the city for military purposes in the form of barracks was of the slenderest and most casual character. Troops engaged for a campaign had on occasion to enter Venice, and the municipal forces, liable for duty and called up in emergencies, were presumably domiciled in their own homes. The foreign troops employed during the War of Chioggia (1378-80) appear to have been accommodated on the immediate theatre of operations, and no accounts reach us of foreign levies quartered within the capital, until, in 1618, a body of Walloon mercenaries, brought to protect the Republic in the face of the expected attack by the Duke of Ossuna, is described as being lodged at the Lazzeretto, and as having been a source of greater danger to their employers, through corrupt influences, than the Spaniards themselves.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Romanin (vii. 373, note) furnishes a list of the numerous species of troops of all kinds which served at different periods under the Venetian flag, including foreign auxiliaries.

## CHAPTER LI

THE LAWS—The *Statuto* of 1242—Enlargement in 1255 and 1346—Synopsis of the *Statuto*—Periodical additions down to 1720—Detached Ordinances and decrees of the Councils—Usury—Bigamy—Law of Debtor and Creditor—Witnesses—Trial by Jury—Delivery of Judgments—Writs of *Capias*—Promission of Crime—Theft—Forgery and Coining—Forms of punishment in criminal cases—The Nautical Capitulary—Marine Insurance—Limited legal machinery in old Venice.

THE cogent necessity of submitting all matters connected, nearly or remotely, with Commerce, Navigation and Police, to the cognizance of certain fixed regulations, had early impressed itself upon the mind of Venice. In the ancient chronicles, the references are frequent to laws of various kinds which passed the Legislature, more particularly to the Law of Shipwreck, the Law of Evidence, the Law of Insolvency, the Law to Control the Traffic of the Brenta, Adige and Piave, the Act for the Abolition of the Carrying Trade, the severe ordinances against the traffic in Christian slaves, and the strict rules observed for the preservation of the peace. Yet, until the eleventh or twelfth century, no systematic attempt seems to have been made to reduce these regulations to writing; and Orio Malipiero who reigned from 1178 to 1192, though not the first codifier, was in all probability the first Doge in whose time an effort commenced to produce, for general reference and advantage, anything at all approaching a consecutive and intelligible table of laws,<sup>1</sup> as well as to consolidate the ancient usages of the Dogado. The Code of Malipiero, which must have been largely indebted to traditional and still current practice and custom, modified by experience from age to age to suit altered and enlarged wants, consisted merely of a single part, the *Statuto* or Statute, which was divided into five books and comprehended the Canon Law. The useful and important work thus commenced, however, now steadily progressed. Amid the stirring events which arose to occupy his time and attention, Arrigo Dandolo found leisure

<sup>1</sup> Foscari, *Letteratura Veneziana*, loco *infra* citato.



in 1195 to revise and enlarge the five books of the Statute, concluding his labours by the publication of a new and distinct code of criminal law termed the *Promissione del Maleficio*.<sup>1</sup> To these two collections the Doge Ziana added, in the year 1225, a short *Nautical Capitulary*<sup>2</sup> or synopsis of Venetian Maritime Law. Such was the state of jurisprudence when the Doge Tiepolo ascended the throne in 1229. Between 1229 and 1242, that eminent man, founding his title to fame on his achievements as legislator, collected and edited the whole body of the Venetian Statute Law; and, in the latter year, on the 6th of September, he republished it in a complete form. The valuable task which Ziani's successor imposed on himself and his coadjutors was undoubtedly one of magnitude and difficulty; but, at the same time, the Statute of 1242 was declaratory to a great extent.

Unlike the codes of other nations, which were not only composed for the most part in barbarous Latin, but continued to be transmitted in that language or in Norman French down to a comparatively late epoch, the Venetian *Statute* of 1242, originally compiled in Latin, was translated at a very early date into the vernacular.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, in an illiterate age, a Collection the copies of which were not multiplied, and of which the meaning was hidden from the mass of the people, was of questionable value as a security for the personal liberty and civil rights of the subject. The only pledges which could be expected to meet with appreciation or to inspire confidence at such an epoch were oral pledges. When a Venetian burgher of the thirteenth or fourteenth century was told that a table of laws had been compiled by a few learned contemporaries, and engrossed on parchment in fair characters, whatever might be his respect and his admiration, his satisfaction was modified by the reflection that, even should the manuscript be placed within his reach, he was totally incompetent to master a syllable of its contents. But when he heard the *Promission* recited aloud in the Church of Saint Mark before

<sup>1</sup> See Cancianus, *Barbarorum leges antiquae*, v.

<sup>2</sup> *Leggi criminali del Serenissimo Dominio Veneto, in un solo volume raccolte*, 1751.

<sup>3</sup> "Comenza il Primo Libro di Statuti et Leze di Venetia, i quali composti, reformadi et disgregadi, et redutti in uno, et di nuovo publicati sono, nel tempo dell' illustriss. M. Giacomo Theopolo, inclito Doze de Venetiani." Correndo l' anno della Incarnazione del Signore MCCXLII. A di 6 uscendo il mese Settembrio; Inditione Prima.

the coronation, and My Lord the Doge engage by word of mouth to observe the laws and the constitution, to revere the municipal customs of the Republic and to dispense justice without bias, he understood what was signified; and he felt that, in common with the rest of his countrymen, he had the most substantial safeguard against the corruption of judges, the tyranny of magistrates, and even the excesses of the Crown itself. Hence, it unquestionably arose that the coronation-oath was venerated by the early Venetians as the first and greatest of constitutional guarantees; and in the same fact lies the true explanation of the consequence attached to the solemn investiture of the Doge, which took place from a period of the highest antiquity in one of the successive metropolitan cathedrals, before a multitude of persons who, although they might never have seen a spelling-book, had a sufficiently keen sense of their own interests and a tolerably correct estimate of their own rights. At a later time, the figure of Justice, seated on a stone chair having lions' heads as terminals, and holding in her right hand an upraised sword, became apparent to all in the front of the Palace, and a type of the national coinage embodied the same conception.

But an age, in which a knowledge at least of the rudiments of learning is so widely diffused, is almost incapable of comprehending the condition of affairs, when printed literature had no existence and popular education was untouched ground. At the hands of two later rulers, Reniero Zeno and Giovanni Dandolo, 1253-68, 1280-89, the five books of the Statute underwent farther processes of enlargement and revision; and, in the course of 1255, appeared an improved edition of the *Nautical Capitulary* originally published in 1225. The present Capitulary was divided into 129 chapters.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear to have been till nearly a century after that the next attempt at codification was made, under the auspices of the Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329-39) who incorporated a Sixth Book.

The Statute, in its amplified form, embraced all those judicial reformatations which had been periodically enacted by various councils since the last consolidating measure of 1242, in continued amendment or elucidation of the laws affecting appeals, transfer, descent and administration of property, dower,

<sup>1</sup> Cancianus, *op. cit.*

wardship and widowhood, testamentary jurisdiction and other germane matters. The additions alone extended to seventy-seven chapters.<sup>1</sup> The work was again re-edited by the Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343-54) who proclaimed it on the 26th of November 1346; and, in an age when juridical learning was a rare accomplishment, it at once established the reputation of its successive compilers as legists and legal antiquaries.

The change which was wrought in the aspect of jurisprudence toward the middle of the thirteenth century preceded, by nearly two hundred years, the accidental discovery at Amalfi in 1416 of the celebrated *Pandecta* of Justinian. Any features of resemblance or points of identity between the latter and the Statute of 1242 are therefore apt to create an impression that the old customs, on which the Statute was unquestionably based in considerable measure, were neither more nor less than detached fragments of Roman law, of which all record had been lost in the lapse of time. The course of procedure which was pursued at Venice, in civil actions in conformity with the letter of the Statute, distinctly reveals indeed a Roman prototype, and we know that the Roman system was largely based on that of the Greeks.

By the principles established in 1242, the STATUTE was divided into Five Books, and the latter were subdivided into two hundred and three chapters.<sup>2</sup>

The First Book, which extended to one-and-twenty chapters, set forth—I. The form of appeal in civil actions and actions for debt. II. Certain regulations affecting church temporalities, which could not be alienated in the case of Bishops without the consent of their clergy, or by the Metropolitan without the sanction of the episcopal bench. III. The Law of Evidence: 1. The different classes of evidence, and to what extent, as well as in what manner, each was admissible; 2. The amount of proof which was necessary in various circumstances; 3. The examination of witnesses, and the competence of the sitting Judge to compel the attendance of any person whose testimony might be supposed relevant to the point at issue;<sup>3</sup> 4. The acceptance or refusal of Bail. IV. The Law of Marriage: 1. The regulations connected with the

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo, lib. x. p. 363; Sanudo, *Vite*, p. 558; *Novissimum statutorum Venetorum volumen*, 1729.

<sup>2</sup> *Statuti et ordini di Venetia*, 1477.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* cap. 25.



Settlement of the dower, and its treatment; 2. The share of the wife in the estate of her husband during coverture, and her claim after his decease, over and above the dower, to the free and absolute use of any property which might have been left intestate. V. The Law of Inheritance,<sup>1</sup> containing provision for cases in which—1. The departed left behind him sons only or daughters only; 2. Or both; 3. Or neither, in which instance, if no heir-apparent appeared within a stated time, it was the practice to purchase the estate in the name of the Commune, and afterward to sell it by auction; 3. The rule for the partition of any property, which might have been left to several persons in co-parceny or in common, and which one of the co-heirs might wish to distribute; 4. The two principles that, in default of other issue, children born out of wedlock might succeed to possession, whenever it could be shown that the parents had, at a subsequent period and prior to the preparation of the will, been lawfully united; and secondly, that no testament or codicil by which a child, whether legitimate or otherwise, was totally disinherited could be pronounced valid. In this particular the Venetian law followed the Civil Code. It was a loan from the Athenian constitution of Solon, the *Legitima Portio* of Roman jurisprudence, and was analogous to the Scottish *Legitim*. VI. The Law of Probate and Testamentary Jurisdiction whereby, among other points, such as had taken the cowl or the veil, being accounted civilly dead, were declared incompetent to make wills,<sup>2</sup> to succeed to property, or to administer the property of others.<sup>3</sup> VII. The Law of Insolvency, exhibiting the relations between Debtor and Creditor, in which respect the Venetian practice, though undoubtedly marked by severity, was a considerable modification of the Roman Law. It was the practice to advertise defaulting and fraudulent traders by cry, and, in the fourteenth century, it had become usual for bankrupt estates to be wound up by the *consoli dei mercatanti*.

The Second Book of the Statute, embracing fifteen chapters

<sup>1</sup> *Statuti et ordini di Venetia*, lib. iv. cap. 24-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, edit. 1477, cap. 28.

<sup>3</sup> The bishop of the diocese claimed a tithe on the testamentary estate, and a case is noted by Molmenti, in which the parish priest refused, in the presence of the congregation, to administer the sacrament to a widow, because, he alleged, that the due had not been paid. The lady made a representation to the civil authorities, who reprimanded the *provano* for offering the indignity to a noble lady.

only, treated—1. Of the appointment of Guardians and Trustees to the estates of Minors<sup>1</sup> and Lunatics, and of the necessity of bringing forward competent and proper witnesses to prove, in the latter case, that the patient was of unsound mind and unable to manage his own affairs; 2. The disposition of the property of the insane person; 3. The right of his or her heir or heirs to succeed to possession in due course and to make wills; 4. The obligation imposed on the Trustee to surrender his charge and to give an account of its administration, in the event of the lunatic dying or recovering the use of his faculties.<sup>2</sup>

The Third and Fourth Divisions, consisting of sixty-three and thirty-six chapters respectively, bore—I. Upon the Law of Partnership. II. Upon the Law of Landlord and Tenant. Among the articles of the law relating to Tenants appears a provision dealing with the non-payment of rent and similar contingencies. III. Upon the Law of Possession.

The Fifth Section which was limited to eighteen chapters was of a somewhat miscellaneous nature. It contained several isolated clauses respecting the possession and descent of Property and the character of Title-deeds, which were valid only when they bore the signature of two, at least, of the Examiners. This Book likewise constituted a receptacle for one of the stray articles on the Law of Insolvency, which strictly belonged to the first division, but which were scattered through the whole body of the collection without much regard to order or perspicuity. This absence of method, notwithstanding the vigorous attempt which had been made to digest and classify the contents of the Statute, still continued to be a leading blemish in a system which was, on the whole, entitled to the highest encomium.

The farther instalment of the work, published in 1346,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the *Codex Publicorum*, quoted by Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 138, appears the petition of one of the Celsi family for the restitution of certain property which had been unjustly taken from him during his minority, his parents or guardians having died abroad.

<sup>2</sup> It appears that, in the case of Venetians dying abroad and leaving property where they had been domiciled, an exemplification of the will was forwarded for the use of the executors. In 1437-8, Giovanni Lippomano died, leaving estate in London and bequeathing large sums of money to various charities in Venice and Murano. This document is subscribed by the Doge and two judges, and endorsed by Ca[rolo] (?) Lippomano. It is dated 8th May, 1438. Copy on vellum sold at Sotheby's, 13th June, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> *Statuta Veneta*, 1729, p. 72 *et seq.*

comprises many interesting features, while it is liable to the same objection as regards the absence of order and classification. Civil, criminal and ecclesiastical matters follow one another, and are mixed up together; and there are certain clauses which form enactments supplementary to the *Nautical Capitulary* hereafter described. Even in re-editing the entire corpus of legislation from the earliest period down to 1720, the superintendent of the collective volume printed in 1729 has done nothing in the direction of collating or consolidating his material, and has merely presented to us the labours of successive ages in a crude state. There are Books i.-v. of the Statute; Book vi.; the Statutes of the Judges charged with hearing Petitions; a series of Decrees of various kinds from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century; the Pisani Law of Appeal, 1492; the Practice of the Palace in relation to legal procedure; additions to the Statutes of 1242-1346 under a succession of Doges from 1487 to 1677; Laws, Ordinances and Decrees of various Councils in Civil Actions or Causes; a Summary in alphabetical form of all the Laws, which constitutes the sole attempt at a synopsis of the Contents.

Besides the *Statuta Veneta* of 1729, however, there were the successive collections made by Bartolommeo Zamberti in the sixteenth century, apparently no longer known, and those of Giovanni Finetti and Marino Angeli, commenced in 1609 and not completed and published till 1688; there is also a fair copy of all the ordinances of the Great Council, made in 1685 by order of the Council of Ten, which still remains in manuscript among the Venetian archives.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, the practice of usury was assuming dangerous proportions; the followers of the calling, both Venetians and foreigners, were extraordinarily numerous, and the rates of interest which they had grown into the habit of exacting were exorbitant and ruinous. It was thought necessary to check the progress of the evil, and, in the third year of Zeno's administration, a resolution was carried on the 10th of June, 1254, by the Great Council, to the effect that it should hereafter be unlawful for any person, whether a born subject of the Republic or an alien, to put out money to usury, or to cause it to be put out to usury, in any wise, at home or abroad, under penalty, for the first offence, of the forfeiture of the whole amount so invested



and a pecuniary mulct. On the second conviction, a similar punishment was inflicted, and in addition, the offender, if a Venetian, was publicly branded as a money-lender; if a foreigner, he was expelled from the Dogado.

It seems likely that the measure ought to be construed in a restricted sense, and that it by no means contemplated the legitimate current quotation on the Exchange. It may be suspected, moreover, that it was directed principally against the Jews, for whom, although there might be a larger sympathy at Venice than elsewhere, there was no willing toleration, and who may have already begun, about this period, to render themselves troublesome and obnoxious. There is also some room for an hypothesis that this Usury Act of 1254 originated among the greater Venetian capitalists, and that the legislation was therefore founded on a belief that it would practically entail inconvenience and loss only on the smaller traders, and the Hebrew brokers who supplied them with money on certain conditions.

In 1288,<sup>1</sup> a statute was enacted for the first time in the Great Council (27th of September) against the crime of Bigamy. It was prescribed by this law that the offender, whether a Venetian or a foreigner resident in Venice, should be required to make restitution of any property which he might have received with his second wife, and, if no such property existed, or, in other words, if money had not formed the inducement to the transaction, he should be adjudged to pay to the aggrieved party, that is to say, the woman whom he might have inveigled into marriage by misrepresenting his existing engagements, an indemnity of 100 *lire* within a stated time, or in default to undergo a twelvemonth's imprisonment.

In the laws of a city in which monetary transactions were necessarily so constant and extensive, it was natural to attach special weight to such as affected the relations between Debtor and Creditor, and great care was taken to lay down the principle of operation in the recovery of claims, and the prosecution of fraudulent insolvents. On these points, therefore, it is not astonishing to find the Statute more than usually explicit. Whenever one Venetian desired to open a civil action against another, it was necessary for him to present himself in the first instance before the Doge in Common Pleas,

<sup>1</sup> *Leggi criminali del Serenissimo Dominio Veneto*, 1751.

and there to pray for a *Ministerial* or licence *in jure*, with an order to the defendant to appear on a certain day in answer to the charge. If the ground of complaint seemed good and sufficient, the prayer of the plaintiff was allowed, and the *subpœna* was left by an officer of the Court at the dwelling of the defendant whose absence from home was not admissible, in ordinary circumstances, as a plea of ignorance. If at the appointed time the defendant appeared, a space of four days from the date of service was granted to him for the purpose of obtaining counsel, and, on the expiration of that term, legal proceedings were suffered to commence. In difficult and complicated cases, the Bench often found itself unable to arrive at an immediate decision on the facts before it, and in such circumstances sentence was necessarily deferred. In this manner suits and litigations were sometimes prolonged over several years; instances were known in which their duration exhausted several lives. At a somewhat later date, it seems to have been the practice for a crier to publish the summons at St. Mark's and at the Rialto, and for a local magistrate (*podestà*), if he resided outside the civic bounds, to proclaim the defendant.

When it happened, on the other hand, that the defendant neglected to reply to the summons either in person or by proxy, and the suit of the plaintiff appeared to be just, the law provided that the Judge should grant an order which forbade the recusant at his peril to leave the Dogado, unless the defendant himself or his friends were in a position to offer sufficient bail. In criminal proceedings, at all events, the unlawful withdrawal from jurisdiction was known as "breaking the confines," and entailed a special penalty.

The judicial writ remained in force during a twelvemonth, when a second and definitive summons was issued by the Court, on the same understanding in regard to the choice of counsel as in the preceding instance. If the defendant continued to be a defaulter, no farther grace was extended to him, and, after the evidence of the plaintiff and his witnesses had been received on oath, judgment was recorded against the absentee.

Such was the form of procedure in actions for debt and other civil suits, in the bishoprics of Caorle, Malamocco and Torcello, when the amount involved upward of fifty *lire di piccoli*. In the other dioceses, or when the debt or other

claim fell below such an amount, the Court declined to grant a second summons. Than the adoption for political purposes of the ecclesiastical divisions of a State, nothing was more common at that time; but the origin of the inequality of civil rights lay in some ancient franchise, accorded to the favoured localities at a period when the Republic was alternately swayed by the contending factions of Malamocco and Heraclia.

It was one of the principles laid down in the Statute, that neither the prosecutor nor his counsel should be suffered to cross-question or interrogate the opposite party in a vexatious spirit or from an unfair motive. The acceptance or refusal of bail was at the discretion of the Bench.

The writ which the Judge was enjoined on no account to sign without mature consideration affected the personalty of an insolvent as well as his freedom. In case of default or inability to satisfy the demands of the plaintiff, a distraint was usually made on the defendant's goods and chattels, and he was committed to prison until some satisfactory arrangement could be concluded. It was necessary, however, that the complainant should be able and willing to produce, if required, his legal authorization for proceeding to extremities; for his omission or refusal destroyed the validity of his claim, and the action lapsed.

In receiving evidence, considerable caution was observed.<sup>1</sup> Affidavits made at Constantinople were invalid, unless signed by the Venetian Bailo.<sup>2</sup> The witnesses who might have been brought forward on either side were severally and separately subjected by the Bench, prior to the commencement of the trial, to a searching examination, and if it became apparent, from their conflicting and contradictory statements, that they had been corrupted or suborned, their testimony was rejected as worthless. It was, moreover, in the competence of a judge to call on any person who was, or even who was supposed to be, in possession of information of a relevant kind, to attend the trial; and, if such person omitted to respond to the summons without assigning an adequate reason for his conduct, the judge had farther the power to inflict a penalty for contempt of Court.

The preliminary examination of witnesses before the judge on oath may seem to have entitled the procedure of which

<sup>1</sup> *Statuti di Venetia*, 1477, cap. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 30.



it constituted part to the appellation, in literal strictness, of Trial by Jury.<sup>1</sup> The jury was not then understood to be a body of twelve individuals, empanelled and removed from external influences for the purpose of deciding points of fact, but was composed of such persons merely as were ascertained, after due inquiry, to be best acquainted with the character of the accused, and to be most competent to give evidence on the charge under consideration or on the case at issue. They were the neighbours, perhaps, of the defendant, his gossips or his acquaintances. They were those with whom he had been last seen walking, or with whom he had last had money transactions. Their sole function was to make depositions; the Bench was the judge of questions of fact as well as of questions of law. The mediæval jury was as totally distinct from the modern jury, as the statesmanship of the age of Petrarch was distinct from that of the twentieth century.

Judgments were doubtless in many cases delivered by word of mouth from the Bench; but, in difficult or important suits or trials, we have evidence to satisfy us that it was customary to commit the decree to writing and read it in Court. The mode in which the Doge sometimes subscribed such documents is illustrated by an abundance of extant records, and, in an instrument on parchment of the 8th of April, 1308,<sup>2</sup> we observe the subscription on the part of the reigning prince, Pietro Gradenigo, accompanied by those of three judges who sat at the hearing of the case. The body of the MS. is in the handwriting of a priest (Marcus Presbyter), and was drawn up under the direction of the Doge or his judicial subordinates. The process of arrest or *capias* in civil suits was carried out by sergeants or apparitors, of whom the precise antiquity is not known, but who, in the thirteenth century, were sufficiently established and notorious to give their name to a street, the *Ruga Domorum de Sergentibus*—the seat of the sponging-houses.

The juridical system of the Republic, copious and explicit enough on those points which more or less nearly touched its interest as a commercial State, is silent on many others to which we find prominence elsewhere accorded. There is no indication in the Statutes of an attempt or desire to treat

<sup>1</sup> See Prior's *Ancient Danish Ballads*, iii. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Original sold at Sotheby's rooms in 1892.

the clergy as a separate and favoured caste. The members of the Church enjoyed their civil rights, and at the same time were required to discharge their civil obligations; many of them attained great influence and wealth. Nor do we encounter any provision for challenges, duels, wagers of battle and other feudal observances or practices; and the omission is not due, as we become aware, to the exemption of Venice from the feudal system, but must be supposed to arise from the peculiar constitution, which had begun to assume a definite and concrete form before the Crusades and the principles of chivalry acquired appreciable force. At the same time, in the period of corruption and decline, the practice of duelling was by no means unknown, although it was in connexion with affairs of gallantry rather than affairs of honour.

The pages of the *Promission of Crime* are redolent of that barbarous spirit, which has characterized the criminal legislation of all ages and of almost every people down to comparatively recent times. In earlier ages, more particularly as communities became larger and more mixed, which was very soon the case in commercial centres, drastic severity was required to meet the heavier proportion of disorder and crime; and measures of repression have always and everywhere been apt to outlive their necessity or fitness. Yet there were some respects in which the Venetian laws of the thirteenth century exhibited a greater degree of mildness than the laws of other countries in the eighteenth. Such was the case with regard to bigamy, coining and forgery, the last of which was naturally viewed in a less grave aspect at a period when the system of paper currency was hardly known; but cases are reported in which the acquisition and guilty utterance of false money were heavily punished, even in the case of a patrician of ancient family. Yet at Venice there seemed to have been a constitutional tendency to punish with the largest measure of severity those who should have known better, and to condone excusable ignorance. It is obvious that some margin is to be allowed for the discrepancy which invariably exists between the letter of the law and its practical application; and it must also be borne in mind that, in a mass of unconsolidated legislation, a more or less considerable number of enactments, dating from remote epochs or owing their origin to peculiar

circumstances, will always be found which, though nominally and strictly enforceable, have long grown out of practice or memory. At Venice as elsewhere, the Bench had the express power of mitigating<sup>1</sup> the statutory penalty, or of recommending to mercy; and it may be fairer to look upon the principles laid down in the Promission, rather as exhibiting the extreme point of rigour to which justice might be stretched, than the ordinary character of its administration in the Dogado.<sup>2</sup> We must at any rate studiously beware of looking on the operation of the penal statutes, or of decrees of the councils, as matters which the Executive desired to conceal, or thought in need of an apology, for every proceeding of this kind was carefully registered, and, unless some casualty supervened, transmitted to succeeding ages for their information and criticism. Doubtless, there were at all times cases of tiresome and unfair procrastination due to an infinite variety of causes, and an anecdote, belonging in all probability to the eighteenth century, draws an unfavourable comparison between Venice and San Marino in this respect;<sup>3</sup> the analogy, however, was barely complete.

While female influence was, no doubt prior to any available records, indirectly operative to a considerable extent, and acquired progressive weight and range, the laws specifically affecting women in a penal sense were not, so far as it is to be judged, so drastic as many of those affecting men. Venetian tolerance or tenderness in such a direction, which certainly did not deviate in later times, may be attributed to the circumstance that women played no recognized part in public concerns, and that the State contented itself with holding its actual ministers responsible, whoever might be the prime or unofficial movers: we perceive that the greatest severity was exercised toward political delinquents. Not only in regard to women, but also and in greater measure children, the law took a lenient view, and certain more or less venial offences were overlooked, if the culprits were under twelve years of age, a period when a Venetian boy or

<sup>1</sup> *Statuti di Venetia*, 2nd edit. 1477, cap. 23, *et alibi*.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, viii. 341, furnishes a quotation from the Memoirs of Leopold Curti, illustrating the confidence of strangers in the equity of the Venetian civil law: "Eamus ad bonos Venetos qui judicant secundum allegata et probata, et bene judicant."

<sup>3</sup> *Penny Magazine*, May, 1834, p. 202.



girl was apt to be more precocious than those of corresponding years farther westward.

Theft and larceny were the offences with which the Venetian lawgivers dealt most severely. As has been the case at all times everywhere, they treated offences against property as more heinous than those against the person. The world has not outgrown this sentiment. Even in England, with all its boasted refinement, a man may steal a goose and maim his wife for life on nearly the same terms. In cases in which the amount or the value of the property stolen did not exceed ten soldi, and there was no proof of a former conviction, the accused was allowed to escape with a flogging. But, on a second offence, the sentence was more than proportionably heavy; and, according to the gravity of the crime and the character of the offender, it ascended in a graduating scale to capital punishment, which was awarded in those instances in which the amount involved was upward of forty lire. If the condemned person was a man, he was hanged between the Red Columns; if a woman, she was put to death in such manner as the judge might think proper to direct.

Forgers and coiners were adjudged to lose one hand. Burglary with violence, coining, felonious utterance of false money, rape and adultery were punished with the mutilation of a hand and exoculation, unless, in the two latter cases, the culprit was in a position to offer a suitable and sufficient indemnity to the injured party. Simple burglary was treated as theft. In 1514, an advocate guilty of perjury was obliged to stand on a raised platform in the Piazza, with a satirical chaplet on his head.

On conviction, a prisoner was sentenced to imprisonment, to mutilation by the loss of one or more limbs, according to the nature of the offence and the frequency with which it had been committed, or to death. Of capital punishment there were several kinds: starvation, decapitation, strangulation, breaking on the wheel, submersion and hanging. The first was accounted the most cruel; the second was generally adopted by preference in cases of political conspiracy; the third was the least ignominious. The gibbet or submersion was the common method of disposing of ordinary malefactors who were adjudged to suffer the extreme penalty.

When a culprit was to be publicly hanged, the scaffold was erected either between the Granite Columns or at one of the casements of the Palace looking toward the Piazzetta, and an additional ignominy was the suspension of the body after death head downward. At Chillon they seem to have suspended the condemned from one of the pillars inside the prison, and then to have let the remains drop into the lake through a sliding trap or panel. An analogous contrivance existed at Venice; but the secret executions there were usually accomplished by the cord or cloth (*pannicello*). In the case of Antonio Foscari (1622), the condemned man had been privately strangled in the night, and was subsequently hanged by his feet between the Columns.

Quartering was also part of the Venetian code, and one instance is known in which a criminal was quartered alive. It is extremely probable that a graduated scale of remuneration for the various forms of punishment was provided, as we find such to have been the case elsewhere; but no document directly illustrating this point has yet fallen under our observation. At Hesse-Darmstadt, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, a man could be boiled in oil for 24 florins, burned alive for 14, and hanged for 10.<sup>1</sup> To break on the wheel cost 5 florins 30 kreutzers, while putting on the rack, branding the back or forehead, and slitting the ear or nose, brought the operator five florins only. The executioner at Venice was not infrequently an alien, or at least a person not a native of the city. The individual who strangled the two Carraresi in 1406 is described as a *Schiavone* or Dalmatian Slav. Evelyn saw a novel form of execution between the Red Columns in 1646; the culprit, who had murdered his master, had his head chopped off "by an axe that slid down a frame of timber," the executioner striking the axe with a beetle. This was, in fact, a forerunner of the guillotine. The most authentic sources of information establish the impartiality with which the most rigorous sentences were carried out irrespectively of persons, and, in some cases, if the crime was peculiarly atrocious, the execution in its revolting details corresponded.

In the starving process,<sup>2</sup> the condemned, having been led to the Campanile, was there inclosed in a large wooden cage with iron bars, suspended by a strong chain from a pole

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquary*, vi. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Gallicioli, *Memorie*, lib. i. c. 8.

attached to the building, and fed on a diminishing scale with bread and water which he received by letting down a cord, until the unfortunate wretch, exposed to every weather, perished of cold, hunger and misery. Such was a method of punishment in extreme cases, which is known to have prevailed largely in the Peninsula during the dark ages, and to the invention of which the Venetians are not believed to be entitled. At least, it was well known at Pisa in the thirteenth century, where it was employed in the case of Count Ugolino and his sons and grandsons, whose story Dante told in verse, and Sir Joshua Reynolds with the brush. A curious consideration offers itself, when we look at the almost daily incidence of penal judgments pronounced and consummated, as to the process by which, in illiterate times, the intentions of the authorities were made known to those immediately charged with carrying them into effect; and it must have been the case that, in instructing gaolers, executioners and all subordinate officials, communications were by word of mouth at second or third hand.

Altogether, we may affirm that, during the best and most prosperous period, homicide and other flagrant or capital outrages were far less frequent and chronic than in the rest of Italy—in Rome under many of the Popes, and in Florence under many of the Medici. Nowhere, perhaps, were life and property more secure and the police more efficient and trustworthy than in the old Republic.

The sole penal settlement at a distance from Venice of which we hear was the island of Cerigo, which Casanova personally visited in 1743, and described as a miserable place, in spite of the beautiful climate and scenery. He thought that the Government made this the special destination of persons guilty of serious offences against public morality and not sufficiently influential to secure immunity. The sentence was virtual banishment for life to the island consecrated by the Greeks to the goddess of love.

While Casanova was in the *Piombi*, he was permitted by the warder to take half an hour's airing in the ante-room, and he fell in, according to his own account, with a mass of records of depositions in criminal cases, extending back centuries and affecting all classes. A cursory survey of them afforded this excellent gentleman a considerable fund of amusement. He



encountered proceedings which referred to all sorts of criminal cases, and which gave in detail the interrogatories and replies. Casanova seems to have been particularly edified by the episodes of gallantries and intrigues there disclosed through centuries, in spite of guardians, confessors, schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and the particulars enabled him to while away whole days most agreeably.

*The Nautical Capitulary* appeared for the first time during the administration of the doge Pietro Ziani from 1205 to 1229, and it was reproduced in an amplified form thirty years later, under the auspices of the doge Zeno (1253–1268). A unique copy of the Capitulary of 1255 was among the Quirini MSS., where it had lain neglected and forgotten during many centuries; it was transcribed by Cancianus, and included by him in his collection of the *Barbarorum leges antiquæ*.<sup>1</sup> But a code of mercantile marine was compiled by order of the Senate and published in 1786, and it is observable that its appearance was almost simultaneous with that brought out under the auspices of the French Government, which recommended the grant of nobility to deserving naval officers—a course which the Venetian representative at Paris commended to the imitation of his own country, forgetful of the fact that at Venice every naval commander was already a patrician.

The whole Capitulary is conceived in a sensible and judicious spirit; the wording of every article is lucid and unequivocal; and the minuteness with which every point touching the tonnage, rigging and equipment of a vessel is treated is admirable. It serves to indicate the degree of importance which the Republic attached to the preservation of her Mercantile Marine in a state of due efficiency.

The Code<sup>2</sup> is divided into 128 chapters, but its contents may be classified under certain heads. I. 1, The poundage of vessels; 2, the method of selecting the crew, and the number of anchors to be carried, which, as well as the complement of seamen, was proportionable to the actual burden of a ship. II. 1, The reciprocal obligations of the seaman and his employer; 2, the signature of articles; 3, the payment of wages to the crew, with the penalty of omission or refusal; 4, the punishment for desertion. III. 1, The arming and victual-

<sup>1</sup> *Barbarorum leges antiquæ*, 1792, 5 vols. folio.

<sup>2</sup> *Statuti et ordini di Venetia*, 1477, sign K<sup>2</sup>, et seq.

ling of ships; 2, the allowance of wine, water, flour and biscuit; 3, the weight of metal, in the form of ballistæ and other projectiles, as well as the description of side-arms and pikes with which vessels should be furnished according to their poundage. IV. 1, The lading of vessels, and the measurement of the cargo which was to be taken at a port by the local authorities, as a precaution against the practice of excessive lading; 2, the penalty attached to the infringement of the prescribed standard, which was a fine amounting to double the value of the goods found on board beyond the legitimate quantity. V. 1, The disposition of the cargo; 2, the obligation of the consignee or consignees to remove his or their property, upon due notice being given, within two days after arrival, or, in default, to forfeit two *lire* a day until the law was complied with, saving always those cases in which sufficient cause could be shewn for the demurrage; 3, the illegality of storing goods between decks. VI. The expenses of pilotage, which devolved on the owner. VII. 1, The appointment of ship's clerks; 2, their functions and the character of the articles to which they were required to subscribe. VIII. The reparation of damage and loss which might accrue from various causes; and the regulations as to unseaworthy ships. IX. The duties and obligations of the Master, whether he was the owner as well as captain, or merely the latter. X. The relative authority of the Patrono and Captain (unless they were one), and the local representative of the Government at home and abroad.

Vessels were reckoned by the pound. The *Milliarium* was 1000 pounds. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, hardly any vessels were found to exceed 1000 or 1050 *milliaria*, *i.e.* about 400 tons. The utmost length was 200 feet at the keel. All ships were marked at a certain point on one or both sides, with the figure of the Cross as a water-line. During the first five years of service, the owner was at liberty to lade two feet and a quarter above this point. In the sixth year, the standard fell to two feet; and, subsequently to the seventh, not more than a foot and a half of water beyond the cross was permissible.<sup>1</sup> The character of the penalty is recorded above, and it may here be added that the Government reserved to itself

<sup>1</sup> "In this way the old Venetians provided for the general safety at sea, and anticipated by many centuries the Plimsoll Mark." See Newett, *Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, ed. 1907, p. 24.

the right of levying on the most valuable portion of the cargo.

The principle of marine insurance or underwriting was in full force at Venice in 1564, when a vessel and cargo, the property of Domenico Duodo, Brothers and Co., and loading at Constantinople for Venice, was underwritten by Lorenzo Bembo and Giacomo Ragazoni on behalf of a syndicate of fifteen, for 2000 ducats, the premium being 150 ducats. The ship was lost, and the insurers received a bill for 1910 ducats, drawn in favour of Duodo and Co. on the banks of Pisani and Correr.<sup>1</sup> It is characteristic enough that the policy of insurance of those days commenced with *Laus Deo* and concluded with *Iddio la salvi!* A curious case occurred in 1588, in which 100 bags of currants, consigned from Venice to London and insured at 15 per cent., were damaged by the leakage of wines. The consignee declined to accept them, and the matter was referred to the arbitration of two grocers, John Hyde<sup>2</sup> and Richard Aldworth,<sup>3</sup> who rated the loss on each bag at 40 shillings. This award was upheld by Lord Chancellor Hatton, and enrolled as a statute for future guidance and government. Various classes of disputes naturally arose from time to time between Venetian shipowners or with other countries. In 1592, Edward Glemham, an English adventurer and privateer, seized in the Mediterranean a Venetian vessel freighted with sugar and other goods, and was adjudged to give a bond for twice their value, as security for the payment within two months of the just value of such property as belonged to Venetians or others, not subjects of the King of Spain.<sup>4</sup>

It requires a strong effort of the imagination on our part, with an overcrowded Bar and an interminable roll of attorneys, to realize a condition of the law, when its exponents and professors were exceedingly few, when no digested body of statutes was open to reference, and nine laymen out of ten were not only unable to read a legal document, but to comprehend it when it was read to them. In early times, a

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), ii., xlix.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the father of the brothers Hyde, members of the Grocers' Guild, whose younger brother Edward became Earl of Clarendon (1608-74).

<sup>3</sup> The rich Bristol sugar-baker whose house is still partly preserved both internally and externally, and whose fine monument is in the adjacent church of St. Peter.

<sup>4</sup> *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, art. *Glemham*, and *Cal. of State Papers* (Domestic), 17th May, 1592.



complainant in a civil cause held, so to speak, his own brief; and for a great length of time the only trained practitioners were the Advocates of the Commune who took charge of criminal proceedings and were the legal advisers of the Executive, the earlier Advocate of the Palace who watched and safeguarded the legal interests of the ducal throne, and the lay advocates of monasteries common to other countries. But, in the case of the Republic and other mediæval States, the cliental relations which subsisted between large sections of the poorer classes and the great houses furnished a certain protection against injustice to a portion of the community, which would otherwise have found it impossible to make its voice heard in an ordinary tribunal. It also appears easy to see how, under a federal constitution such as Venice long possessed, the nobles might defeat the ends of justice, and shield their dependents and supporters from the legitimate operation of the law. But, apart from special considerations, the language of statutes, in common with that of treaties, has always been apt to produce a misleading impression on the student who merely considers the text without allowing for contingencies. The probability is that no country in the world ever produced so vast a body of laws, enactments and ordinances as the Republic, and that no country possessed so many which were virtually inoperative. Many laws were, in a practical sense, dormant, until some emergency arose to force attention to their provisions. Others were set aside, if it seemed to the Government, in exceptional circumstances, to be necessary to dispense with them. In criminal cases in which a political question was involved, rapid and arbitrary action was the invariable course; but the Italian did not view offences against the person, even when they reached homicide, with the same eyes as others are accustomed to do, unless the victim was some one of rank and influence. The civil side, while it existed and worked on the ostensible principle of equality of rights for every Venetian, laboured under the same disadvantage and reproach as the civil side in all places and under all systems, but more especially in former times and in regions more or less subject to Oriental sentiment. In regard to the real distance between legislation on paper and legislation in fact, there is the epigram that the Venetians were in these matters more given to talking than doing.

On the whole, as the Constitution assumed a more definite form, and an efficient system of police was organized to preserve the public peace and execute the provisions of the law and the orders of the Government, there was probably no early European State, where property and life were equally secure from violence, and where nocturnal repose might be enjoyed almost as confidently as in a modern home.

It necessarily followed that, with the successive acquisitions of territory on the mainland, the Signory was committed to the duty of establishing a judicial system, at once in conformity with its own interests and security and with the local requirements and traditions, and the Lombard dependencies were accordingly placed on such a basis in these respects, subsequently to their incorporation with the Venetian empire, as in the least measure offended their pride and endangered their loyalty.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Guilford collection was a fine folio MS. on vellum of the Statutes of Bergamo of the fifteenth century.

## CHAPTER LII

Police—Primitive system—*Signori di Notte*—*Cinque alla Pace*—*Shirri*—Passports—The Bravo—Prisons—Primitive places of detention—Colloquial names for them—The Torricella, Orba, Gheba and Catolda prisons—The Terranuova—*Carceri Forti* or *di sotto*—Celebrated inmates of some of these places—Classification of prisoners in 1441—Separation of civil and criminal offenders and of the sexes—The *Piombi*—Comparison of the Venetian with other prison systems.

THE preservation of the public peace originally and long devolved on the *Capi de' Sestieri* or *Chiefs of the Wards*, under whom were the *Capi delle Contrade* or *Chiefs of the Streets*; subordinated to the latter again, was a certain Staff of Officials, denominated *Custodi* or *Watchmen*. These patrolled the streets and canals, and took into custody any refractory vagrants and any troublesome passengers by land or water, reporting them to their immediate Capo, who, in his turn, submitted the circumstances to the consideration of his chief, the *Capo del Sestiere*. The latter, who was a species of stipendiary magistrate, possessed the power of disposing of petty offences, or of inflicting short terms of imprisonment and summary penalties of a light nature. But, in cases in which the delinquency happened to be of a graver complexion, the Chief of the Ward simply committed the prisoner for trial before the Judges of the Palace or some other tribunal, or, when that Board had been established, handed him over to the *Signori di Notte*.

There can be little doubt that the Chiefs of the Wards, the Chiefs of the Streets whom we find surviving under the same designation in 1683, and the Watchmen represent, with their graduated functions, the germ of a system which was afterward carried to much higher efficiency, and which terminated, as it might have been expected to terminate under a Government with such tendencies, in the conversion of these officers of the peace into a political organ and a secret service.

There are some missing links between the police of the



thirteenth and the police of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which it is not easy to supply. In the slow transition which the office of *Custode* underwent, it was necessarily divested of that simplicity which originally belonged to it. The Republic was in this respect far from being in the rear of her neighbours and contemporaries; and it may be surmised, that the Venetian constable of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was at least as efficient a guardian of the Peace of my Lord the Doge, as the English sixteenth-century character which Shakespear has immortalised in Dogberry, or as the watchman who survived down to quite modern days.

In a metropolis, where civil tumults long continued to be so frequent, and where private plots and assassinations were so common, the existence of a numerous and efficient body of watchmen became a point of the utmost consequence; and it is probable that a series of flagitious crimes was powerfully instrumental in producing the development and extension of the system.

The *Signori di Notte*, whom every incident of a criminal tenor in the course of the Annals has brought under notice, appear to have arisen as an institution under this title after the distribution of the city into *Sestieri* or Wards in the twelfth century; and, agreeably to this municipal arrangement, they were six in number. They combined the functions of the superintendent of police and the commissioner of sewers. In common with other public bodies, they had their own code defining their duties and jurisdiction, which comprised, on the one hand, a personal surveillance by night over the capital, and, on the other, control over the repair of bridges and highways.

The reason for this dualism was perhaps the exceptional opportunity which the board enjoyed of observing, during their constant visits to all parts of the city, any points which required attention. They were even charged in 1241 with the execution of a decree of the Great Council regarding the glass furnaces, and directed to add the clause to their capitulary.

These functionaries, who were often patricians of high family, seem to have occupied a position analogous to that of the Roman *vigiles* or *triumviri nocturni*.<sup>1</sup> Their office in 1341

<sup>1</sup> See *Gallus*, by Prof. W. A. Becker, tr. Metcalfe, 1849, p. 1 and note.

is shewn to have been on the *terreno* or basement, over which at that point of time the new saloon of the Great Council was appointed to be built. The latter was to be supported on columns, and approached by an open staircase. The Signori, in fact, were lodged in the vicinity of the old *camerotti*, and their quarters probably had a direct communication with these. The designation carries with it the exclusive idea of nocturnal jurisdiction, and, at the outset, the Lords of the Night were doubtless called into existence to supplement and oversee the Watch. But their functions gradually extended, and, down to the time when the Republic provided itself with a corps of Sbirri, there was no other police executive to protect the capital and carry out the orders of the councils.

We have had occasion to record the precautions which the Council of Ten, in 1310, at the very outset of its career, while the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy was yet fresh in all minds, concerted with a view to the maintenance of public order and safety. But, previously to that event, the existence of the *Cinque alla Pace* with an independent bureau seems to be conclusively established, by the fact that one of the acts of the conspirators was to burn these premises in common with others.

This Board or Bench dealt with offences of a more or less petty or subsidiary character within the metropolitan area, and formed the tribunal before which the Lords of the Night brought or summoned the culprits. But, in capital or important matters of a political character, they do not seem to have intervened. The Lords of the Night received their instructions in such cases direct from the Ten or the Signory, as we perceive in the Foscari affair in 1456. In 1544, the Great Council established two distinct tribunals, each composed of six members, respectively designated *al criminale* and *al civile*, in order, no doubt, to meet a long-felt want. The latter body was clothed with very full power; but sentences of capital punishment were subject to appeal to the higher courts.

But, whatever may be or may have been the value of the machinery for insuring the public safety in dangerous and unsettled times and in the face of growing jealousy on the part of certain foreign Powers, the tragical and alarming incidents and complications attending the conspiracy of the

Duke of Ossuna in 1618, and its nearness to accomplishment, imposed on the Government the necessity of trying to render another occurrence of the same kind an impossibility; the system of police surveillance was therefore made far more strict and effectual. The presence of disreputable and suspicious characters in the capital and its outskirts had long been a matter of notoriety; but there was evidently no adequate idea that, in the very heart of the Republic, almost under the eyes of the Executive, such a formidable plot could be brought to the eve of maturity without discovery or betrayal. The key to the mischief lay in the facilities which were afforded by so many gorge-like thoroughfares which it was unsafe for the ordinary officers of police to penetrate, by the improper advantage taken of diplomatic sanctuaries, and by the promiscuous groups which on some pretext were constantly lounging about the open spaces. Such was the occasion, and such the sufficient apology, for the claim of the Decemvirs to take into their own hands the control of the secret detective force known as the *sbirri*, just as in 1459 they had judged it requisite to reserve for their own special use the Torricella prison. Much has been said and made of the system of spying and shadowing pursued at Venice during the rule of the Oligarchy, but it was not probably worse than that which in more modern days has been observed in France, Russia and elsewhere.

We seem to be without an exact knowledge of the circumstances in which the *sbirro* or private instrument of the Decemvirs and College arose. He was an official evidently chosen with particular care; and the election of one is incidentally mentioned in 1625<sup>1</sup> as on the eve of accomplishment by the votes of the Council. The force had its service of boats for use at need, flying a red banner; and we hear only casually of the *sergeants* whose province it was to arrest for debt, and who did not intervene in criminal procedure. They had their sponging-houses to which they conveyed their prisoners, and where they temporarily detained them. But under the Austrian rule the soldier or the police sergeant entirely superseded the *sbirro*. The application of the latter term to an officer of police appears to have been peculiarly Venetian, as it usually imports a bailiff or sergeant, and

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vi. 205.



among the Italians and Spaniards is understood of the guard of a diligence or post. The dulness of an Italian *sbirro* was proverbial, but the Venetian functionary was a model of intelligence and alertness.

Of anything approaching an urban constabulary of the modern type the older Venice was naturally destitute. The majority retired to rest at the sound of the curfew; and nocturnal wayfarers were usually individuals or parties on their return from an entertainment. The mission of the *sbirro*, when he appeared on the scene, was by no means purely political; but public nuisances and even misdemeanours are always interpreted by local and contemporary sentiment. The earliest precautions against disorder and violence were directed against a class of persons whom the ancient constitution scarcely recognized, the hired emissary of a domestic malcontent or of a foreign court; for the feuds of the clans in the Middle Ages and the quarrels of great families were matters, so long as they lasted, beyond the control of an ordinary police—very often beyond that of the Executive itself, till the latter was more consolidated. In fact, in the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was decided by the Ten to force an entrance into the French embassy, the task was assigned to the Arsenalotti or workmen of the Arsenal. At the same time, the civil police at Venice became, at all events, the official guardians of the public peace and security, and, during the night as well as the day, they remained on duty to protect property and the persons of important or influential subjects. The aristocratic spirit betrayed itself even less, yet, in comparison with other populous places in earlier times, Venice enjoyed the reputation of being exceptionally secure from internal disorders as well as from external attack, and in either case, by reason of its peculiar local incidence, where nocturnal excursionists were usually protected by escorts, and an approach by night, even of a friendly vessel, was almost impossible.

The *sbirri* were under the immediate superintendence of a *Capo della sbirraglia*, who was officially known as *Messer Grande*, and who formed part of public processions or gatherings which the Doge and the Signory attended in state. He was usually assisted by the *uscieri* of the Council of Ten, who may be identical with the *archers* of Casanova; but

Venetian crowds were, as a rule, tractable enough to render a very slight amount of control sufficient.

The curious devices employed by the police are exemplified by the account given by Casanova in 1755 of the Venetian mechanic, whom he eventually judged to be a spy, and who introduced himself by offering to sell at a bargain a handsome diamond ring; this individual saw certain books on the occult sciences in the room, and stated that he knew some one who would give 1000 ducats for them, but who would require to see them. Two months later, Casanova received a visit from Messer Grande and was committed to the *Piombi*.

The Sieur de la Haye, although he appears to have been acquainted with Venice and was employed by the Republic, assuredly mistakes the function and place of the *sbirro*, when he speaks of him as being under a provost called a constable, and of the force itself as being devoted to the execution of the orders of the Senate and the suppression of ordinary ruffianism. He also thought that the *sbirro* would not presume to lay his hands on a gentleman. But it is quite likely that the writer is correct in describing his method of capture, for it is precisely that adopted in the case of the Cavaliere Foscari in 1622. "If at any time it be their duty to seize upon any of them [the rascals]," he says, "they [the *sbirri*] throw their cloaks over their head, and muffling them up in that manner, they carry them to prison." De la Haye gives us to understand at the same time that the water-police was very inefficient; this was about 1660.<sup>1</sup>

In the Lombard provinces, the political conditions and demands were modified by the topographical conditions; but there was the same inquisitorial spirit and the same tendency to bias.

Apart from the credentials furnished to diplomatic representatives and the military safe-conducts issued in time of war, unknown strangers coming to Venice were obliged to obtain a passport (*bolletta*) at the point of departure, establishing their identity, and certifying the route to be taken, and the freedom of the place which they left from plague or other cause of infection. In respect of these Bills of Health, Coryat apprises us that, a few years posterior to that presently

<sup>1</sup> The *sbirro* was adopted by the Austrians after the Treaty of Campo Formio, and became under that rule more officious and obnoxious than he had been under the old Republic.

quoted, the Italians generally were most punctilious in demanding them, and above all the Venetians; but that when he left Venice and proceeded through Lombardy, he was not asked again. The strictness might have depended on circumstances. One of these documents is preserved among some papers collected at the time.<sup>1</sup> It introduces Rutilio Orlandini of or from Ferrara:—

“GRATIS,

“Baptista Mazzarelus judex sapientum et conservatores sanitatis civitatis et ducatus Ferrariae. Facciamo fede come da questa città, per la Dio gratia sana et libera da ogni sospitione di peste, si parte M. Rutilio Orlandini per Rovigo, Padova et Venetia con suoi arnesi.



Dat. Ferrara adi 6 ott. 1607.”

[SIGNATURES.]

Orlandini, who had formerly been in Venetian employment, contemplated a visit to the city, and had luggage (*arnesi*). He had scarcely crossed the Venetian frontier, when he was arrested by order of the Ten and brought to Venice a prisoner. He was suspected of being privy to a projected attempt on the life of Paolo Sarpi, an intimation having reached the Government from the ambassador at Rome, that Orlandini might be expected and had some nefarious object in view. Evelyn, on leaving Venice in the spring of 1646 to proceed to Milan and to other parts of the Spanish dominions in Italy, procured a passport from the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, and has preserved the text in his *Diary*. A considerable portion of the document is occupied by the titles of his Excellency.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the safe-conduct granted in military affairs, there was a totally distinct kind furnished to Venetian traders who disembarked at foreign ports in order to transact business with parties on shore. Whether these papers were

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> The diplomatic passport seems, at all events in troubled times, to have demanded renewal from frontier to frontier; and this necessity, owing to the subdivision of States, often involved considerable delay and inconvenience. A Venetian envoy, on his way to England, sent forward from Ferrara his courier, to obtain a passport for the Genoese territory, desiring that it might be directed to him at Lucca. It was, as usual, behindhand; this was in 1515.



peremptory or occasional is not quite certain; but, that weighty stress was laid upon the possession of them, we infer from the refusal of the Flanders galleys in 1450 to traffic with Bruges, unless they were supplied beforehand by the municipal authorities under the sanction of the Duke of Burgundy. We learn that the English practice was, when a safe-conduct was granted to a foreign merchant, that the name of the ship, the number of the crew and other particulars were to be registered, but that the accidental omission to take this course did not necessarily deprive the merchant of legal redress, when goods had been stolen, because the strangers came under cover of the king's privy seal, and were not supposed to understand the English law.<sup>1</sup>

The dread of infection was also productive of a system of quarantine, when a vessel or a traveller came from any suspected country or direction. Howell the letter-writer, coming to Venice in 1618 on business apparently from Spain, informs us that he underwent a month's demurrage before he was allowed to disembark. But we have to recollect that he presented himself at an acutely critical juncture, when the Spanish conspiracy against the Republic was uppermost in all minds, and when strangers were naturally viewed with a wistful eye in the absence of special credentials, particularly if, as may have been here the case, they were found to have relations with Spain.

The system of foreign mercenary service, and the facilities to earn a livelihood, or perhaps to retrieve a career, which it afforded to lawless and proscribed members of communities, seems to have laid the foundation of that discreditable and scandalous element in Venetian life, the *Bravo*, who derived his origin and subsistence from a dissolute class unknown to the more primitive times, but the product of the impoverishment and demoralization arising from misfortune or extravagance. He was by no means restricted to Venice, but was an unwholesome product of similar conditions throughout Italy. In the wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, families of ancient standing had already suffered vicissitudes and had lost social and political weight; and the Republic itself gradually counted, even among those who were qualified to sit on the benches of the Great Council, unscrupulous adventurers

<sup>1</sup> *Star Chamber Cases*, 1630, p. 51.

with small or no resources, who were prepared to lend their aid to any profligate scheme, either for the sake of obtaining a pecuniary advantage or of gratifying a personal resentment. It was partly to assist in the execution of such undignified and compromising movements, and partly to screen the principals, that the latter gathered round them desperadoes who had no pride to wound and no reputation to forfeit. But there were other cases in which patricians who had their wild oats still unsown made use of these instruments, merely to enable them to indulge in licentious and foolish pranks, under the very windows of the Ten and in the very teeth of the police. The occasions were not frequent; but they arose sufficiently often to reveal a germ of corruption and decadence.

The evil is disclosed, in what may be regarded as its parent type, in an episode of 1355, when we come across certain desperate characters engaged to throw discredit on the aristocracy during the Faliero plot, and ostensibly prepared to lend themselves for a price to any project, without inquiry or scruple; and the vicious system and element remained more or less active throughout the entire duration of independent Venetian life. A second and even more distinct trace of this type of social distemper meets the eye less than twenty years later on, when the accomplices in the Novello conspiracy are discovered in a house of bad repute kept by a hump-backed woman; these individuals were clearly adventurers of the same stamp. The mischief acquired an habitual character—almost became part of the daily experience. In 1510, one Agostino Coppo, a Venetian patrician, was outlawed on account of some outrage committed by him; he subsequently stabbed to death another nobleman who had been equally proscribed; we next hear of him as successively in the service of Julius II. and Leo X., the latter of whom interceded for him with the Signory without effect. He succeeded, however, in currying favour with Francis I., whom he helped in his amours and even in his toilette; and his death is recorded in 1517 in a letter to the Doge from the embassy in London, in which we are told that, “Augustin Coppo, who is well known to your Serenity, died the other day in Flanders, whither he is said to have gone for the performance of some great exploit”—no doubt, the removal of a troublesome political character. If Coppo was not well known to others, he was so to Giustinian, who names him

in a dispatch from Chioggia on the 12th of January, 1515, written home on his way to England, and had then in charge some message to the Venetian representative at Paris touching him. We here recognize the portrait of a man who could point to respectable and even noble ancestors, whose name was on the register of the Great Council, and yet was not ashamed to stoop to acts the most unwarrantable and the most unworthy. Even in that century, there were periodical street squabbles between parties of hot-headed young aristocrats and men of lower social rank. A knot of the former, accompanied by some *bravi* armed with arquebuses, go to Lido and encounter a party of *bravi* with their female associates. One of the women is insulted by Carlo Polani or Boldu, a noble, and there is a collision; the Lido side is victorious, and the others are severely thrashed. A complaint is lodged by them with the Council of Ten; the Council virtually replies: "you got your deserts."

These social pests were fairly rampant in the time of Coryat who observes: "There are certaine desperate and resolute villaines in Venice, called Braves, who at some unlawfull times do commit great villainy. They wander abroad very late in the night to and fro for their prey, like hungry Lyons, being armed with a privy coate of maile, a gauntlet upon their right hand, and a little sharpe dagger called a stiletto. They lurke commonly by the water side, and if at their time of the night, which is betwixt eleven of the clocke and two, they happen to meete any man that is worth the rifing, they will presently stabbe him, take away all about him that is of any worth, and when they have thoroughly pulled his plumes, they will throw him into one of the channels:"<sup>1</sup>

The *Bravi*, of whom and of whose place in the Venetian system a wholly false estimate will be formed by a perusal of Zschokke's novel *The Bravo of Venice*, a thoughtless transplantation of a German romance to a foreign soil, were a class of men destitute of any fixed employment, who attached themselves to the casual master or masters in need of the services of bullies. They were the *Venturi* or *Forestieri* of the capital. In the earlier and purer period, they would have been ordinary cliental adherents to some noble house. As the Republic lost its strength and moral tone, they grew

<sup>1</sup> i.e. canals. Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 275-6.



more numerous and more abandoned, and, with the *Barnabotti* or impoverished patricians, constituted a social element capable of creating a good deal of mischief and annoyance. A signal instance presented itself in 1539, when a person who had rendered himself amenable to justice sought an asylum at the French embassy, situated in the Calle San Moisè, where the police might easily be foiled in attempting a capture, even if the place had not been by courtesy and usage exempt from service and entrance. It was accounted so delicate a task, that one of the avogadors of the commune, accompanied by a force of police, repaired to the spot. He met three of the retainers or members of the embassy in the courtyard, and politely solicited them to announce him to their master. These men ran back, shouting to those inside to be on their guard, and Zorzi the avogador, advancing to the entrance, found the staircase blockaded and the premises in possession of a gang of ruffians, some of whom proceeded to hurl pieces of furniture and other missiles through the windows on to the heads of the officers. It was, in an international and diplomatic sense, neutral ground, but the Council of Ten, having learned all the facts, ordered 600 men from the Arsenal to proceed to the spot, to force an entrance, and to take possession of the offender and all others implicated in the resistance to authority. The affair must have been considered by the Council a serious one, and the danger was augmented by the impregnability of the house. The Power affected by this resolute measure was one with which it was to the interest of the Republic to preserve amity, in spite of constant proofs of insincerity; but it was highly essential to let the French understand, that its representative forfeited his privilege when he suffered his residence to be a harbour for criminals and banditti. There does not seem to be any indication that France took public cognizance of the affair. The Ten were well aware that at the Spanish legation the same abuses existed, and their action was perhaps intended as suggestive.

On the 18th of September, 1556, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, about whom there was a vague notion that he might become King of England, died at Padua. His death was popularly attributed to low fever, but he was actually murdered by or through the instrumentality of the Spanish minister Ruy Gomez, at the instigation of Philip II., who

arranged to defer his departure from England for Brussels, until Gomez returned from the perpetration of the act. The papers of Courtenay were consigned, at the request of the French ambassador at Venice, to the Podestà of Padua, until the pleasure of Queen Mary was known, and were ultimately surrendered to England. The Council of Ten, however, had meanwhile directed their secret transmission to Venice, had examined them, opening the cabinet and closing it again with the utmost care, and had found certain documents, which they detained, and which pointed to the deceased as having been an agent and spy of the French Court. As these withdrawn papers are said to have been distinguished by the mark of a cross, whereas those in the archives, apparently belonging to the case, bear no such indication, it is more than probable that others once existed and were destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Courtenay was buried in the chapel of the Crocifisso in the Church of Sant' Antonio at Padua, where the inscription, ODOARDO COURTENAI, 1556, still exists. When Coryat was there in 1608, his acquaintance, Mr. George Rooke, pointed out the wooden coffin *without any inscription* (as he states) lying on the top of another, and the excellent traveller was keenly distressed by the spectacle. But the remains are no longer there, nor is their destination known. When Sir Peter Carew was at Venice, having proceeded thither during the troubles connected with the succession of Mary in 1553, he narrowly escaped assassination. Peter Vannes of Lucca, a diplomatist and ecclesiastic who had been one of Cardinal Wolsey's secretaries and supported the Marian government, first unsuccessfully filed a bill of information against Carew. By the friendly offices of the Avogador, Francesco Foscarini, it was rejected and dismissed, and he then engaged certain *bravi* to intercept and shoot Carew, as he returned home one evening to his lodging. But Carew and his companions, walking two and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Walsingham acted in a similar manner toward the papers of Mary Queen of Scots. For fuller particulars of the Courtenay case, see *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), iii., xxxvii-xlii. Some of the statements found there are clearly erroneous. The personal commission of the crime by Gomez seems doubtful. A Dalmatian soldier was arrested and brought before the Ten on the 24th of December, 1555, and questioned. He implicated Gomez, who had actually, he alleged, engaged him to perform the deed with the help of others, but swore that he merely pretended to agree to the scheme. What followed does not appear. There is almost room to doubt whether the Venetian Executive was particularly desirous of pressing the inquiry farther, but, on the other hand, the disavowal of the Dalmatian, even under oath, may not have weighed very much.

two, and the ruffians not knowing which was their intended victim, he escaped. The fellows had instructions to dispatch only one, and thus were at a loss. One of them was heard to say: "Which is it?" Carew thought it wise to stay no longer, as Vannes might contrive some other scheme or renew the former attempt, and, having borrowed some money from Foscarini, he at once left for Strasburg where he found other English political refugees.<sup>1</sup>

Probably the most conspicuous instance of unblushing and callous ruffianism and defiant disregard of the laws was that of a man of aristocratic family and ancient descent, Leonardo Pesaro, who is described as having combined in his own person all the vices of the period. He flourished at the close of the sixteenth and opening of the next century, and seems to have dedicated his life to the commission of the most atrocious crimes and the most dastardly outrages on society. He was repeatedly arrested and banished; but he continually returned, or for the time changed the theatre of his operations, for he had accomplices or tools in several places outside the capital. On the 28th of February, 1601, passing under the window of Lucrezia Baglioni, mistress of a nobleman named Paolo Lioni, he addressed to her some ribaldry which he begged her to convey to her protector; and the same evening, meeting them both at a wedding *fête*, he muttered the expressions between his teeth in their hearing. "What are you saying, fool?" inquired Lioni, smiling and collected! "What I please," retorted Pesaro, "and if any one desires to cross swords with me, I am at his service." Lioni retired, observing that that was not the time or the place to discuss such matters. But the other, going home, immediately armed himself, and, collecting some *bravi*, went in search of the chosen companion of his infamous exploits, Camillo Trevisano, who was at All Saints with his mistress, Camilla Cocchia; he pulled him out of bed, saying, "Come! there is something for us to do." They put on their morions and masks, and returned to the residence of Lucrezia, where they assailed her with their bucklers, and assassinated Lioni. They then made a raid among the company at the marriage party, ran from one room to another, wounding several of the

<sup>1</sup> See John Vowell (*aft. Hooker*), *Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew*, ed. from the MS. by J. Maclean, 1857, pp. 59-62. The author states that the encounter with the *bravi* took place in the *ruga causa*—a corrupt form.



guests, and extinguishing all the torches, except one which the bridegroom held in one hand, while he defended his wife with a chair held in the other.

So for some time this scoundrel continued, in spite of the Government, to torment and insult all those with whom he was in any way brought into contact. But on the 3rd of April in the same year, having eluded arrest, he was expelled from the Venetian territories by default, and the price of 300 ducats was set upon his head. The sentence was published, and included his associates Camillo Trevisano and Gabriele Morosini. Here the curtain falls.

At Padua, on the 24th of July, 1617, Thomas Turner, an English physician, had tried to protect two fellow countrymen from their assailants who attempted to kill him. He ran toward his own house, but from another on the way, which belonged to one Corlesi who was his enemy, issued other ruffians who wounded him in the head with an arquebus. One of these men had been outlawed by the Podestà of Padua, but no one dared to take him as he was a bravo. Turner drew up this statement, and delivered it to the English embassy which handed it to the Council of Ten on the 6th of September. On the 21st of May following, the Ten wrote to the authorities at Padua, apparently in the absence of the Podestà, to expedite the proceedings in this and two other pending cases. The archives do not assist us farther.

A still different type of social scourge was due to the unsettled semi-feudal state of the Venetian provinces so late as the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1760, a certain Count Alamanno Gambara, a signorotto and virtual outlaw in the Bresciano, was banished on pain of death if taken, for collecting round him brigands and *bravi* whom he used as instruments for a systematic course of violence and rapine. This notorious personage was not improbably of the same family as Veronica Franco, celebrated in another sphere and in an anterior century, who was by birth a Gambara of Brescia. In 1632, Luigi Loredano is found writing from Bergamo to his Government, representing the mischief proceeding from the privileges reserved by the nobility, and the damage and disorder created by the *bravi* and *banditti* in their pay, all the laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

Collaterally with this loose and profligate posture of affairs

under so strict and vigilant an executive as that of Venice, was the introduction of that curious and foolish aftergrowth of the days of chivalry, the Duel, of which no trace is to be detected in the earlier sentiments or laws of the Republic. It was one of the vices which the Venetians borrowed from the West, as they borrowed others from the East. The system followed the same lines as elsewhere; its incidence is reflected for our edification in the drama and stage of the eighteenth century. Gentlemen called each other out on the most frivolous pretexts; nor was there freedom from the abuse even of a folly, for the bully and the bravo here again played their part, and used the fashion as a medium for levying blackmail from cowards. There is a story of a Sicilian at Bergamo, who habitually claimed the wall and made every one go into the kennel, under threat of an appeal to the sword, till, meeting a reverend canon one day, the latter presented a pistol at the head of the fellow and made him give way.

The aggregate body of *bravi* in Venice had perhaps reached its height in 1618 at the time of the Spanish plot, for, when the movement was discovered, all the lodgings in certain parts of the city were found to be thronged with persons of this class, either guilty or suspected of being hirelings of the Spanish incendiaries and assassins. In 1611, when matters between Venice and Spain were growing critical, the Spanish embassy was known to harbour the worst characters, and to shield them under a diplomatic figment. The Sieur de la Haye,<sup>1</sup> referring to the habits of the Venetian aristocracy about 1670, mentions that, whether they were in their coaches or on horseback, they were accompanied by a rabble of Hectors they call *Bravi*, many times only in ostentation, but too often for a worse end; but this statement is surely to be received with much allowance, although made by a contemporary.

In the descriptions which reach us of these collisions and affrays from the seventeenth century, the sword and pistol, however, are less frequently employed than the arquebus and stiletto, of which the former strikes us as strangely clumsy and inconvenient. The stiletto, on the contrary, was the perfection of lightness and portability; it was the implement used by the counterfeit Italian who stabbed Fra Paolo Sarpi in 1607. An exquisite refinement of atrocity was

<sup>1</sup> *Policy and Government of the Venetians*, 1671, p. 63.

the glass poignard, of which the hollow blade was a receptacle of poison; but perhaps this delicate invention may have existed only in the imaginative brain of the author of *The Bravo of Venice*.

It was remarked by Montaigne in 1580, or at least by his secretary, that only in the Venetian territories people refrained from carrying side-arms. This peculiarity, however, if it were so, dated only from the fourteenth century, when the Government found it necessary to restrain the mischief and bloodshed arising from *mêlées* in the streets. But if side-arms were not openly used, concealed weapons were generally at hand, and the arquebus, when gunpowder was introduced, seems to have been treated with almost strange toleration.

The bravo possibly survived the revolutionary changes of 1797, yet in a very degenerate shape. He no longer performed the notable exploits of his professional ancestors, who were ready at the bidding of their hirers for any dark and atrocious villainy, regardless of persons so long as it was no one immediately associated with the Executive. In the ill-lighted state of the subsidiary thoroughfares down to the close of the old régime, it was an easy task to push the object of attack, when he had been tracked, into a canal, after passing a rapier through his body; and these ruffians actually went so far as to slash with a razor (*dar un friso*) the features of a wife or mistress who had incurred the resentment of an injured husband or lover. Such men of course expected high pay; but they too often escaped detection through their knowledge of the movements of the police, if not through a friendly understanding with the force. There seems to be slight doubt that, towards the close, there was a commencing tendency on the part of the administration to curb the assumption and violence of the nobility, with its abandoned and reckless environments in the form of bravos and courtezans, who were at all times prepared to join in any nefarious and desperate enterprise. Sometimes the guilty party or parties of course escaped justice, as when, in 1785, a Count of Brescia (possibly identical with the above-mentioned Gambarà) succeeded in ridding himself of no fewer than twenty persons whom he deemed obnoxious. But, in another case, a patrician who had long owed a sum of money to an operative, and who tried to dispose of the matter by shooting his creditor, was disarmed by the latter on his



own premises, and, when the affair was brought before the Inquisitors, they directed the immediate settlement of the debt and demanded substantial security for good behaviour. But, what was the most curious aspect of the affair, the Signore was required to find a bravo, whose function it was to follow the injured man everywhere and see that no harm befell him.

The Prisons and Prison Policy of Venice form a subject which has a natural and necessary affinity with her laws and with her civilization. Those who have seen the ancient prisons of Germany and Italy, and who can remember that, during the reign of King Bomba at Naples, a system of brutal ferocity and cruelty parallel to the darkest mediæval types prevailed, do not require to be admonished that early Venetian gaols and gaolers were not such agreeable acquaintances, as the model institutions which to-day almost offer a premium to crime. The modern opulence of artificial light, however, prepares us to regard with greater repugnance the total state of darkness incidental to the more rigorous forms of punishment, than those to whom a total state of darkness was under normal conditions familiar after dusk; and it becomes relevant to summon, as a witness to the comparative indifference of the Italian on this subject, the *Président de Brosses*, who was twice at Venice between 1737 and 1740, and thought even St. Mark's Cathedral and the Ducal Palace miserably gloomy.

The oldest place of durance at Venice appears to have been analogous to the *Geôle Prévôtale* at Paris, which is delineated by Lacroix. Each, in fact, was the municipal prison. In the one case, the building and its inmates were under the charge of the Provost of Paris; in the other, under that of the *gastaldi* or tribunes, who were at first supreme magistrates in their own persons, and, subsequently to the creation of the ducal office, became the functionaries or ministers for the control of civil and criminal jurisdiction, immediately subordinate to the Crown.

The original city prison was part of the tribunitial residence, on the site of part of the present Ducal Palace; it probably occupied the basement. There can be no question whatever that the earliest arrangements were excessively barbarous and imperfect, both in respect of accommodation and treatment; and of course the demand for additional space soon arose. In 1321, two contiguous houses were fitted up for the reception of prisoners; and only five or six years later, on the 2nd of March, 1326,

the gastaldi had to find quarters elsewhere, the whole block beneath the Palace being appropriated to the purpose. These places of confinement, in which civil and criminal offenders were herded together without much discrimination as at the Marshalsea and the Fleet, were called *camerotti*; and, on the eastern side of the canal which bathed the walls of the Palace, lay another block which, at a much later date, was connected with the main building by a bridge. Many of these prisons were distinguished by particular names conferred on them in a variety of circumstances. There were, for instance, the *Lione* or *Liona*, the *Volcano*, the *Frescagioja*, the *Mosina* and the *Moceniga*. The last two were christened after the individuals whose dwellings had been taken by the Government to meet enlarged requirements; the first is specified in judicial proceedings of 1549.

The primitive theory in regard to the custody of the keys of the prisons was that the Doge held them; but practically, no doubt, the officer or officers of the gastaldi undertook the charge, so long as all arrangements remained on a simple footing and the requirements were not large.

In an official paper of 1354, the Torricella or Dorasel, the Orba (Blind), the Gheba (Gabbia or Cage, prototype of a place of a similar character and appellation in London), and the Catolda are described as the *Carceres Superiores*. The three former, at least, were devoted chiefly to prisoners of State or of high rank, and were pretty clearly nothing more than ranges of apartments in the ducal residence, fitted up as wards in comparatively comfortable fashion. The *Orba* was reached by a corridor leading from the *Sala delle Quattro Porte*, conventionally known as the *Quattro*. The Palace underwent from time to time such extensive alterations, resulting in the gradual disappearance of the whole of the ancient edifice, that it is far from easy to identify the exact position of all these; but, perhaps, the Gheba was constructed over the new Great Council Chamber erected at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and faced the Rio di Palazzo. The Catolda may have been on the eastern bank of the canal, where two or three tiers of cells are on the right hand, as any one stands on the *Ponte della Paglia*, looking toward the *Ponte dei Sospiri*. The latter are at present the only portions in actual use; but they have been modernized.

The *Torricella*, of which the *Gheba* was a later adjunct, is fairly supposed to have been a remnant—the last surviving one—of the turreted and fortified building which rose on the site of a still more ancient mansion-house of the Doge after the great fire of 976. It then formed the eastern tower of the Palace, somewhat in the same way as the Donjon tower at Vincennes; and it held the suite of apartments assigned to the Emperor Otto III. when he visited Venice in 998.

One of the earliest allusions to the *Torricella* as a place of durance is a passage in Sanudo, derived from the MS. Chronicle of Zaccaria da Pozzo, in which an account, having the air of authenticity but discredited by some, is furnished of the mode in which the Government, in 1301, disposed of the political agitators Baldovino, Bocconio and their three companions.<sup>1</sup> At this date, it is therefore perhaps presumable that the portion of the Palace originally devoted to normal purposes had been set apart as a gaol with the usual subterranean appurtenances; its choice on the particular occasion (if the story is to be credited) was recommended by its proximity; but it usually occurs as the destination of prisoners of State.

In 1405, the Lords of Padua were committed to the *Orba*,<sup>2</sup> Carmagnola to the same prison in 1432, and the younger Foscari to the *Torricella* in 1456. In 1459, the Council of Ten directed that the latter prison should be reserved exclusively for the reception of persons committed under its immediate orders or decrees, and that the keys should be kept "in domo principis," which may import some place of safety within the precincts of the Palace. At a rather later date, the Count and Countess of Frangipani spent more than four years within the walls of the *Torricella* as prisoners of war, and it was at the expense of these two noble personages that the *Roman Breviary* of 1518 was printed at Venice by Gregorio de Gregoriis. The *Orba* appears to have been one of a group of places of detention, known as the *Quattro*, and approached by the *Sala delle Quattro Porte*. They were fitted up in a superior style, and the inmates enjoyed exceptional privileges.

The Count himself had been an inmate of the *Torricella* since 1514, when he was taken prisoner after having com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. i. p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> The original order was that they should go to the *Gheba*, but the latter was found to be out of repair.



mitted great excesses as the imperial commander in Friuli, during the hostilities which lingered so long after the formation and even virtual dissolution of the League of Cambrai. His wife was apparently permitted to join him; but, in 1517 and the following year, she obtained permission to visit for her health the Baths of Abano. On the latter occasion, the Signora secreted on her person or among her baggage a file and a rope-ladder to enable her husband to effect his escape, but without success. They were, however, apparently, either one or both, removed, and transferred to the Touraine chateau of Loches at the beginning of September. An inscription on the window-sill of the apartment long commemorated the abode of this distinguished couple: "Incluso qua intro . . . fino terzo zorno de setembro del MDXVIII io Cristoforo Frangipanibus chonte de Vegia, Senia et Modrusa, et io Apolonia chonsorte de sopradito signior chonte." The Countess had been the mistress of the Emperor Maximilian, and was married in 1513. She was the sister of the Bishop of Gurk, and is said to have supplied Dürer with the model of his *Galatea*.

Ruskin supposed that the small square tower above the Vine angle, in the 1506 view of Venice by Dürer, may have been the Torricella. "It appears," he says, "about 25 feet square." But it has now, we believe, totally vanished.<sup>1</sup>

In 1344, when the new saloon of the Great Council was in progress, even these more airy localities were so overcrowded by all classes of prisoners, and the atmosphere of the staircase leading to the official and other apartments of the Palace itself was so tainted by the absence of ventilation and the fetid throng of human beings, that a committee was appointed to report on the subject. But the evil seems to have been very slowly alleviated, although the Government, from a very early date, evinced a humane intelligence in dealing with what continued for centuries to be everywhere a social puzzle and a social scandal.

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo (*Diarii*, viii. 537, 542), under July, 1509, refers to the overflow of the prisons owing to a temporary political affair, and says that an old cage, which had been used in former emergencies, was set up in the middle of a hall to accommodate nine Paduan rebels, and a guard placed over them, and he introduces the expression *terra nuova* as the site or whereabouts of the provisional arrangement. "Le prexon tutte, di soto e di sora," he says, "erano piene." The Gheba prison should not be confounded with the cage (*gheba*) in which, on a few occasions, a culprit was suspended in the air from a public building and left to perish.

In 1378, after the battle of Porto d'Anzo, the Genoese prisoners were lodged at San Biagio and elsewhere under guard; and, between June 1380 and September 1381, it is said that as many as 4000 Genoese captives perished in the *Terranuova*, a name of which we then hear for the first time, and of which the designation may or may not import a more or less recent origin. There is a probability that it was situated either at Chioggia or at the Arsenal; moreover, from the manner in which it is described in the Annals, the inference seems to be that the place was some storehouse (perhaps one of the vast magazines used for naval material), converted to a different account on a sudden emergency. Such of the Genoese as survived their incarceration were treated on their release with the greatest generosity by the Venetian ladies, who supplied them with food, clothes and money; the poor wretches who died had, no doubt, succumbed to hunger and cold. But it was thought extremely hard that the enemy should have behaved on their side with such a want of proper consideration for the Venetian prisoners of the better class, that hundreds perished in exile; and it is cited as a proof of gross neglect that these unhappy persons were left without beds, and fed on bread and water.

The proceedings in regard to the Carrara family in 1405 are a collateral indication that a diet of bread and water was prescribed at Venice when the captive was of good family, in extreme cases only. Such a distinction at that time was to be expected in any circumstances; but, under an aristocratic constitution, it strikes us almost as a matter of course. But at no period in the Republic's history were her prisons capable of containing any large number of captives after a victory on land or at sea; and it was the usual policy to release or exchange at the earliest juncture on more than one ground. So long as prisoners of war were necessarily detained at Venice, they were distributed, as in 1380, over any vacant spaces, and found shelter even within the walls of monasteries. The Executive was occasionally reduced by the scarcity of accommodation, even so late as 1509, to temporary expedients, for, in that year, a portion of a chamber, used by one of the Councils and containing the still homeless public library, was fitted up as a place of detention; and, in the year following, in consequence of the fact that the Marquis of Mantua was interned in the hall of the Great Council, the

Decemvirs met here to transact some important business touching Cyprus. At the close of the fifteenth century, when it was a question of manning the fleets sent out under John Cabot and others for the discovery of new continents, the gaols of London and Venice appear to have been relieved of some of their inmates, who obtained their freedom on this condition, provided that they were not persons under detention for grave political offences.<sup>1</sup>

Some proceedings in the Great Council in 1441 admit us to a knowledge of the fact that a special prison was then devoted to female delinquents; and, in that year, owing to a lack of space, men whose offences were not deemed grave, and who were more or less persons of quality, were permitted, subject to the pleasure of the Doge, and on condition that they observed their parole, to use a ward adjoining the women's quarter. We consequently apprehend that, although the doors were locked at night and the prisoners were remanded to their cells, the outlets and approaches were comparatively unguarded. The sort of discipline maintained here, and the licence enjoyed during the day, when the detention had no political motive or was for a mere case of debt, carry back the thoughts of an Englishman to institutions and scenes which many yet among us remember as part of our own economy. In 1510, we hear of an attack on a debtors' prison in the Merceria or Frezzeria, called *Casone*, at nine o'clock at night by a mob, doubtless in order to liberate the inmates. This was not far from Saint Mark's. These attempts at rescue were periodical, but could scarcely extend beyond the more or less accessible establishments. The *cason* or *casone* was a house of detention for persons after arrest and prior to sentence, and similar establishments existed in various parts of the city and outskirts, such as SS. Apostoli and S. Giovanni in Bragola; a *campiello* was named after the former.

The *Carceri Forti*, or Lower Dungeons, must have been constructed at least in the fourteenth century. In 1388, Luigi Veniero, the Doge's son, for an offence which scarcely amounted to more than a serious misdemeanour, was consigned to this place of confinement, and left to die there of a broken heart.

In 1406, the patrician Pietro Pisani was sentenced to two years' incarceration here for having entered into treason-

<sup>1</sup> Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, 1898, p. 61.



able correspondence with the Lord of Padua, at that time in arms against the Signory, but his wife and children were allowed to see him. The lady, after a while, represented to the Government that she did not like, on these occasions, to be thrown into contact with the common prisoners, whose cells or wards she had to pass on her way to that of her husband, and the illness under which the latter was labouring rendered the almost constant presence of his family, more particularly of the Signora, imperative. We thus see that these malefactors, whose demeanour and conversation are described as indecorous, filled the corridors, and obstructed the fair and noble visitors to their companion in captivity; and it takes us somewhat by surprise, looking at the popular idea of Venetian prison life in former days, to learn that the Great Council was pleased to sanction the formation of a special approach to the cell of Pisani, provided that he paid the expense of breaking through the masonry, and replacing it when he was set at liberty or restored to health.

But it was such an episode as this, with its obvious liability to recurrence, which produced the salutary movement of 1441 for the better classification of culprits, and the complete severance of political and civil offenders from the criminal side. Already indeed, in 1377, the *Signori di Notte* had drawn a line of distinction in favour of insolvents. In the last days of independence, specific mention occurs of the *Personcina* as a place of detention for women only; but the principle of separating the sexes was of much earlier origin, although the name of this particular prison has not otherwise transpired. Ten, including four of weak intellect, were in custody in 1797.

In the January of 1406, the lower dungeons counted among their inmates a much more eminent man than Pietro Pisani, for their doors were opened to admit the venerable figure of Carlo Zeno, who was adjudged to expiate here, like Pisani, certain indiscreet communications with Padua. Zeno passed a twelvemonth of his old age in that chafing restraint; but it is, of course, more than likely that, in such a case above all others, the rigour of confinement was mitigated by the collusion of the satisfied majesty of the law and the society of sympathizing friends. Yet the student of early Italian history scarcely requires to be informed that, in countless instances, the most illustrious men who had

rendered their country the most precious services and had filled the highest offices in the State, and beautiful and sensitive women, sovereign ladies in their own territory, found themselves, at some period in their career, amid scenes which were perpetually changing, the inmates of narrow pestilential cells and the victims of agonizing tortures during months or years, far away from the sight of the world and the hope of relief. The key to this strange and painful enigma is to be sought in the callous and phlegmatic Italian temper, and in the numerous subdivisions of political authority, perpetually rousing or fomenting the darkest and most turbulent passions. The loss of Negropont in 1470 admits us to a knowledge of what was apparently a provisional place of durance pending trial or sentence under the jurisdiction of the Advocates of the Commune.<sup>1</sup>

Of these dread and grim receptacles for the guilty or unfortunate of centuries, there were two tiers on as many corridors, of which the lower was reached by a staircase of sixteen steps from the upper one, the latter having its approach from the landing above by a similar ladder stair built between two walls. Each cell was distinguished by roman numerals, the numeral V being for some unexplained reason cut upside down. The measurements and internal appliances were approximately similar to those of the *Piombi*, but the position afforded scarcely a ray of light at any period of the day. Yet former occupants have left on the walls of some of these miserable places, in pencil or charcoal, sometimes assisted by a tool, records of their individuality, of their wrongs, and of their sorrows, even in verse. So recently as 1795, one G. M. B. tells us that he was most unjustly incarcerated in No. III., and that if God did not deliver him, his numerous and honest family would be ruined. It is possible that an indulgent warder sometimes gave the use of a lamp among other privileges.

Mutinelli describes the panels or wainscot of the *Piombi*<sup>2</sup> as formed of larch planks, but does not inform us whether the same timber was used for the *Pozzi*—more probably oak. On the 12th of May, 1797, not more than four occupants were found in the *Piombi*, none in the *Pozzi*, and, in the

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Or "Leads." So called from the metal used for the roofing. "*Pozzi*" or "Wells"—a sufficiently grim appellation.

*Quattro*, only a few persons committed for political offences.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the dissolution of the Republic, the *Pozzi* and *Piombi* were thrown open for public inspection.

Casanova relates that he heard one poor creature, while he was in the *Piombi* in 1755, cry, "Where am I? Where are they putting me? What heat! What a stench! With whom am I?"

The dimensions given tally very closely with those which we have of the saturated and almost subterranean dungeons in the Bastille. They also correspond with the *Little Ease* in the Tower of London and *Fin d'Aise* at the *Grand Châtelet* of Paris. They probably were of the standard measurement of these dens everywhere—in Scotland, in Wales, where the old seigniorial system lingered into the present century, at Carisbrook, throughout the Continent, throughout, in short, all portions of the world happily so civilized as to have such institutions.

The ponderous and massive double doors, sheeted with iron and heavily studded with nails, were so constructed, according to the account of a former occupant of one of these strong prisons (for they have been removed), that, unlike the double oaken door to the so-called Lollards' Prison at Lambeth Palace, the lock of the interior faced the hinges of the exterior portal. It was a peculiarity of the architectural plan that, although the interior was sufficiently lofty to permit a prisoner of ordinary stature to hold himself upright, the entrance was so low, that the ingress and egress could scarcely be accomplished even by mere stooping. Casanova, in 1755, describes the door of one of the *Piombi* which he occupied as three feet and a half in height; but his statements are not always trustworthy. By the side of the entrance was an aperture in the thick stone wall, to allow the ingress of food and inspection by the warder; and in the gallery or passage stood a niche altar-wise, where the priest came, just prior to every private execution, to administer to the condemned the last offices of the Church.

In one of the passages connected with the range of *Forti*, they yet point out the exact spot where the prisoner suffered, the sink which received his blood, and the broad

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Romanin, x. 221.



opening in the wall (once a door, probably, but now closed), through which the corpse was thrust into the contiguous water. They also shew you the cell in which Byron slept as an experiment, and those in which you may believe (if you choose) Marino Faliero and Carmagnola spent their last moments. The cells used to be wainscoted as a partial protection against the excessive damp; but they were totally destitute of light and air, and the sun scarcely penetrated even into the adjoining gallery. If it was on such horrid places as these that the popular phraseology and a grim local humour bestowed the nicknames of *Volcano*, *Frescagioja* and *Lione*, they certainly well deserved them. Yet they and their tenants were often, perhaps, not ill-paired. They were the prisons *all'oscuro* in contradistinction to those *alla luce* of which, again, there were two grades, *serrata* and *aperta*.

Casanova refers to an apparatus in the ante-room leading to the *Piombi*, which, it was explained to him, served as a machine for carrying out sentences of strangulation. It consisted of an iron collar fixed to one of the walls, into which the neck of the condemned was introduced, and which was susceptible of being contracted till life was extinct. It was probably in this manner that the Lord of Padua and his two sons were dispatched in 1406 in the *Forti*. But the operation was also conducted, as we shall see, outside the cell. Strangulation was a medium constantly employed in the East whence Venice might have borrowed it; but it equally prevailed among the Romans.

The extraordinary precautions taken to preclude escape are scarcely intelligible, where the prison was situated in the heart of the city instead of being at the extremity of it, like the old Bastille in Paris which lay within a short distance of the open country. But to one who carried his life in his hands the canals afforded, on the contrary, after nightfall peculiar facilities for flight and temporary concealment; and it must also be received into calculation, that the individuals usually incarcerated here were such as had been convicted of crimes which, in the sight of the Venetian law, were of the most flagitious character.

The *Camerotti* or *Carceri di sotto*, as distinguished from the *Pozzi* on the one hand and from the *Carceres Superiores* on the other, were open to the public thoroughfare; and the inmates,

who were not ordinarily manacled, were at liberty to look through the grated casements or *schiavine* of their cells—those barred, unglazed windows which at the present hour meet the eye everywhere in Venice—to hold communication with their friends, and to receive at their hands, or from the benevolent, money or food. For, except where the captive was immured in the *Forti* or *Pozzi* and was inaccessible to external intercourse, the State, under the old system, seems not only to have declined the cost of alimony, but to have imposed a tariff dependent on the accommodation conceded or required. These fees constituted the emolument of the gaolers, and were known under the old French *régime* as *geólage*; but they were distinct from the gratuities which a prisoner, desirous of enjoying special indulgences, had to provide—the *garnish* of the “Beggar’s Opera.” The friends of a man were expected to keep him; if he had none, public charity did something. But sometimes when a prisoner belonged to a noble family, and the circumstances were not politically serious, he procured facilities for obtaining all that he needed, and might have his own attendant.<sup>1</sup> In 1405, while his father and his brother Jacopo were in the *Forti* below, Francesco Novello lay in the *Orba* accompanied by his private servant. Jacopo himself, who had at first been sent there, was transferred to the *Forti*, and allowed a diet of bread and water only, upon his father’s persistent refusal to surrender the Lord of Ravenna. In the eighteenth century when the State maintained prisoners, three *lire* a day were allowed for a patrician, and from fifty down to ten soldi for persons of inferior station. But whatever furniture was required the prisoner, or his family or friends, supplied down to the last, even in the *Piombi*.

Mediæval Venice, in her prison system as in everything else, naturally conformed to a large extent with the maxims and principles which she found in force on every side of her, with a tendency to be in advance of her neighbours. Her doctrines in respect of political offenders and offences were not importantly dissimilar from those which were elsewhere entertained upon such points five centuries ago, when the public safety and the security of property were considered by governments

<sup>1</sup> In London, even now, it is the case that prisoners in custody under remand may have, on payment of a certain weekly sum, special accommodation, and may even see their friends.

of immeasurably greater consequence than the lives of individuals in the community. If Venice shared the Machiavellian doctrines, those doctrines were not at any rate of native Venetian growth. But the whole question in relation to Machiavelli has been generally misunderstood. The opinions which the Florentine secretary put into writing were by no means opinions originating in him. They were opinions which existed, and which every Government in Italy virtually followed before he was born. They were opinions to the odium of which Machiavelli at least is not entitled, for they had their source in the political conditions of the Peninsula both internally and externally, and in the Italian character.

The Venetian prisons were not unfavourable types of the period; and, so far as the *Camerotti* were concerned, and indeed all the gaols except the *Forti*, the quality of the climate during eight or nine months of the year superseded the necessity for artificial warmth. During the winter, the Government supplied coverlids or rugs. Nor have sanitary laws been a subject of study anywhere very long. They were, it may be securely conjectured, far from uppermost in the thoughts of Venetians in the Middle Ages.

The study of habits of life favourable to health seems to be, after all, a matter of culture rather than of climate; for, among the Italians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the Russians and the Esquimaux, communities existing under widely different temperatures (not to add the Scots and Irish), one perceives the same insensibility or indifference to cleanliness and noxious effluvia; and even our own not very distant forefathers tolerated, both in their places of assembly and of confinement, an atmosphere against which any decently-bred Englishman of the present day would revolt. It is by no means surprising to find that both Casanova in the eighteenth and Silvio Pellico in the nineteenth century were equally tormented in the *Pozzi* and *Piombi* by gnats and other insects, to which the former adds the annoyance from water-rats.

In 1585-86, the Council of Ten, experiencing inconvenience to themselves and other similar bodies, in consequence of the want of some place of security in close neighbourhood to the apartments where they held their meetings, discussed the propriety of fitting up a few cells above the chamber of the *Capi* or chiefs; but nothing was immediately determined.



The question revived, however, in 1591–92, when the scheme was carried out, and four cells were constructed to meet the continually recurrent cases in which accused parties were under examination and could be thus brought down from time to time without difficulty or publicity. This new arrangement was reached by two short flights of steps, ascending from the lobby where the Ten and the Inquisitors usually sat. The *Piombi* never superseded the other places of confinement, and the extent of the accommodation pointed to their special and temporary function. Scarcely any traces of them existed when Mutinelli wrote in 1838; but Lazari the architect, who accompanied him to the spot, made them measure from six to seven feet in height and ten to twelve feet in width. Of the four cells, one looked on the inner court, and the other three on the Rio di Palazzo. The cell in which Casanova lay during the greater part of his term of confinement, arguably abutted on the court, for he states that it was intensely hot in summer and was known as *Inferno*; he was eventually transferred to the other side, where he had a grated window commanding a view toward Lido. The true reason was that there was already a suspicion that he had a project for escape. Coryat, while he was at Venice in 1608, appears to have visited the *Piombi*, when they had been quite recently constructed; but he implies that he did not proceed farther than the ante-chamber which led to the cells themselves; the latter he does not describe.

His words are: "There is near unto the Duke's Palace a very faire prison, the fairest absolutely that ever I saw, being divided from the Palace by a little channell of water, and againe ioyned unto it, by a merveilous faire little gallery that is inserted aloft into the midst of the Palace wall East-ward. I thinke there is not a fairer prison in all Christendome: it is built with very faire white ashler stone having a little walke without the roomes of the prison, which is forty paces long and seven broad. For I meated it: which walke is fairly vaulted over head, and adorned with seven goodly arches, each whereof is supported with a great square stone pillar. The outside of these pillars is curiously wrought with pointed diamond worke. In the higher part of the front towards the water there are eight pretty pillars of free-stone, betwixt which are seven iron windowes for the prisoners above to looke through":

And so he goes on, noting that this particular prison dated only about ten years back, that is, to about 1600, before which time it was under the Duke's Palace; but he seems to confound it with the *Pozzi*, where, he adds: "it is reported that this prison is so contrived, that there are a dozen roomes under the water, and that the water doth oftentimes distill into them from above."<sup>1</sup> Coryat manifestly derived some of his information concerning the prisons from his English friends at Venice, who might not have actually seen them. His testimony, however, to the relative character of the prisons is of a certain value, since it tends farther to rebut the old-fashioned notions about them.

But in 1619, what are termed in a document of that date the New Prisons had been built across the canal, and a political offender committed to one of them for two years is described as being deprived of light as part of the punishment, perhaps by means of folding or sliding shutters, unless these places of confinement fell under the classification of *alla luce* and *all'oscuro*.

The prisoners supplied their own paillasses and personal appurtenances. Scissors, knives and razors were forbidden; reading was allowed, but not writing nor the use of a lamp. Casanova, in lieu of a knife and fork, was provided with an ivory spoon at his own expense; he contrived to manufacture himself a lamp, and one or two kind and steadfast friends sent him wine and other delicacies. He also collected quite a library of books—Aristotle, Petrarch, Horace, Plutarch (an odd volume), Charron, Montaigne, a folio Bible which the warder bought for him, and many more, and he drew up a catalogue, using mulberry juice for ink and his little finger-nail for a pen. He lays stress on his warm appreciation of Boëthius, and his disgust at two so-called religious works which the priest brought.

The Government provided diet at a tariff or otherwise according to circumstances, and medical attendance and physic gratis, as well as the occasional services of a priest. In all Venetian regulations there were extenuating circumstances or conditions, and the liberty to acquire any object from outside by purchase or gift was almost unrestricted. Casanova supplies us with a small inventory of articles left behind by a

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 216, 217.

former inmate, and lying in an ante-room—a warming-pan, a saucepan, a pair of tongs, two old lamps, some earthenware pots and a syringe, which Lorenzo the warder had not perhaps had an opportunity of converting into cash.

The small aperture in one of the walls permitted the inmate to gain to some extent a view of the scene around and beneath him, and to enjoy the fresh air so long as it was neither too hot nor cold; but the situation was exposed to the most trying extremities of temperature. It was the duty of the gaoler to bring the food and cleanse the apartment once a day at a very early hour, almost at daybreak; and he was precluded from paying a second visit, as he approached the locality through the *Bussola* or ante-room of the Ten, and it was not deemed expedient for him and persons waiting their turn to be admitted to the Council to confront each other. As soon as he had discharged his morning work, he restored the keys to the Secretary of the Inquisitors of State.

When Casanova was an inmate of the *Piombi* in 1755–6, that office was successively held by Domenigo Cavalli and the two Businelli. We have graphic glimpses from this source, which, after all deductions, may be treated as a fairly authentic description of the daily life in these miserable places, where the overpowering heat prompted a reduction in summer to a state of complete nudity, and the rigorous cold in the winter rendered all available covering inadequate. Casanova himself in ordinary cases wore his old clothes; but he lets us understand that, on special occasions, he had the means of attiring himself in a style becoming a gentleman, such as when the visiting inspectors made their annual inspection of all the prisons just before Easter.

It therefore appears that for criminal purposes the Republic had, subsequently to 1591–92, the prisons already specified, and, more immediately for cases of an exceptionally flagrant or dangerous character, the *Pozzi* and *Piombi* indifferently; and these two latter were so situated above and beneath the council-chambers of the Decemvirs and the State Inquisition, that they were accessible without arousing the slightest suspicion outside of what was taking place. Within ear-shot of the bright and splendid saloons in which the Doge met the Senate or the Parliament, and joyous and costly festivities were celebrated in honour of great occasions or



illustrious guests, a widely different class of spectacle was to be witnessed by such as were behind the scenes day by day. The members of certain tribunals must often have passed from one phase of experience to the other; it was a hardening official routine.

Casanova has preserved a record of his conveyance under the charge of the chief of the police, from his lodging in the *Fondamenta Nuove* to the Ducal Palace, preparatorily to his immurement in the *Piombi*. Messer Grande and his attendants at first conveyed the prisoner to the official police quarters, offered him coffee, and then left him. After an interval, as the clock of St. Mark struck the hour of terza, he returned and announced that he had orders to place him in the *Piombi*. They engaged another gondola, and, after a circuitous course through the smaller canals, they entered the Grand Canal and disembarked at the quay adjacent to the prisons. They ascended some pairs of stairs and crossed the Bridge of Sighs, beyond which they entered another gallery, and came to a room where Messer Grande presented him to a personage who proved to be Domenico Cavalli, secretary to the Inquisitors of State, and who, after regarding Casanova, said: "It is he; lodge him inside." The chief of the police thereupon delivered him to the head gaoler, who, accompanied by two attendants, made him scale two short staircases and cross a gallery. Unlocking a door, they traversed a second gallery and reached a dimly-lighted, dirty loft, thought by Casanova to be his prison, but in reality an ante-room leading to it. Unfavourably as he spoke of this, he was subsequently glad to be occasionally permitted to take the air, such as it was, and stretch his legs there. His experiences in the *Piombi* and his escape are fully related by himself. A highly characteristic, and thoroughly Italian sequel is the order which he received at Trieste, nearly twenty years after, to present himself to the Inquisitors and learn their pleasure. He was advised by his friends not to go, as in the previous case; but he disregarded all counsel, and in this instance he was agreeably surprised. After a journey of something less than twenty-four hours, he was cordially received by the authorities, who thanked him for his historical vindication of the Republic, published four years before, in answer to Amelot de la Houssaye, but they declined to explain the cause of his arrest

and imprisonment in 1755. He dressed himself in his best clothes, walked about the city where he was the hero of the day, called on several of the most distinguished men whom he had formerly known, and dined with the Inquisitors, to whom he recounted the story of his flight.

But there was also an exit from the *Pozzi*, which were, in fact, on a level with the palace court, in a corner of the vestibule. This was designated the *Atrio dei Censori*, and constitutes the sole modern approach. The floor of the lower gallery was above that of the crypt of the Basilica, where religious services were occasionally held down to 1604. It is in this year that we casually hear of the steps taken toward the erection of a new prison,<sup>1</sup> for which the funds were provided out of any money coming to hand, and, no doubt, as usual, the building reached completion in a more or less leisurely way. Possibly it was here that some years later, as mentioned just below, a suspected person was detained for farther inquiries.

The old *Carceri Superiori* were always retained for special occasions, when, on purely political grounds, a person was detained, pending an inquiry into his case and an uncertainty as to how he might be used for the benefit of the State, as when Balthazar Juven of Grenoble was placed under arrest in 1618 in connexion with the Spanish conspiracy, and testified that the Government made him as comfortable as if he had been in his own house.<sup>2</sup> It was here that a peccant proveditor-general was lodged on a ten years' sentence in 1630.

But the removal of the prisoners from public access inevitably carried with it the necessity for the settlement of certain details on a new footing. The clearance of the old *Camerotti* or Lower Dungeons, and the rest of the original buildings devoted to a similar use, by the transfer of the occupants elsewhere, and the disappearance of the familiar faces from the barred casements under the colonnade, must have been considered for the moment as robbing Venice of one of its sights. But, at the close of the sixteenth century, it was time that such a barbarous anachronism should be suppressed, though even in London it continued so much longer.

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Brown's *Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> "Rispondeva ch' egli non avea se non a laudarsi di essa [la Repubblica] e del modo come era stato trattato durante la sua prigionia, in cui tranne la libertà era come se fosse stato in casa propria."—Romanin, vii. 142.

When the Venetian and French power had been extinguished, the *Piombi* and other gaols or prisons became the receptacles of the wretched victims of Austrian ignorance and despotism ; and if a miraculously happy change had not occurred, the Leads of the Ducal Palace would to this hour be receiving all Italians who might have the misfortune to be Liberals in speech as well as in thought. The prisons of the new Government are on the other side of the canal across the Bridge of Sighs, near the Ponte della Paglia. They are not shown to visitors, but they form a very handsome block on an improved model. They occupy more or less the site of the old *Piombi*.

A valuable testimony of the relative mildness of the Venetian prison system exists for us in an account left by Brother Felix Faber, who was at Venice on his way to the Holy Land, which he visited in 1480 and again in 1483. These are his observations:—"Not only do they (the Venetians) exhibit their piety toward the deserving, but even toward such as incur the highest penalties of the law. For the prisons of malefactors are under the colonnade of the Palace, having an outlook to the public way, and are lighted with windows strengthened with bars, through which the captives can see and stretch their hands and talk with their friends, and, if they are poor, solicit alms from passers-by. But those who are in confinement for heavier crimes are in closer and stronger cells, yet tolerable."

Faber proceeds to contrast this state of things with what he had witnessed in Germany:—"Among the many cruelties of the Germans there is that one, that their gaols are inhuman, terrible, dark, at the bottom of towers, damp, cold and sometimes swarming with vermin ; far isolated from man ; nor does any one come to those poor wretches, unless it is some one to terrify, threaten and torture them. Another merciful characteristic the Venetians have that, even when one is condemned to death, they do not keep him in suspense." The cord responded with secrecy and celerity to the judicial fiat. From Faber's account it is not difficult to see that the *Camerotti* were the only prisons he actually inspected. He was not enabled to view the *Carceri Forti*, to which he alludes from hearsay or at second-hand ; nor does he seem to have been aware of the existence of the Upper Prisons.



Marino Sanudo in his *Itinerario*, 1483, mentions Montagnana, known to history as the residence of Galeotto Marzio, a man of some learning who had been tutor to Sixtus IV. He was accused of heresy and taken to Venice. When he was crossing the Piazza, his very corpulent figure struck a bystander who exclaimed: "O che porco grasso!" Marzio retorted: "E meglio essere porco grasso, che becco magro." In a letter written to a friend from prison in 1477, Marzio describes his cell as very noisome and dark, and not favourable for correspondence. He owed to the intercession of his pontifical pupil, it is said, a somewhat gentler treatment than he might otherwise have experienced.

The favourable testimony of Faber is to some extent supported by an accidental discovery in 1898, when it became necessary to repair part of the Castle of Udine in Friuli, dating back to the time when that province belonged to Venice, for by comparison the analogous arrangements in the capital were humane. Yet it may be the case, that the fortress already existed long before the Signory first came into possession:—

"The *Castello*, which is at present used as barracks and other civil prisons, stands on the site of a more ancient building erected on a great mound of earth thrown up, tradition reports, whence Attila could watch the burning of Aquileia. On the floor being removed, the workmen came upon a small, massive, tight-fitting stone trap-door. It was raised with difficulty, and it disclosed a flight of steps, at the foot of which a subterranean chamber presented itself. From one corner of this ran a passage, in the walls of which were five low narrow doorways, opening into prison-cells. The doorways still held the heavy iron hinges which had supported enormously thick doors, as shown by the depth of the stone frame-work. . . . At the end of the passage two other cells were found, suggestive of still more dreadful suffering; for, while the others were of ordinary size, these only measured two feet four by two feet eight. A small hole near the top of the doorpost of each cell was used for the passing in of food. Among other inscriptions on the walls of the cells were 'Giovanni Grimani, 1607,' and *Viva l' Italia, viva l' Italia*, and the signature *Giacomo Moraro*." It was not improbably here that Sir John Vere was incarcerated in 1618. The

inscription signed by Moraro demonstrates the unmitigated barbarism of the Austrian rule. But, indeed, the Middle Ages by no means enjoyed the monopoly or exhausted the fashion in this direction; a view of the Stadthaus at Hamburg as it appeared in 1896 represents a very close approach to the archaic type.

On the contrary, in some of the more central towns, such as Padua, Brescia and Bergamo, the excellent provision which benevolent persons made for the prisoners, in the form of bread, wine and other requisites, was censured by a governor as a premium to crime.

Great care seems to have been judged necessary, at a tolerably early date, in selecting the personage whose function it was to be the governor or general superintendent of the ducal prisons. In the coronation-oath of Giacomo Tiepolo, 1229, it is laid down that the Doge shall appoint him who is to be the warden of his prison, and to whom he shall deliver the keys thereof, according to fitness and law and agreeably to his conscience.

So far back as 1275, it had been a condition incorporated with the Oath that the Doge should keep himself acquainted from time to time, through his notaries, with the number of prisoners in the cells beneath the Palace, the dates of their commitment and the arrangements for bringing each to trial within a month from the period of arrest. Subsequently this duty devolved on the three Chiefs of the Ten; and to their personal observation, and the reports which were placed before them by the heads of the police, were due, no doubt, the improvements which continued to be made in the system to the very last. There was a staff of officials, termed *scrivani* or scriveners, who conducted all the clerical business connected with the prisons; they do not often fall under notice, but we observe their presence in the funeral procession of the Doge Loredano in 1521. A century later, the *cause célèbre* of Antonio Foscarini (1622) discloses a *Captain of the Prisons*, a *Keeper of the Dark Prisons* (*Carceri Forti*), and a *Captain of the barche* or boats which were specially commissioned for this service, and which probably comprised in their functions the process of submersion in the canal.

The humane principle of gaol-delivery, which was calculated to check judicial tyranny and legal corruption, was a

feature in her criminal procedure which did infinite honour to the Republic, and which formed, in fact, a precursor of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was a measure betokening a degree of civilization far beyond the rude age in which it was first adopted; and even if we take it for granted that in its practical working it proved imperfect, it is to be remembered that no other modern State had so much as dreamed of the idea. So late as 1775, when Mercier wrote his *Tableau de Paris*, the French were destitute of any such charter of personal liberty.

At Venice, torture was seldom applied, except in cases of treason in which it was found impracticable to elicit the truth by gentler means, and the law directed that in no circumstances should any person be subjected to the process, unless a certain number of the Privy Council and the Forty were present to take depositions and to observe that no undue cruelty was exercised. There can be little difficulty in perceiving that, under a mediæval constitution, especially under an Italian one, the only class of crime which was apt to suggest a resort to procedure of this kind was political treason. The Republic, in common with her neighbours and contemporaries, was acquainted with a less complex and more summary method of dealing with offences against property and the person.

The torture-chamber was as much a parcel of the old judicial system as the court and the statute-book. We hear at various times of a recourse to the rack, the cord, the estrapade and the brazier—the last anciently familiar as a medium for blinding obnoxious rulers, and borrowed from domestic use for penal purposes; but none of these was special to Venice, and the processes of application have become sufficiently known. We need not go very far in point of time or distance, to recall the days and the place in which our own Government and our own Tower of London were accustomed to regard torture as an incident of almost daily occurrence. In Scotland, in France within the Bastille and without, in Germany, among the Orientals with Oriental intensity and in the cabin of the Red Indian, it was the same. It was the same at Moscow in the time of Peter the Great and much later, and Peter, on the occasion of the Strelitsi revolt in 1698, was present, not to check the



operations, but rather to stimulate the operators. He even presided over the process when it was his own son who was the victim.

Coryat personally witnessed, on the 4th of August, 1608, the infliction of the strappado or estrapade on two offenders in the Piazza of St. Mark. "The offender," he says, "having his hands bound behind him, is conveyed into a rope that hangeth in a pully, and after hoysed up in the rope to a great heighth with two severall swings, where he sustaineth so great torments that his joynts are for the time loosed and pulled asunder; besides such abundance of blood is gathered into his hands and face, that for the time he is in the torture, his face and hands doe looke as red as fire."<sup>1</sup>

The modern visitor to the noble edifice on the Thames where a frightful *oubliette*<sup>2</sup> was some years since discovered; to Ratisbon, to Baden-Baden, to Nürnberg, to Naples, to Messina, to the penal establishments of Russia even in the twentieth century, and to fifty museums, can form his own judgment and his own conclusion; and, of course, there are numerous cases in which the records are only on paper and the actual objects have disappeared. The Florentine prison of the Stinche is honoured by emphatic mention in the memorials of the Lady of Forli and Imola by Pasolini, and the places of confinement at Imola itself in Caterina's day (1463-1509) were evidently grim and terrible enough.<sup>3</sup> He will find that the criminal procedure and prison discipline of Venice are capable of favourable comparison with those of other countries and of other parts of Italy, including the gemelle and oubliettes of Papal Rome. The French writers animadvert with severity on the Venetian *Piombi* and on the Inquisition of State (with only a French knowledge of both), a little forgetful of the system of mouchardage rife among themselves at all times; a little forgetful that mankind has never beheld, and hopes no more to behold, anything so barbarous, so degrading and so loathsome, as the dungeons of the Bastille and the Grand Châtelet, as they were even so late as the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, London, 1611, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> The *oubliette* seems to have been a loan from the East, and to have dated back to very early Christian times.

<sup>3</sup> Pasolini, *Catherine Sforza* (trans. and abridged by P. Sylvester), London, 1898, pp. 278, 288.

But, in respect of iniquitous abuses and dastardly cruelty, the English and Scotch gaols, such as Bridewell, the Tolbooth, the Marshalsea and the Fleet, down to the last days of the old *régime*, do not lag far behind.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Johnson in his *Tour to the Hebrides*, under the 6th of October, 1773, refers to the seigniorial prisons in North Britain at that date; and the same thing existed down to a later period in parts of Wales, while at Liverpool, in the eighteenth century, the accommodation was not less straitened, nor the conditions less barbarous and degrading. At the present moment, when the twentieth century is in its teens, the press yields disclosures of barbarities and monstrosities which relatively eclipse any anecdotes handed down of Venetian misdeeds in this direction.

The most diabolical cruelty, however, was evinced in the Spanish fort of San Cristobal at Puerto Rico built in 1771, where six cells were constructed beneath the sea on a principle eclipsing anything else on record.

One of the earliest, as well as most curious, examples of prison literature must be the *Specchio della Giustizia*, in verse, published at Venice in 1530 and inscribed to the Doge. It is a poem in three Dantesque divisions: *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, and describes the horrors of the prisons, the vexations of lawsuits and the beauties of the great council-chamber. The writer appreciated the unloveliness of the gaols, but seems to have discerned in it, almost as a motive, a dissuasion from crime.

On the left side of the Scala d'Oro, reached after ascending the Giants' Staircase with its colossal figures of Neptune and Mars, is yet noticeable the long disused *Bocca di Leone*, a slit into which informations were formerly allowed to drop, the outlet being in the interior wall of the *Bussola* just named. Here, those who possessed intelligence calculated to serve the Government and the State, or had some grievance or complaint

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Neckam, in his treatise *De Utensilibus*, written in the twelfth century (Wright's *Vocabularies*, 1857, p. 105), in describing a castle, says:—"Assint etiam carceres debitis mansionibus distingti, in quorum fundum detrudantur compediti in manicis ferreis positi." The feudal prisons of France seem almost to have surpassed those of the capital. See Fellen's, *Les Droits du Seigneur*, 1882, i. 58-62. The writer describes one equally frightful behind the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome. There was also in France the Château de Loches, where Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, was confined in 1500, and Jean de Poytiers, father of Diane, in 1523. It was similarly atrocious.

with which from motives of personal security they did not wish to have their names publicly associated, could slip in a paper specifying the circumstances, and signed by the informer and at least two reputable witnesses; the authorities took no official cognizance of any anonymous communication. In 1507, a paper directed to the Doge was found, without any signature, not in this receptacle but on the staircase of the Palace. It alleged that three female patricians, Lucia Soranzo, Marina Emo, and Adriana Cappello, were ruining their families by their extravagance. The denunciation was ignored because it had no subscription;<sup>1</sup> it should have been addressed to the *Provveditori alle Pompe*. There were in different parts of the city similar slots, dedicated to various classes of *Denoncie regrete*, including irreverence toward the Church; and outside Venice—at Vescovana, the Pisani residence in the vicinity of Padua, the same principle was followed, a carved lion's head being let into the wall on the north side of the house to receive complaints from persons connected with the estate, who were unwilling to disclose their identity.

<sup>1</sup> In 1713 Steele announced his intention to set up a Lion's Head at Button's Coffee-house, in Russell Street, Covent Garden, in imitation of those in Venice. See *The Guardian*, Nos. 98, 114 and 124.



## CHAPTER LIII

The Feudal System—Forms of tenure prevalent at Venice and in the territories of the Republic—Partial adoption of Knight-service—Financial returns of 1423 and 1469—Villanage—Payments in kind—Services in lieu of Rent—Cliental and sponsorial relationships—Experiments in taxation—Agriculture—Facilities afforded by the Government to farmers—Drainage and manuring—Protection of draught oxen from legal seizure—Freedom of inland navigation for agricultural and commercial purposes—Private munificence—Endowment of charities and other Institutions—Equipment of ships at private expense—Serfdom—Its universality among the Laity and in Religious Houses—Inoperative legislation against it—Link with Prostitution—Earliest direct clue to a brothel (1371)—Montaigne as a witness—Who was his Imperia?—Fascinating address of the Venetian Hetairæ—Grades and tariff—Professional class—Maladies produced by the evil.

THE territorial insignificance of Venice itself, and the necessarily confined extent to which agriculture was practised within its own boundaries, might lead to the conclusion that the feudal system, even if it existed, would be unlikely to make an enduring impression, or to leave any permanent vestiges on the soil of the Dogado. The spirit of the constitution was diametrically opposed to the formation of a landed interest and the growth of military tenures. Nevertheless, such a view would be very far indeed from being a correct one. In early times, while the population remained excessively scanty and many of the islands continued to be wholly uninhabited, the Ducal Government learned to make it a point of policy, to bring these waste lands under culture, by granting them out on easy terms to the servants and dependents of the first magistrate and to others; and it becomes worthy of note that such grants were invariably founded on a strictly feudal basis. In truth, a certain survival of the Roman cliental and gentilitial systems may be readily traced in the mediæval Republic, just where one is led to expect and is able to understand it. Two or three examples of this usage have already presented themselves in the annals of the ninth century, in those circumstances of acute political trouble which so often befriend the historian. The principle of feudalism once existed in the

old Priory of Lovoli, which lay under a singular obligation to contribute nineteen men to the *Excusati*. Such an obligation most probably was a homage on the part of a Corporation for its lands, and an illustration of familiarity of the Venetians with the ancient and honourable tenure by Free Socage,<sup>1</sup> of which, perhaps, the case of the tenantry of Poveglia may not unfairly be admitted as a second case. Tenure by Knight-service, which prevailed in Colonia Venetorum (Candia) as well as in Corfu, was altogether unknown to the parent city, from which the whole system of fees or feuds was, with a few incidental exceptions, excluded by a cause already brought under notice.

The dominant principle in force between Venice and those colonial dependencies which became in course of time so extensive, so important and so scattered was seigniorial rather than possessory. The acknowledgment of suzerainty and the ratification of satisfactory commercial arrangements were the two leading features of relationship; and the former basis and tie involved again a double advantage in the obligation of the vassal, not only to pay tribute in money or kind, but to supply vessels or troops or both, in the event of war between the Republic and other Powers. At a time when the ducal exchequer was largely reliant on offerings other than money, and even before a currency had been established on any systematic scale, the aggregate receipts from the various fiefs in all sorts of commodities available for domestic use were really considerable; but they were naturally subject to interruption or shrinkage at seasons of political disturbance, and it was due to the comparative independence of the head of the State of official emoluments here, that a far greater measure of inconvenience did not arise in this direction, prior to the institution of a regular quarterly payment out of the treasury. But the main point remains, that the footing on which the Dogeship long stood was a manifestly and almost exclusively feudal one, alike in respect of internal economy and foreign jurisdiction and allegiance.

Of the two kinds of Vilains or Vileins (*Villani*) known to the feudal law, namely, *Vilains Regardant* or *Attendant*, and *Vilains in Gross*, the latter alone, who were not necessarily

<sup>1</sup> "The term," as Kerr (*Blackstone's Commentaries*, ii. 79) observes, "is more properly derived by Somner from *soc*, liberty or privilege, than from *soca*, a plough." Yet the question is, whether *soc* and *soca* are not fundamentally identical.

*adscripti glebae* but unconditional bondsmen, seem to have existed under the early constitution. The frequent allusions to *Servi*, which are found in the archives and annals of the Republic from the eighth to the fifteenth century, must lead to an inevitable conclusion, that this class of persons was proportionally not less numerous at Venice than in other parts of mediæval Europe; and, in a treaty concluded in 996<sup>1</sup> between the Doge Orseolo II. and the Emperor Otho II., a clause is found inserted for the extradition of fugitive serfs from the territories of the latter. At the same time, there is no apparent authority for the supposition that the Venetian serfs were employed otherwise than in a menial capacity.

Among the archives of the Monastery of San Girolamo, appears an instrument under which one of the brethren cedes and sells to another for fifty-two lire, according to the custom and usage of the country, and because he had in the serf in question a freehold, a Russian female slave, aged thirty-three, sound in limb and understanding. By the will which he made in 1323, Marco Polo manumitted and restored unconditionally to liberty one of his servants; and let us hope that the eminent traveller, like the good man Job, was kind and considerate to those in his power. During the war of Chioggia in 1379–80, masters were required to pay an extraordinary tax of three silver lire a month for every serf in their hands. In 1410, a singularly curious law was enacted to impose a check on a practice, then too common among the serfs of both sexes in Venice, of dabbling in the mysteries of the Black Art, as an expedient for gaining the affections of their employers.

In the obligation to contribute to the revenue in kind by supplying articles of consumption and use to the Doge and the Bouche of the Court, as well as to the Dogaressa, and vessels in time of war or need, free of charge save on account of damage or loss, as an equivalent for ship-money, there was, when we consider the tolerable frequency of such calls and their costliness, a clear feudal element of substantial importance; and, of course, whether the service was rendered by land or by water, in ships or in horses, in men-at-arms or in mariners, the theory was the same; and it was a feudal one. In 1438, for a term of two years only during the Milanese war, lance-money was raised to pay the cavalry engaged in the

<sup>1</sup> Filiassi, *Ricerche*, 27–9; Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, pp. 371 *et seq.*



field. The evidences grow under the collector's hand. Within this category fall the right of the head of the State for centuries to the free use of a water-service, due from the islands on some principle of rotation; and the singular usage by which his Serenity was long accustomed to present to each of the judges of the Palace, annually, four casks of Chioggian wine. In all hunting excursions, the provision of a suitable entertainment for the ducal party, whether the Doge himself accompanied it or not, devolved on the Chioggians by custom, possibly at a time when Malamocco was the capital; and the chase was followed at intermediate points, either within the Dogado or on the opposite line of coast. But the usage was different when public progresses were made through the islands; for the coronation-oath of 1229 explicitly declares that the cost of these excursions was to be defrayed by the Doge himself.

Naturally, as the system of government grew more orderly and compact, these institutions passed one by one silently out of sight and recollection. Yet here and there we encounter traces of archaic customs under modified forms, as when, in 1521, each of the Fruiterers of Venice, 130 in number, presented, as a purely complimentary donation, a lemon to a new Doge.

Then, in the system of taxation from the outset almost down to the end, the method was always of this complexion; and the financial weakness, which the Republic betrayed under the pressure of enormous demands on its resources during the wars by land and sea of the later centuries of its existence, proceeded to a large extent from the conscious and advised survival of the most primitive and empirical system of fiscal economy, side by side with the most finished and elaborate mechanism in every other respect. The oligarchy studiously spared the pockets of the class which it deprived of a voice in the government; it reconciled the loss of power by the alleviation of burdens; and this policy it extended to the dominions on the mainland, and so won the affection of communities previously accustomed to the insatiable extortions of the tax-gatherer, and anxious to avoid a return under an arbitrary rule, with which that of Florence under the Medici might be favourably compared. But, in order properly to understand the pecuniary embarrassments which the Republic frequently experienced, it is

necessary that we should recollect this anomalous element in its constitutional fabric, which left the disfranchised class freer and more independent, and placed the State at the mercy of a limited number of wealthy houses whose subsidies or advances were optional.

The statistics which we have received of the public income and expenditure about 1420, when the former at least was probably at its highest point, say very little about direct imposts or inland revenue, and deal almost exclusively with the profits of trade and capital. Even at that flourishing period, the lower grades of the community were probably the most lightly taxed in Europe.

The cliental and sponsorial relationships of older Venice form a somewhat interesting, and at the time obscure, aspect of the framework of that singular city, which lay so close to the Italian seaboard, and presented so many points of difference in its social institutions from its continental neighbours. The Doge was not only for centuries regarded as the father of all his people, but between the patricians and the lower orders there was a certain cordiality, a certain tie, approaching feudalism without the humiliating incidence of that system; and, whatever momentary ebullitions of popular discontent may be on record, there was no Venetian denizen who would not have submitted to any sacrifices, rather than have accepted another system of government.

The feudal principle and sentiment, although they never attained on this soil much development and force, are recognizable in the intestine disorders under the Badoer and Sanudo Doges,<sup>1</sup> when the leading families took sides and were supported by their respective retainers, the antique lines of building and a feeble central authority favouring impunity and revival.<sup>2</sup>

The financial returns of 1423, incorporated with the address of the Doge Mocenigo to the Pregadi, are ostensibly incomplete, as they do not name even the Salt Department<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anciently known as the Partecipazio (or Particiaco) and Candiano families.

<sup>2</sup> In 1477 Jacobus de Revarolis printed at Venice a large folio volume entitled: *Consuetudines Feudorum*. The *Grand Coustumier de Normandie* passed through several editions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

<sup>3</sup> In 958 we find the two consort Doges granting a saltern, the property of the Crown or the Government, to one *Caucain*, on payment in kind of a *moggio* a year to the Treasury, but, at a later period the management of this important branch of the revenue was placed under the *Provveditori al Sal*.

and the necessarily large revenue from the glass manufacture. Nor do we meet with any specific mention of cottons, which are said to have long employed 30,000 women and children, not reckoning skilled labour. But it is observable that there are, in the Doge's statement, certain general heads under which these and other omissions may have been grouped together. The statistics, a branch of economic science still waiting to be thoroughly understood, were possibly drawn up at short notice; yet it is unaccountable that, in regard to salt and glass, the Doge should have been silent. His figures, assuming them to be fairly correct, afford a vivid picture of the state of trade at the time, and a tabular view of the income and expenditure at a somewhat later date, derived from Sanudo, is collaterally instructive. The entire body of information is not free from the suspicion of having been retouched here and there by an editorial hand—not that of Sanudo himself, who could scarcely have interpolated the passage in the oration of Mocenigo, in which we hear of the annual coinage of 200,000 ducats of *silver* a century previous to the existence of such a coin—one which the eye of the Historian and Diarist never beheld.

At any rate, there is no serious hazard in calculating the Venetian revenue in 1423 (apart from direct taxation which was casual and intermittent), at something like 1,000,000 ducats; and the returns of 1469 seem to shew that the figure was 1,031,970.

It appeared to the Executive in 1539, after a prolonged series of exhaustive wars, necessary to resort to some more methodical principle, and one calculated to reach the whole of the population earning a competent income. Five different plans were laid before the Senate. The first was to impose two levies on the City and on the Chamber of Loans, issuing 100-lire stock at 90, and to raise from the territories of the mainland 200,000 ducats payable in four instalments. Various objections were raised to this method: one was that experience proved that such calls on the city were very tardily met, a balance of the last one still remaining unpaid; and another, that the proposed contribution from the *terra firma* was likely to bear too heavily on the poor in the rural districts. The second idea was to impose a poll-tax on all but the clergy, children of twelve and under, and persons



whose rent fell short of twelve ducats, those who paid up to fifteen giving only a quarter of a ducat, up to twenty half a ducat, twenty and upward a ducat. Householders with an income of 100 ducats were to contribute eight ducats, those with 500 to 1000, sixteen, those with 1500 twenty-four ducats, and eight ducats for every additional 1000. Many difficulties were apprehended from this alternative, which breathes the air of being framed in favour of large revenues, as the ascending scale is so very lenient; but, whereas the first scheme was estimated to yield 140,000 ducats, the second promised to bring 400,000. A third proposal was that all should be required to pay a uniform tithe of their income, leviable on estates agreeably to the last official returns, which was gravely recommended by some as an ancient usage sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures and in vogue since the beginning of the world. One ground of exception to it was the dislike of the taxpayer to divulge his income; the rich did not want the world to know how rich, nor the poor, how poor, they were. The fourth suggestion was a kind of modification of one of its predecessors, and was to the effect that the tithe should be confined to the rural districts. The final arrangement was a tax of six soldi on each head, each field and each ducat of revenue. This was in part a resuscitation of an abortive attempt, made in 1508, to create a land-tax of 5 soldi on each field or *campo*, under the name *campadego*. There was so strong a feeling against it that it was withdrawn.

The Senate adopted the general tithe on the 12th of March, 1539; the decision was cancelled a few days later (17th March), but was ultimately confirmed. Then there were so many complaints and appeals and deputations, that the tithe was abandoned (27th March), and two levies in the city as well as two subsidies in *terra firma* were substituted. The debate gave occasion for a good deal of personality and strong language, and one of the Savii, challenging a statement made by another speaker, was led to animadvert on the principles of the Government, which provoked an injunction to him from a Chief of the Ten to sit down, whereupon the Privy Council intervened and objected to the act, but without avail.

It may serve to illustrate the immeasurably smaller amounts formerly involved in national transactions, side by

side with the higher purchasing power of money, that, on the 14th of June, 1577, we find the Council of Ten sanctioning a loan of 120,000 ducats on the security of certain taxes, the tithe included, to facilitate the gradual repayment in twenty years of advances made to the Government for the expenses of recent wars.<sup>1</sup>

This scene affords a sample of the loose and crude system which had survived for so many centuries, in a State, from constitutional motives so imperfectly developed, against severe emergencies so imperfectly prepared, and yet, in almost all other directions, so precocious and advanced.

One of the most conspicuous features, in fact, in the early constitution, which sensibly survived till quite late times, was the prominence and distinctness which it allowed from the first, both in religion and politics, to private enterprise and liberality. Works which were undertaken elsewhere by the Government were here carried out by one or more individuals; charities, endowments and other institutions of various kinds, which were founded elsewhere by the nation at large, were planted here by an Orseolo or a Badoer; what in other States were general burdens, at Venice were class burdens. An ancient and perhaps immemorial usage, prescribing that all the great families should maintain, in their domestic establishment, an armoury from which they might at any time be compelled, on due summons from the Chiefs of the Wards, to contribute their quota of weapons of offence and other necessities to the support of a war, manifestly sprang from this fundamental theory. In truth, while the nobility sought from the earliest times the exclusive enjoyment of political power, it courted rather than evaded the responsibilities of such power; and whatever might be the vices of the system of government which it established, neither excessive taxation nor arbitrary levies nor oppressive imposts were often to be reckoned among them. To one class, indeed, the Republic owed her greatness; and the debt was fully repaid. The aristocratic government is largely responsible for having made Venice what she was and what she is.

Throughout its ample dominions on the *terra firma*, the

<sup>1</sup> N. Papadopoli, *Sebastiano Venier e le sue Monete*, 1905, pp. 9-10.

Signory afforded the utmost stimulus and encouragement to agriculturists and farmers; and, upon the extension of the Venetian rule over Treviso and the contiguous provinces, land-owners were placed in possession of facilities, never before known, for the improvement of their estates and the cultivation of the soil.<sup>1</sup> Drainage by hydraulic power, artificial manuring and other inventions were patronized and fostered. In the poorer localities, proprietors were encouraged by a partial exemption from taxes, and, after a war, the districts which had formed the seat of hostilities were compensated for their losses, so far as possible, by a liberal distribution of relief in kind. Pawnbrokers and money-lenders were forbidden to receive in pledge draught-oxen or other animals used at the plough. To promote the interests of the same class it was, that many rivers in the Peninsula were for the first time made thoroughly navigable, and that ecclesiastical corporations were recommended to grant leases of their temporalities, instead of allowing them to lie fallow. In Dalmatia, the people were left at liberty to navigate all the rivers in their own bottoms, without constraint, for commercial and agricultural purposes. In this, as in other respects, wherever the Republic extended her jurisdiction, she carried with her the same paternal solicitude for the welfare and material prosperity of her subjects; and nothing can be more untrue than the too generally received notion that, in pursuing her conquests, Venice obeyed merely the instincts of a blind and selfish ambition. The Venetians had, in common with their neighbours, Italian blood, the Italian name, an Italian soil and sky, but it was a very broad constitutional line which separated them from Rome under the Colonna or Milan under the Visconti. In social refinement, in moral and intellectual culture and in general civilization, Venice stood on an unapproachable eminence.

We have only for a moment to reflect, however, to place ourselves in a position to understand, that the condition of the territories on the *terra firma* was influenced, in the first place, by an imperfect acquaintance with agricultural economy, and, again, by the incessant political disturbances and changes which destroyed the sense of security and retarded the progress of improvement. Whatever might be the superiority

<sup>1</sup> Andrea Gloria, "Intorno alla storia e collezione delle leggi riferibili all'agricoltura del Padovano," *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, nuova serie, iv. pt. 1.



of the Venetian system in spirit and on paper to that of preceding or intermittent rulers, the difficulties of legislation and control, where the tenure was at all times precarious and where it was often qualified by some inalienable feudal pretension, were so enormous, that the Republic may be said never to have enjoyed a full possessory sovereignty over any portion of those lands which constituted the *Dominion*. Throughout these possessions, both in Lombardy and Illyria, as well, indeed, as at more distant points, such as Candia and Cyprus and the Ionian Isles where religious questions continually arose to aggravate the position, Venice had her civil and military establishments directed by some of the most able and experienced of her public servants; but the occurrence of a crisis usually proved their inadequacy and the need of heavy reinforcements. Then the fiscal problem was always here equally a source of perplexity and embarrassment; the Venetian tax-gatherers were accused of being harsh and remorseless, and, after a war or a bad season, the farmers and shopkeepers had probably no more than enough to cover their backs and fill their mouths. The scourges of war, plague and famine reduced the population of Friuli alone from 250,000 in 1560, to 170,000 thirty years later.

There was no remissness on the part of the Government in taking steps to inform itself of the state of the provinces from time to time. A practice had been adopted analogous to that in force in respect of the foreign diplomatic service, and reports were drawn up by governors of cities and districts, on their return home, for oral delivery before the Senate. It was, of course, much easier for the official to expose deficiencies and hardships than for his employers to rectify them; but this principle, introduced in 1524, had a clearly salutary tendency, as it extended to all the branches of each of the executive organizations. There is nothing which more thoroughly persuades us of the sincere and intelligent solicitude of the Republic to consolidate and reform its imperial policy, than the eagerness and zeal with which it seized every interval of political repose for this purpose.

In the sixteenth century, the epoch of highest prosperity, the aggregate population of the *terra firma* was estimated at 1,800,000, spread over the provinces of Friuli, Belluno, Padua, Vicenza and the Seven Communes, Verona, Treviso, Rovigo,

the Polesine, Brescia, Bergamo and Crema. These figures do not embrace the trans-Adriatic territories. The capabilities and resources of all those places were immensely unequal, owing to differences of position and soil; and, in many parts, the grain-crops were insufficient to meet local consumption. In the Padovano, a fourth of the land was out of cultivation; the remaining two-thirds were in the hands, in about equal proportions, of Venetian owners, the Church and Paduan agriculturists. There was admittedly great room for an amelioration of affairs, and one of the Venetian proveditors in 1587 is found criticizing in severe terms the state of the poor, their ignorance and illiteracy, and the consequent facilities afforded to the exactions of the officers of the revenue. There is a proclamation<sup>1</sup> of the Podestà of Padua, Nicolò Tron, in 1740, issued under the authority of the Council of Ten, from which it is to be gleaned that the agricultural population of the *Sette Comuni* needed official restraint from trespassing with their cattle on the Paduan territory, and injuring the property of the farmers, market-gardeners and other growers.

In 1596, the inhabitants of Vicenza were far more flourishing and prosperous, and exported large quantities of silken and woollen goods to Frankfort-on-Maine, Antwerp, Cologne and Lyons;<sup>2</sup> but they seem to have been hampered by protection and high duties which prejudicially affected selling prices. Evelyn the diarist was there in 1646, and describes the theatre built in 1584 by Palladio to hold 5000 spectators. But Verona surpassed it and all the other centres in population and wealth; and the name was said to be interpretable as a union of the commerce of VENICE, the architectural grandeur of ROME, and the topographical amenity of NAPLES. Its staple product was silk which, in those days, it exported to Germany to the yearly value of a million ducats. On the outskirts resided an industrial population engaged in various trades, and a large revenue was derived from the cultivation of citrons and oranges. In the Bresciano there was also great manufacturing enterprise and activity. But the Bergamasque, except in the valleys where

<sup>1</sup> The original broadside is before me.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest silk-mill established in England is supposed to have been that erected by John Lombe in 1718 on the Derwent. The richly carved coffer in which he brought home from Italy the models for his machinery is still extant.

the inhabitants were more thriving, was relatively poor, owing to the hilly character of the country; and there was a constant stream of emigration to Venice and elsewhere. From this source it was that the Republic acquired its best couriers for official purposes, and some of its most successful men of business in the capital. The population was conspicuous for its staunch loyalty to Venice, as we have seen, to the very end.

Istria, Dalmatia and the Illyric Isles were equally liable to the evils and drawbacks attendant on not infrequent alterations in political circumstances. An appreciable proportion of the inhabitants hired themselves to any employers who were raising troops for mercenary service; and, not possessing means to educate their sons at Padua, they passed direct from elementary schools to some vocation in life, till a new finishing seminary was established at Lesina. At present the general aspect of Dalmatia is, at any rate, changed for the worse. In many places the population has decreased by one half; arts and manufactures which Venice did so much to foster have been neglected; commerce has suffered a marked decline; the old national customs of which the people were so fond and so proud have fallen into disuse. Of the former opulence and splendour of the larger and more important towns few traces now remain. The palaces of Spalato are in ruins, and the grass grows in the streets of Ragusa.

The Ionian Isles, of which the aggregate superficial area amounted to nearly nine times that of the Dogado itself, seem to have experienced the most uninterrupted tranquillity, and to have had corresponding opportunities of profiting by their rich and fertile soil. In Zante alone, the grape crop was reckoned to be worth from 25,000 to 30,000 ducats; and, in 1686, a contemporary writer mentions that, through the instrumentality of the noble, Angelo Barbarigo, a lake was drained, and an area, ten miles long by five miles broad, in the district of Montagna and near the port of Chieri, restored to cultivation;<sup>1</sup> but scarcely any grain was sown, till the Venetian authorities intervened to insist on a certain allotment of space for that purpose. Cephalonia was even more productive, yielding corn, wine, oil, honey and other necessities in abundance, with a financial surplus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coronelli, *Account of the Morea, &c.*, transl. by R. W., 1687, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> See St. John, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, 1842, iii. 361.



Altogether, when we turn our eyes to the Venetian colonies generally, the burghers appear to have had the most comfortable life. They had fairly onerous claims to meet in the shape of taxes and calls, but their commercial interests were studied, and their personal security was seldom threatened. Members of the aristocratic class were jealous of each other, and were constantly involved in petty dissensions; the lower ranks were undoubtedly miserable to excess.

Throughout the Lombard part of the Dominion, the same solicitude, however, was shown by the establishment of hospitals and refuges, and by the loan of money on easy terms, to alleviate distress, provide for old age and assist traders and agriculturists. The Monte di Pietà was a universal institution, and was under strict official control. That at Brescia advanced to any poor person, on adequate security, without interest, up to three *scudi d'oro*, and, if the money was not returned within a year, the pledge was sold, and any surplus returned to the borrower, only a *soldo* being deducted for expenses. The Monte at Verona was under the management of a committee, which lent on security at 6 per cent. to commercial houses or individuals, and was said to have on its books as much as 200,000 ducats of annual business; but to the poor it lent sums not exceeding four *lire* gratuitously. That at Florence served as a bank of deposit for legacies and reversions, but they also possessed there a Gild of Exchange which fulfilled analogous functions. The hospitals were of various kinds. Some were infirmaries or asylums for the aged; some merely furnished lodging and food for a single night; some (*Consortii dei prigionieri*) provided the inmates of the gaols with necessaries; and one of the provincial governors protested that in hard times some committed offences, in order to secure for themselves in this way a comfortable living.

In the Levant, except to a certain extent in Candia, the foreign and colonial policy of the Republic is elsewhere shown to have been importantly different, and to have been based on the system of colonization in force among the ancients, and familiar to Venice by tradition. The methods pursued toward the acquisitions, made after the fifth crusade and at a later period, were exactly those employed by other Italian States in similar circumstances; the two foreign constituents

were commercial and military, the depot for trading purposes, and the garrison for protection; and a tribute or other form of homage served as a recognition of suzerainty. But, apart from these features, the internal affairs of the settlement proceeded as they had done before the overlord set down his foot on the soil; and the Republic interposed, neither to change nor to ameliorate the civil and economic institutions of the district, until it became a question of bidding against a competitor for the possession, and conciliating the population by improving their state and lightening their burdens. This course was agreeable to ordinary experience. Politicians have seldom anticipated national demands.

From a period of unknown antiquity, the constitution recognized, on the part of masters, as exclusive and uncontrolled a property in their serfs, as the Greeks and the Romans, as the Anglo-Saxons and the Muscovites, as the rice-planter of old Carolina and the sugar-grower of the Surinam; but, in the Republic, the bondsman was, as a rule, one who had been purchased in the open market, unattached to any estate or soil, and was the property of his owner, *jure emptionis*, like an ordinary chattel. In 1509, under the will of Caterina Sforza Visconti, Lady of Forli, her slave, Mosa Bona, is so bequeathed; she was an ordinary bondwoman. So far back as the tenth century, a right of extradition was inserted in the Venetian treaties with the Western Empire. But a second method existed by which serfs were obtained and multiplied. In 1124, during hostilities in the Levant, the youth of both sexes are said to have been reduced by the Venetians to slavery, and the practice may well be supposed to have been more or less customary, and to have been adopted by the Republic rather than to have originated there. Under the ancient Roman system, the slave who acquired by a release from *mancipatio* a personal identity became, not free in the modern sense, but a freedman or *libertus*, and still lay under cliental obligations to his former master or the latter's representatives. We seem to see how, at Venice, the predominance of commercial ideas might have had a modifying or mitigating influence on this legal principle, but the system continued, as it did everywhere else, both as a tolerated element in the social economy and as a profitable source of commerce, for centuries after it had been morally and legally condemned. The Venetian pursued as a merchant

the traffic which as a legislator he had reprobated, and the sale of human flesh, which the piovano denounced from the pulpit, the clerical notary ratified in his bureau. Good laws were enacted; but parliamentary control was too indirect and lax, and the administration was apt to find, in the case of advanced measures, that it had to cope with practical difficulties which the legislature had not foreseen, and to submit to compromises and even infringements of the statute, arising in some degree from a want of common action outside the Republic.

At the same time, at some period posterior to 1539, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the galleys of the Republic, and even the Bucentaur, were manned by slaves, while forced labour did not enter into the Venetian penal system.<sup>1</sup> The traffic must consequently have been continuous and heavy; and even that was not wholly unattended by romantic episodes. The prisoners taken by the Turks, in a war about 1440 with Vladislas IV. of Poland, were sold to Venetian dealers, and among them was a Polish noble who, when he was next identified many years after, was found discharging a high office at Venice, having regained his liberty and, under a new Italian name, risen to distinction. His family could have redeemed him, but he, it is said, declined to forsake his adopted country. The galley-slaves were quartered within the lofty walls of the Arsenal, and doubtless formed part of the appointments of a vessel, much in the same sense as the oars which they wielded. The present was a question inherently prolific of inconsistencies and contradictions; and the Republic lived to cross over to the other side, and to become, in the last hours of independence, the champion of the Christian captives who fell into the hands of the pirates of the Mediterranean.

Coryat was distressed by a painful incident which took place while he was in Venice. An English gentleman, Thomas Taylour of Leicestershire, engaged to serve the Republic, and

<sup>1</sup> In a letter from Pietro Aretino to Don Ferrante Gonzaga, written from Venice, 6th January 1556-7, there is an account of a person condemned to the galleys, apparently by Gonzaga, and obliged, in addition to plying the oar, to carry a noose round his neck. His offence was the carriage of goods from Cremona; and Aretino pleads for the man, who had already suffered a year's imprisonment and whose family was starving. See another case in *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617-19, p. 303. Comp. *supra*, ii. 119, for the account of Gascoigne the poet, and of his release, in romantic circumstances, from slavery after the fall of Famagusta. See also Hazlitt's *Gascoigne*, 1869, i. 84-5.



had received pay in advance. He then deserted, was captured, and became a slave on one of the galleys. His countryman interceded for him, but the attempt was unsuccessful.

Originally, the importation of persons in a condition of vassalage or servitude did not, perhaps, go beyond a desire to obtain a class of aid which, of course, in harmony with the normal conditions of serfdom, might be available for all the various branches of domestic occupation. In secular establishments, as well as the monasteries and nunneries, the slave often discharged, as in the East, the functions of a confidential agent, and, in the case of institutions for women, became a party to intrigues with outsiders. Nor need we doubt that the *servi*, specified in the earlier coronation-oaths of the Doge as attached to the Palace, were of this type.

But the practice gradually degenerated into a systematic abduction of females from the East for purposes of prostitution and immorality, and there is no lack of documentary testimony to prove this to our satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> A custom which traced back its origin to an epoch when the demand for labour began to surpass the supply, and the market for employment no longer required any such stimulus, was made subservient to a growing taste for licentious pleasures and corrupt diversions, quite Oriental in their depravity. It is said that, even in the time of St. Chrysostom (A.D. 347-407), female slaves were exposed for sale at the Amphictyonic fairs,<sup>2</sup> and the Angles whom Pope Gregory I. is reputed to have redeemed in the market-place at Rome may, if the familiar legend be true, have been brought from England by Venetian traders. To the lower grades of the population in Venice proper, as well as in the Dominion, the state of personal servitude, as it slowly died out, tended to impart a hybrid character.

There is even a Milanese story of a noble and eminent public servant, Pietro Mocenigo, who was subsequently Doge (1474-6), who, in his old age, feeling the same chill as that which crept over King David, resorted to the same antidote.<sup>3</sup> The girls and women whom the dealers in such commodities brought to Venice played the part, four or five

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *La vie privée à Venise*, ch. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Walford's *Fairs, Past and Present*, 1883, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> He is said to have brought home from the East two beautiful young Turkish slaves. *Legge e Memorie Venete sulla Prostituzione*, 4to, privately printed for the Earl of Orford, Venezia, 1870.

hundred years ago, which this same unhappy species play among us at the present moment, and were made to minister to orgies prototypical of such as our modern cities continue to know. Even in this Venice was a pioneer, and her very vices and extravagances were the outcome of the energy which led to the production of masterpieces in art, to the successful fight for commercial preponderance, to the lust for the attainment of immense political power. This immoderate indulgence and unbridled sensuality were an incidence of high and luxurious civilization, and followed the traditions of the Greeks and every other great people. The early intimacy between the Republic and the East, her southerly climate and the growth of wealth were influences which concurred in favouring the development of social abuses and impurities of this kind. It was a class of mischief and licence, largely in advance of the *sfrenata lascivia* which Dante thought that he observed growing up among the once simple Florentines. But such social changes befall all States which live to be old, and it is the common fortune of such as happen to belong to a period of accelerated transition, to become, as it were, strangers in their own land, like the elder Cato in the New Rome.

The celebrated conspiracy which was formed against Venice in 1371 by Francesco Novello, Lord of Padua, furnishes the first direct clue to the existence of professional prostitution in the Republic. From the details of that movement, it is collected that, in the time of Andrea Contarini, a house of ill repute was kept in the capital by a procuress known as La Gobba (*the Hunchback*). On this particular occasion, the house was found, upon being searched by the police, to contain several dangerous political characters who had come from Padua with a diabolical project in contemplation, and who were betrayed at the last moment by two courtezans.

To check the progress of the evil and to diminish the chances of contamination, as well as the scandal of a system of prostitution, formed the steadfast aim of legislation. In the earlier part of the fifteenth century, a law was passed, prescribing that all the stews of the metropolis should be concentrated in a single quarter, and that the women who belonged to them should wear a dress of a motley pattern peculiar to themselves. Such a measure, to whatever extent it was mis-

taken in principle, and however practically inoperative, was meant to be a step in the right direction. There were at all periods numerous types of this class of women, as we readily infer from the graduated official tariff, and, as there were many above it, there were others below whom the police restricted to certain quarters, where they were not too fastidious or frugal in the exhibition of their charms from the casements, which the law seems in turn to have forbidden and tolerated, since the practice was perhaps apt to localize the evil and distract from a worse one. A late experiment of a different kind, by which the brothels were suppressed, was still less felicitous; it was a remedy worse than the evil against which it was aimed, and a short trial sufficed to establish its futility. He was little more than a pleasant epigrammatist who wrote the lines:

“Quæritur in Venetis scortorum millia cur sint?  
In promptu ratio est, est Venus orta mari”—

for he unfairly imputed to the sea an infirmity common to the whole human race, irrespective of locality and climate.

The biographer of Montaigne dwells a little on the splendour and excellent *status* of the hetaira there at that time, and particularly notices the luxuriously appointed residence of the famous Imperia, who was openly visited by persons of the highest rank, and who possessed musical tastes and a library of Latin and Italian books. Mr. St. John adds: “When she died, a public monument was raised in the Church of Saint Gregory, recording not only her beauty but her profession.” But he should have noted that she founded in 1578 a new Magdalena for female penitents, and that Cagliari painted a picture in which she and some of them are represented kneeling before the Virgin. The lady here mentioned was probably identical with the notorious Veronica Franco, who has been elsewhere mentioned as one of the literary and musical ornaments of the city, and who held a perfectly unique position among her contemporaries. Is it not possible that Veronica owed to her social supremacy the sobriquet of Imperia, now more familiar to us from the *Contes Drolatiques* of Balzac, but derived from that Roman prototype of whom Vitali composed in 1512 a posthumous panegyric? The Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici (of whom there is that splendid



portrait by Titian, said to be the finest in the world) when he paid a visit to Venice in 1532, and was the guest of the imperial ambassador, passed a night, Sanudo tells us in his Diary, with the courtesan Angela del Moro, detta la Zaffetta, on whom a resentful patrician wrote a scurrilous poem, and whom he, according to a piece of contemporary scandal<sup>1</sup> which Aretino too readily adopted, denounced in a brutally outrageous manner. Benvenuto Cellini, in his autobiography (1500-71), gives an account of his journey to Sicily in quest of a girl called Angelica, who, in common with her mother, belonged to this class, and of whom, when discovered, he expressed his ardent appreciation.

The English traveller Coryat, who visited Venice in 1608, took almost the earliest opportunity of warning future visitors against the wiles of such women, and the iniquitous collusion between them and the gondoliers who, says he, if you do not state very clearly whither you desire to go, will row you to one of the establishments where these seducers are to be found, and you will be robbed, if you are not careful, of every piece of money in your pockets.<sup>2</sup> He states that, as he could find no account of Venetian courtezans in any author, he has set down a description of his experience and observation, with the attendant caveat that he considered the presence of such an element highly prejudicial and scandalous, and recommended its suppression. Nevertheless, he paid a visit to one of the sisterhood, and has left us an engraving, from the burin of the English artist William Hole, representing her in sumptuous attire, hastening to meet the English traveller who advances toward her, hat in hand. He tells us, evidently deriving his material from the signora and her lodgings, that these ladies studied elegance. One of them, Margarita Emiliana, who seems to have flourished before our author's time,<sup>3</sup> accumulated a considerable fortune, and built and endowed, in emulation of her predecessor Veronica Franco (Imperia), a church of the Augustinian order at San Michele between Venice and

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, ii. 606-7. *Aver un trentuno* seems, nevertheless, to have long remained a popular saying.

<sup>2</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 168-9.

<sup>3</sup> William Hole, the illustrator of Coryat's book, has subscribed the name of this lady to the figure in his picture, but the text seems to convey the fact that Coryat did not meet her, and intended the illustration to depict an interview with a nameless woman.

ABITO DELLE CORTEGIANE PRENCIPALE



DRESS OF THE CHIEF COURTEZAN

[*Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London*]





Murano. Coryat notices it on his way to Venice, and Evelyn saw it in 1645, describing it as enriched and encrusted with marble and other architectural embellishments. The monks shewed the building to his party, and he was perhaps indebted to them for the information that the signora performed the act as an atonement for her worldly sins. This was not an isolated case, for Coryat states that, "amongst other amiable ornaments," the Venetian Courtezan "will shew thee . . . even the picture of our Lady by her bedde side, with Christ in her armes, placed within a cristall glasse." He says, speaking of the Venetian courtezans in general, "Thou shalt see her decked with many chaines of gold and orient pearle like a second Cleopatra (but they are very litle), divers gold rings beautified with diamonds and other costly stones, jewels in both her eares of great worth. A gowne of damaske (I speake this of the nobler Cortizans) either decked with a deep gold fringe (according as I have expressed it in the picture of the Cortizan that I have placed about the beginning of this discourse) or laced with five or sixe gold laces each two inches broad. Her petticoate of red chamlet edged with rich gold fringe, stockings of carnasion silke, her breath and her whole body, the more to enamour thee, most fragrantly perfumed." He observes elsewhere: "When you come into one of their Palaces (as indeed some few of the principallest of them live in very magnificent and portly buildings fit for the entertainment of a great Prince) you seeme to enter into the Paradise of Venus. For their fairest roomes are most glorious and glittering to behold. The walles round about being adorned with most sumptuous tapistry and gilt leather. . . . Besides you may see the picture of the noble Cortezan most exquisitely drawen. As for her selfe shee comes to thee decked like the Queene and Goddesse of love, in so much that thou wilt thinke she made a late transmigration from Paphos, Cnidos, or Cythera, the auncient habitations of Dame Venus. For her face is adorned with the quintessence of beauty. In her cheekes thou shalt see the Lilly and the Rose strive for the supremacy, and the silver tramels of her haire displayed in that curious manner besides her two frised peakes standing up like prety Pyramides, that they give thee the Cos amoris."<sup>1</sup> Yet, after all this rapturous eulogy, Coryat

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 265-7.

ungallantly lets us behind the curtain, and explains that much of this allurements is procured by artificial devices. Still sadder to relate, the author of the *Crudities* proceeds to moralize with Solomon, and refers to these "Laidés and Thaidés" and "amorous Calypsoes" as resembling "a golden ring in a swines snowt," and this, too, after his fair companion had delighted him with melodious notes on her lute, which she could handle like a professor!

Coryat, when he went to the theatre here, saw some of the noble and famous courtezans who wore double masks on their faces, one reaching from the top of the forehead to the chin and beneath the neck, the other covering their noses. Their necks were also covered with lawn so as to hide the skin, and upon their heads were little black felt caps. They had black taffeta cloaks. The best place in the theatre was set apart for them, according to the writer, who noticed certain men disguised in a similar manner, and presumably friends of the ladies. The latter sat in the gallery in fact, and the rest of the audience in the body of the house on stools. We hear that, if any one should have attempted to remove or lift the women's masks, it would have been certain death to him, especially if he were a stranger.

He bestows not a little space on the present part of his subject, and dwells on the folly and peril of too close an approach to these sirens. For his own part, he visited the signora purely to be able to report for general information what such houses and their tenants actually were; and his account is certainly faithful and minute, even to the hue of her stockings. He avouches that he did his best to convert her; but he did not succeed. He lets us understand, farthermore, that to these sumptuous resorts was attached a Ruffiano or bully, who cut your throat or caused you to be arrested, if you managed to make your escape without paying your fee—he calls it the *salarium iniquitatis*.

Howell, in a letter dated the 15th of January, 1635, to Mr. T. Lucy who was then in Venice, winds up thus: "T. T. drank your health yesternight, and wish'd you could send him a handsome Venetian Courtisan inclos'd in a Letter, he would willingly be at the Charge of the Postage, which he thinks would not be much for such a light Commodity." In an earlier part of the same communication the writer

observes: "The Poets feign that Venus the Goddess of Pleasure, and therefore call'd Ap[h]rodite, was ingendred of the Froth of the Sea, (which makes Fish more salacious commonly, than Flesh) it is not improbable that she was got and coagulated of that Foam, which Neptune useth to disgorge upon those pretty Islands, whereon that City stands."<sup>1</sup>

The fulminations of the tribunals against the more fashionable types, on account of their lavish and luxurious habits, their expenditure on dress and its adjuncts, and their prodigious outlay on furniture and the table, were scarcely more serviceable in reality than those directed against the members of ordinary society; and the most centralized and intrepid of governments here found itself virtually powerless. There were isolated cases in which the Inquisition of State made a firm stand, as when, in 1765, a scion of one of the noblest families formed the "monstrous resolution" of actually marrying the ballet-dancer Carlina, and the proposed bride was expelled from the city with a peremptory order never to return. Matters, however, underwent only the change incidental to the reduced prosperity of the place; such characters were ever to be encountered, and are still so under Italian rule. From Rousseau we gain no nearer approach in his *Confessions* than his amour with the fair Zulietta, a Paduan brunette; but he might, no doubt, have added to our knowledge of her sisters not far away across the water, whom the French philosopher of the eighteenth century would have pronounced equally fresh, lively and piquant, for he was, during a year and a half, secretary to the French embassy at Venice under the Comte de Bernis. There is the story of his rapture at the musical performances on Sundays at the Scuola dei Mendicanti, of his disappointment at not being able to see the female singers whose voices were so voluptuously sweet, and of his horror, when leave was given to him to indulge in a closer view, at the spectacle of deformity or disfigurement. It was *Vox et præterea nihil*.

The topic is a somewhat delicate and unsavoury one to handle, but it is one which bore a degree of intimate relationship with the State, and possessed, during the period of political decline, a significance paralleled nowhere else, perhaps, in modern European history. It is probable that the most

<sup>1</sup> *Familiar Letters*, bk. ii., letter 27, sixth edition, 1688.



influential and dangerous members of the sisterhood were those whose names and addresses do not occur in the official scale. It was one of the symptoms of decadence that the same woman would acknowledge two patrons—the poor patrician who lent to her house or quarters the sanction of his name, and the thriving trader who paid the rent and mainly supported the lady. This arrangement extended to the too numerous instances in which the reduced nobles were unable to *far casa*, and became virtual boarders at the table of a citizen. Such a sordid principle was in earlier times unknown, and even the man in humble circumstances who prostituted his wife was liable to severe penalties. But the interposition of the higher class of courtesan in political business and official intrigue decreased, when fuller liberty was accorded to the female aristocracy, and they were able to appear in public, and assert their social pretensions, a change which may be set down as part of the gradual revolution in sentiment which was to arrive at a climax, not on this, but on another soil, in 1789.

The reluctance to swell the numbers of the hereditary nobility, and the precocious age at which the normal Venetian entered into relations with the other sex, help to account for the large body of *hetairæ* whom observers of all times have spoken of as encountered at Venice. In a family, it was a rare circumstance if more than one son married; the others had kept mistresses more or less special to themselves, and the illegitimate offspring often went into holy orders or took the veil, if they were not successful through their friends in procuring secular employment. The more or less needy patricians had, during centuries, formed a source of anxiety and trouble to the Government, which did what it could in the way of drafting them at an early age into the naval service, if only to keep them out of mischief.

Of native talent in this direction there was no lack then or since, and, in the Venetian streets, it is very possible yet to see faces not dissimilar in type from those which exercised upon our Elizabethan forerunners a transient witchery—faces of a Titianesque cast, appertaining to figures which haunt the favourite lounges, and await a response to the significant glance. There is doubtless a superabundance of supply in this direction and even in another, on which it is even less

expedient to dwell. Even when they had passed their prime, some of these gay characters succeeded in winning attention and retaining admirers, by an artful coquetry and a sedulous study of the toilette. Such was Teresa Depretis Venier, who excelled as a dancer, singer, musician and speaker when she was no longer young, and inspired with a strange passion two men, Pepoli and Widmann, who kept her purse full and were not too old to have been her sons. Teresa had been a miracle of beauty and grace; she is mentioned by Pepoli in the preface to his plays in 1787.

There is an engraving by Racinet, after an original painting, of an evening gathering at the house of a second famous *hetaira*, Laura Pesciotta, in which three women, Laura and two friends, perhaps, are seated round a table with three or four men. The party is partaking of some light repast, and one of the men has a guitar, but the general attention is concentrated, for the moment, on a pleasantry between one of the women, and a man who opens his mouth to its full capacity to receive a *bonne bouche*. He alone is bareheaded; the others are resplendent in hats and feathers, except one who has the air of an attendant.

The germ of this inevitable constituent of every human community, from the most ancient period, has been the difficulty of protecting women and girls of reputable character from violence and insult, and the Venetian law interposed, as early as the twelfth century, with this object, in a manner consonant with the brutal severity of mediæval retribution, visiting an outrage on a married female with the loss of both eyes. The result here, however, as elsewhere, was the gradual establishment of a mechanism of the usual kind, comprising brothels, courtezans and procuresses, which in 1360 was officially declared to be altogether necessary in this land. The women who followed the calling were not at that time permitted to live in ordinary houses or to appear in the public thoroughfares, except on Saturdays, and were interned at a place called Castelletto in Rialto, and subsequently at San Cassiano in the Casa Rampana.

Even from the earlier society of the fifteenth century, however, there was a strong vein or spirit of licence in social circles, apart from any breaches of order and decency falling within the reach even of such laws as those of Venice. Laxity

of morals and lasciviousness may be treated as comparatively dependent on climate, and scenes of voluptuous refinement and wild orgies might have been witnessed by some Asmodeus on this ground, which would have reduced Juvenal to an insipid trifler, and have left Rabelais nothing and Aretino little to add.<sup>1</sup> The modern world was the heir to the whole of the old repertory and has not abjured it. A popular satirist of the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century draws a sombre picture of the Venetian ladies of his day, but he lets us understand that the Paduans, Vicentines, Veronese and Trevisans were no whit chaster. No educational system has yet been found, or is ever likely to be, that is capable of fundamentally changing human nature under certain phases of libidinous sway.

It was not long after the discovery of America by Columbus that the *lues venerea* found its way to Venice, namely, in 1494,<sup>2</sup> and the treatment of the malady was so imperfectly understood, that in 1522 a special hospital was established for its victims. The Government did its utmost to keep within limits the ravages of the disease, as well as the mischief and scandal arising from the whole system which affected all classes, the laity and the clergy; and the same minute attention to detail is manifest in the records of this department of the Executive, as in all the other branches of administration. In 1514, the tax levied on all those who presented themselves for examination prior to the grant of a permit was applied to the works connected with the extension of the Arsenal.

Although the Government laid down, with tolerable precision, the lines within which the sisterhood was to restrict itself, prescribing now one quarter, now another where they were to await visitors, we encounter the usual flexibility and insincerity in this as in other cases, yet more especially on the part of men who were legislating for themselves as well as for the country. Many of the women resided in their own

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 4th ed., Bergamo, 1905-8, i. 301.

<sup>2</sup> See Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 233-4. "Nota che, per influxi celesti, da anni 2 in qua, zoè dappoi la venuta de' francesi in Italia, si ha scoperto una nova egritudine in li corpi humani dicto *mal franzoso*, lo qual mal si in Italia come in Grecia, Spagna et quasi per tutto il mondo è dilatado. . . . El qual mal, *licet* molti dicono sia venuto da' francesi, *tamen* l'horo *etiam* l'hano da anni 2 in qua abuto, et lo chiamano *mal italiano*."



houses, and many openly walked abroad, and by glances or otherwise solicited custom. Such irregularities were of course notorious, and distinguished civil servants frequented the addresses of their more or less habitual mistresses. A secretary of the Senate was enamoured of Laura Troilo who resided at Santa Trinità; he rashly concluded that he was in safe hands, in holding a discourse in Latin with an emissary of the Duke of Mantua whom he met there. Laura who was no scholar was suspicious, and hid behind the bed another sweetheart of hers. The truth transpired, the official was denounced and executed, and the fair informer received, as a gratuity from the Council of Ten, five-and-twenty ducats. This was in 1498. It is not surprising to find in such a family of anecdotes the name of Aretino, who might have transmitted authentic particulars of several female acquaintances of the same stamp, and who was not guiltless of contaminating his juniors. In what it may be judged an abuse of terms to designate the best period, the courtezans of the highest grade were undoubtedly accomplished and captivating; but at all times there were lower types, and, as power and wealth declined, the names of such as had delighted more favoured generations, became a sort of historical tradition.

Sanudo the diarist vehemently laments and reprehends the rank growth of social and moral corruption and debauchery in his day (1466–1535), which, says he, was in his opinion a disgrace to a well-ordered government, and a pernicious example to the younger sort. Nor was he alone, in exposing and denouncing the unwholesome development of luxury and lubricity among some of the older families, and the possessors of exalted official preferments. There was a predominant and ineradicable sensuality recalling the worst Greek and Roman traditions, and one critic represents that a notable stimulant to the mischief was the countenance lent to it by personages of honourable repute—artists and poets, and, not least, eminent prelates. The public baths or bagnios of the city were practically the establishments of low-class surgeons and chiropodists, and enjoyed a more than indifferent repute. The better types of *hetairæ* were visited, patronized and petted by all; in their intercourse with their intimates they were accustomed to pass under glorified names, such as Olympia, Diana, Delia, Lucrezia, Laura, Vittoria, Ginevra, Mirtilla, Marietta. The

greatest artists accepted them as models for their pictures, not only of Venus, but of Susanna, and poets condoled with them in noble strains on the loss of a lover. We know that Veronica Franco became contrite at an early age, and was instrumental in converting others. Cornelia Griffo, on the other hand, won the heart of the patrician Andrea Michieli, who married her in 1526 in the monastery of San Giovanni at Torcello. Not a few of these women acquired, as an introductory or collateral charm, the arts of singing and playing on a musical instrument, and surrounded themselves with elegant furniture, dogs and birds.

Sanudo preserves a notice of an excursion, on the evening of the 27th of January, 1523, of fifteen courtezans of the highest quality, to the house of Leonardo Giustiniani where they danced, supped and diverted themselves with the noblemen present, among whom were three Procurators of St. Mark. At intervals, bevvies of these damsels repaired with their admirers to certain more secluded parts of the metropolis or the outlying islands, where they had a musical entertainment, bathed together in the lagoon, supped and passed the night. But these excesses were by no means limited to the courtesan and her circle, for, the Apostolic Nuncio at Venice, in a letter to Cardinal Borromeo in 1561, narrates an astounding case<sup>1</sup> in which the Rector and Confessor of the house of the *Convertite* at the Giudecca, a man in the confidence of the Government as an adviser in matters ecclesiastical, exercised an unquestioned authority over about four hundred young and beautiful women, whom he used at his pleasure and put to the torture if they resisted. He occasionally took, to a spot where there was a bathing-place, a party of the most attractive who all stripped at his bidding while he played the part of Actæon. The scoundrel was ultimately denounced and beheaded, and his body was burned to ashes; but what a spell he must have cast over all these poor creatures, for the surrender of so many to one man seems incredible. It must surely be the identical episode which reached the ears of Coryat in 1608—perhaps as a notorious *cause célèbre*.

We have even a list of the women, with their names and addresses and the tariff which they accepted, and likewise reports of cases in which they were cited for infractions of the law,

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *op. cit.*, ii. 589-90.

and fined or otherwise punished. Nor did the police content itself with exercising a control over the members of this class; for we meet with prosecutions of persons of all ranks for offences perpetrated in connexion with such women, as when Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, in or about 1617, having been seen in a gondola during the Carnival with a young courtesan, was committed to prison, and only released on the intercession of the British resident, Sir Henry Wotton, who pleaded his lordship's ignorance of the law.<sup>1</sup>

The scale of fees payable to ladies of pleasure in the middle historical period appears to have ranged from thirty ducats to a half. The prices depended on circumstances; some of the "giovine cortese" were able to command high recompenses; they often possessed varied accomplishments, and took great pains in their toilette and costume. What are specifically termed "Venetian tinctures" are mentioned in an English tract of 1620,<sup>2</sup> as used by the courtezans at Venice to improve their faded complexions. In two illustrations accompanying Lord Orford's *Legge e Memoire Venete*, the maid is elaborately dressing her mistress's hair, and the latter is playing on a musical instrument;<sup>3</sup> but these engravings are, in fact, only reduced and inferior copies of two in the well-known series published by Franco in 1614, in which the details can be studied on a larger scale with better fruit.

Many of the particulars registered in Lord Orford's volume have reference to a darker crime, more or less peculiar to mixed communities with a strong Oriental element. We observe that individuals convicted of these felonious misdemeanours were handed over to the Church, or, in other words, were committed to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office when that had been introduced into Venice, in order that the punishment of their deadly sin might deter others, but, of course, it never did. It has been observed that this propensity, while it is not altogether or exclusively a matter of climate and temperament, seems to follow a geographical law, and, taking British India, we find that in certain districts it is rife, whereas in others it is all but unknown. It extends to the basin of the Mediterranean, is not unfamiliar in the Peninsula, and is more

<sup>1</sup> This austere regulation was subsequently relaxed, and, in the end, abandoned.

<sup>2</sup> *Astrologaster, or the Figure-Caster*, 1620, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> In the Hon. Alethea Wiel's *Venice* (Story of the Nations, 1894), there is an illustration of a lady dyeing her hair on the roof or *solarium* of a house.



or less casual in Western Europe. If we possessed a true and full text of the Hebrew Scriptures, we should probably hear of more cases within that narrative than that of Joseph and Potiphar.

No exertions were spared to hold in check, if not eradicate, this flagitious offence. Capital punishment, supplemented by the public cremation of the bodies and exposure in a cage suspended from a public building, were employed to punish and deter. All classes, priests included, were among the guilty; the strong hybrid element in the population contributed to the trouble, and to-day the vice is not unknown. In the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the offence had evidently grown deplorably prevalent and chronic. In 1455, two nobles, who were authorised to carry arms, were appointed to attend to this special matter, and, in 1458, a committee for the same special purpose met in each municipal quarter every Friday. The earthquake of 1511 which was severely felt at Venice was ascribed to the wickedness of the people, a notion which the diarist Sanudo very properly derides. A more venial, yet not less contemptible form of delinquency was that of the man who traded on the honour of his wife. The cases which acquired publicity and received legal treatment form, of course, a small minority. In 1502, the *Signori di Notte* adjudged a plebeian who had been convicted of this practice, and had kept a ledger in which to register his profits, to ride on an ass through the city in a yellow garb, his head surmounted by a pair of horns. Naturally, in the era of decadence when the *Barnabotti* often boarded with the bourgeois class, this incidence became more habitual and more recognized.<sup>1</sup> But some legal proceedings in 1549 casually reveal among the *cittadinanza* itself the existence of this mischief and scandal, in cases in which more than a single family occupied a house, and one, a professional man and only an occasional resident, kept, as his mistress, the wife of another tenant with her husband's virtual sufferance.

The members of the gay and unsanctified profession were quite sufficiently numerous at Venice and everywhere else, to render it a superfluity to introduce personages who were not entitled to rank among the sisterhood, beyond the display of qualities common to a large proportion of ladies of high degree

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti seems to say that the same state of things prevailed at Lucca.

in former times belonging to Italy. Webster, in his dramatic presentment of Vittoria Accoromboni, Duchess of Bracciano, has gone even farther than Shakespear in *Othello*, since he has branded, as a Venetian courtesan, a native of Gubbio who was not a courtesan, and whose sole association with Venice seems to have been her tragic death at Padua in the territories of the Republic.

It may be incidentally noticed, as a curious parallel and revival, if the record is more than an invention, that, during the first French Revolution (1789), a similar tariff was published of the ladies at general disposal, who retaliated by issuing, or causing to be issued, a list of ladies of position with their terms. But this French series (for there are two or three *brochures* on the subject) enters into fuller details than its prototype, which was simply to answer official requirements. In 1784, some years prior to the Revolution, Madame Gourdan, *dite* la Comtesse, kept an establishment at Paris, and drew up rules for the guidance of her inmates, with a table of fines for breach of them. Coryat was informed that the tax levied on such houses in Venice sufficed to maintain a dozen galleys.

The mistress or kept woman was far more plentiful at Venice, where she was to a large extent the resource of the younger or more dissipated aristocracy; but, when manners and etiquette were so far relaxed that ladies enjoyed greater freedom, this unhealthy institution, too, grew less fashionable, and Lalande terms it a mistaken idea that such persons were regarded here, even in his day (1790), with any respect. He tells us that this was a prejudice which personal observation soon corrected.

## CHAPTER LIV

COMMERCE—The Postal system—Early relations with Turkey, Egypt, &c.—Settlements in France—Trade with Dalmatia—River commerce—Annual trading-fleets—The Flanders voyage—Southampton—Spain and Portugal—The woollen trade—Germany and Russia—Contarini's visit to Persia and Russia—Venice and England—Edward the First—Affray in 1321—Edward the Third—British soldiers at Chioggia—Henry the Fourth—"Banish'd Norfolk"—Dispute in 1408—Royal loans—Export of wine—Fiscal policy.

THE commerce of the Republic is susceptible of a distribution into three sections:—I. MARITIME. II. RIVER or INLAND. III. THE CARRYING TRADE. The origin of the last, which is unquestionably to be viewed as the oldest, is lost in antiquity. From a passage in the Letter of Cassiodorus in 523 to the Maritime Tribunes, we collect that the Italian sea-borderers were expected to transmit certain quantities of wine, oil and other produce from divers points on the Istrian coast to the royal palace at Ravenna.<sup>1</sup> It is by no means rash to suppose that, although the requisition was not specifically addressed to the insular Republic, this traffic represents the mercantile transactions of Venice in their rudest aspect and their earliest stage of development. The carrying trade, like every other branch of Venetian commerce, eventually received enormous extension. The Venetians became the Carriers of the World. During the mediæval period, the postal service which was performed by captains of Venetian argosies or transports formed the sole channel of communication between the Courts of Germany and Constantinople.

Between the plan which was pursued by the Venetians in the Middle Ages in regard to the transmission of letters, and that which prevails at the present day, some important points of discrepancy existed. The Foreign Post necessarily depended, in the absence of modern appliances, upon sailing vessels. The movements of the Letter-carrier, who was obliged to make his circuit in a gondola, were regulated to a large extent by the

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodori Variarum, lib. xii. 24.



state of the winds and the currents, and, in tempestuous weather, the correspondence between Grado and Cavarzero was subject to long and constant interruptions. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, a merchant residing at Venice, who might be desirous of communicating with his agent or with another merchant at Constantinople, never expected to receive an answer in much less than fifty days. In the reign of Henry VII., Sir Richard Guilford occupied upward of five weeks in travelling from England to Venice; but he loitered, of course more or less by the way.

Another respect in which the original Venetian postal system differed from that in present use was not less curious, though it was of a less essential character. Instead of levying the charge on a stamp impressed with the head of the reigning sovereign, it was there the practice to levy it on the *seal*. To superintend the Sealing Department, certain officers denominated *Bullatori* (Sealers) existed at Venice, at least as early as the reign of Pietro Ziani (1205–29); these functionaries were appointed by the Government, and were under its immediate control, and, from a passage in the coronation-oath of Ziani's successor, Giacomo Tiepolo, it appears that, so far as the circulation of letters in the Dogado itself was concerned, two tariffs were then in force, of which one was for foreigners and the other for subjects of the Republic. The former was fixed at twelve *denari grandi* or three *soldi*; the latter did not exceed twelve *piccoli*.<sup>1</sup> It was not competent for the sealer to exact any higher rate, when the communication was of special importance and greater care was to be exercised, without special authorization from the Doge in Council. The price demanded for the postage of a letter to a distant station, such, for instance, as Constantinople or Saint Jean d'Acre, where the difficulty of transit was so great and the intermediate passage occupied so long a space, was probably considerable. Even between Venice and London a letter took twenty days to reach its destination in 1621.<sup>2</sup>

The postal communication between Venice and its commercial places of call, such as London, Bruges and South-

<sup>1</sup> "De Sigillaturâ literarum non faciemus tolli nisi denarios'xii. parvulos, et a forinseco soldos tres (sive denarios xii. grandes), salvo quod, si bullata fuerit litera aliqua alicujus magni negotii, nostri Consilarii possint licentiarie bullatorem amplius tollendi, ut nobis et eis videbitur."—*Apud Romanin, Documenti*.

<sup>2</sup> *Familiar Letters*, bk. i., No. 34.

ampton, seems to have been carried out by the Flanders Galleys which brought one or more bags of letters monthly, the freight being defrayed in certain proportions between the writers and the recipients. But occasionally, when it was a matter of urgency, expresses were dispatched either at the public expense or at that of the individuals concerned. In respect of the commercial mails, a decree of the Senate, in view of the fact that there was in 1461-2 a decline in the monthly bags sent through the consuls of Bruges and London respectively, and that one bag had become more than sufficient, directed the consul at Bruges to keep two bags, one of which he was to send to Venice every month. The expense was to be divided equally between Bruges and London; formerly Bruges defrayed two-thirds and London one-third.<sup>1</sup> In a decree of 1467, this service is described as under the management of "the two Western couriers."<sup>2</sup>

A special department of the postal system subsequently became part of the functions of the *Corriere* or Courier, a factor, in early relations, of increasing importance in the ratio of the intercourse of the Republic with other States, and with its representatives at foreign courts or in the field. The Venetian courier, who has been described as being largely drawn from the Bergamasque territory, was long remarkable for his intelligence, devotion and energy, and many were the feats which might be recorded of his extraordinary speed when the circumstances were unusually urgent. The corps of Corrieri was eventually formed into an Art or Gild, and so continued to the end of the old Government; but there had been, about 1769, a project, recommended by the then all-powerful procurator Andrea Tron or Trono, for taking over on the part of the Executive the entire charge, and making it an official department. The Republican as distinguished from the Oligarchical party violently opposed the plan, in some measure owing to a jealousy and intolerance of the promoter. Giorgio Pisani, the leading spirit on that side at the time, denounced the idea as impolitic and everything else that was exceptionable and mischievous; and he not unfairly represented that, as the Couriers' Gild was a vested interest, it was entitled to a suitable indemnity. The motion was shelved only to be reintroduced; and then it was carried out with some restric-

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), 1864, i. 98-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 117.

tions, Trono becoming the first *Deputato alle Poste*, or Postmaster-General, in or before the year above named. The Corrieri, so long as the Republic lived, were still employed, but the control passed from their own managing board to the new Minister, whose ambition was said by his enemies and the satirists to aim at nothing short of establishing a Venetian monarchy in his own person. In France and Italy to-day, we are still familiar with the word *courrier* or *corriere* as a synonym for *post*.

Italian conservatism betrays itself in the survival of *posti* in the modern railway compartment, and *bolla* and *bolletta* in the names of the modern postage stamp and the passport; but the former phraseology is so far warrantable, that it is a direct tradition from the system pursued in the eighteenth century by the Venetians and others for the carriage of passengers and mails by relays of horses. There was a post starting from Verona the ultimate destination of which was the Austrian capital, and another which carried a weekly mail between Venice and Nürnberg. There was, it seems, in 1660, a system of prepayment of letters and packets. In the *Rates of Merchandize*, published at London in the year named, letters for Venice, Geneva, Leghorn, Rome, Naples, Messina and all other parts of Italy, *via* Venice, might be franked for Mantua. The weights on which charges were then levied were the single, double and treble letter and the ounce, for which the charges were 9d., 1s. 6d., 2s. 3d. and 2s. 8d., respectively. All merchants' accounts not exceeding one sheet of paper, all bills of exchange, invoices and bills of lading were duty-free, as well as the covers of letters not exceeding a quarter of a sheet of paper, when the communication was to go to Marseilles, Venice or Leghorn to be forwarded to Turkey.

It can hardly be a source of surprise that the Maritime Commerce should have experienced an early and rapid expansion. Assuredly, if a State ever existed which, in a higher degree than any other, received a spur to industry and enterprise, if one was to be named to which had been given, more distinctly than to any other, a Mission of Commerce, that State was Venice.

Even in the eighth century, the Venetian relations with many distant regions were established on a tolerably sound footing. At that period, the Republic maintained more or less



constant communication with France, Turkey and Egypt; and with intermediate points it may be fairly assumed that she was at least equally familiar. In 827, an edict was published<sup>1</sup> in which all transactions with Mohammedan countries were temporarily inhibited; and it was in direct violation of this law, that the two Venetian traders, who transferred the remains of Saint Mark to Venice two years afterward, and who are said to have had ten galleys with them, were bartering their goods on the quay of Alexandria. In 940, a contemporary writer tells us<sup>2</sup> that the flower of the Greek imperial marine was composed of Venetian and Amalfitan sailors. Thirty-seven years later (977), a colony of Venetians established itself at Limoges, in the present department of Haute-Vienne, and the street in which the new-comers were located is probably that later known as the *Rue des Véniciens*.<sup>3</sup> But it was not till the close of the following century, at least, that the Republic succeeded in planting similar settlements in the south of France, at Marseilles,<sup>4</sup> at Aigue-mortes, at Toulouse and elsewhere; nor do we meet with absolutely distinct traces of Venetian footprints in the Low Countries before 1202, when the money payable by the Crusaders to the Republic for their passage to the Holy Land is said, in the agreement, to be forthcoming at the next fair at Ligny in Hainault,<sup>5</sup> and this seems an arguable ground for supposing that that was a customary resort of Venetian traders at that time. In 1274, there is evidence that the trade between Venice and Bruges was already considerable, and called for special monetary arrangements.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the feudal annexation of a large portion of the Dalmatian coast opened a new field to enterprise; the Islanders, who had already formed emporiums and agencies at Zara, Capo d'Istria and other leading points, were not remiss in extending and enlarging their transactions with the newly-acquired country. The impulse thus given was considerably strengthened by the simultaneous establishment of a closer and more intelligible connexion with the Mohammedans of Syria, Egypt and Barbary, with the

<sup>1</sup> Filiasi, *Memorie*, v. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Luitprand, *Legatio ad Nicéphorum Phocam*, A.D. 940, Muratori, ii. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Allou, *Monumens des différens âges observés dans la Haute-Vienne*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 86 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), vol. i. p. 1.

petty rulers of the Crimea and even with Persia. The Chronicle of the Monastery of Cava relates how in 987 some large Venetian ships stayed at Salerno on their way to Syria, and how not infrequently the merchantmen of the Republic foundered in that neighbourhood with rich cargoes, as we hear of them doing elsewhere. In Salerno, the Venetians then already possessed a church, an oven and several houses.<sup>1</sup>

The precise character of external relations at this distant date constitutes, however, a matter on which it is impossible to speak with certainty. The circumstance is the more perhaps to be regretted, since, had information been ampler in these respects, it might have been easier to judge how far the earlier Venetian explorers are entitled to the credit of having prepared the way for the more important and notable discoveries of the Zeni and Poli.

Studious care seems to have been exercised in the case of young merchants or adventurers making their maiden voyage, and their relatives or friends took all reasonable measures for guarding or forewarning them, against the various dangers and snares incidental to visits to strange countries, where the health might suffer from the climate, and the young man who imprudently exposed himself might fall a prey to the yet more serious temptations of certain sirens. In 1475, a cadet of the ducal family of Sanudo and a member of the mercantile house of Benedetto Sanudo, sailing for Alexandria on the business of the firm, with a considerable amount in his hands to purchase or pay for goods, received from his elder brother fairly minute instructions for his guidance and security. He was enjoined to take counsel with his seniors, to ingratiate himself with the chaplain of the ship, to be considerate to his servant but to keep the keys of his trunk and writing-case, not to play at cards or draughts unless it was with some known friend, to read the books which he was taking with him, not to neglect, when he goes ashore, to hear the drum summoning him to return. On arrival at Alexandria, he was to call on the Venetian consul, pay his respects and touch his hand; to sleep at his house if he stayed the night. On his return home, if it was winter, he should be warmly clad and protect his mouth. The house which this gentleman represented dealt in a variety of goods

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vi.

—pepper, sugar, nutmegs, red caps, and the young Sanudo was cautioned not to lay out too much money on articles already in stock or procurable elsewhere at easier rates.

The River or Inland Commerce, of which Cassiodorus the Gothic Prefect of 523 gives some account, became at a very early period extensive and valuable.<sup>1</sup> The Po, the Tagliamento, the Adige, the Brenta and other streams by which the Peninsula was watered and fertilized were soon covered with their cargoes. During the reign of Maurizio Galbaio (764–87), a fair of which the Venetians enjoyed all but the exclusive benefit was instituted at Pavia. Thither the Lombards of all classes resorted in large numbers; there the courtiers of Charlemagne might often be seen buying mantles of the same hue and pattern as those which their great master delighted to wear; and there the ladies of Pavia were sure of meeting with gowns of the newest fashion and of the finest texture.<sup>2</sup> The trade in dresses of silk and cloth of gold was almost a monopoly; it was restricted to three markets, Pavia, Olivolo and Malamocco,<sup>3</sup> and, at the last-named place, the chief centre of business in early days appears to have been the Strada San Martino.

At a later epoch (998), the Government entered into treaties with various Powers, by virtue of which several ports in the Peninsula were opened to Venetian traders on highly advantageous terms, to the exclusion of any other flag. Such became the character of the relations with Gruaro on the Livenza and with San Michele del Quarto on the Sile. With Aquileia, Ferrara (1102), Treviso (998), Verona (1193) and other places, the commercial intercourse of the Republic subsisted on a general footing of permanence and security. In fact, it would be difficult to name any quarter of the Peninsula into which the Venetians had not penetrated before the end of the twelfth century, and where Venetian imports and manufactures were not admitted under more favourable conditions than those of contemporary mercantile communities.

The unsettled state of Europe in the Middle Ages, and the scanty respect which was paid to the principles of Maritime Law, even where such principles had been introduced, necessitated

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, i. 187; Venice, 1729.

<sup>2</sup> Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Sagorninus, *Chr.* 122–3.



the establishment, by the Venetians in common with other commercial Powers, of a system of Annual Trading Expeditions. The fleets which left Venice between January and September were under the protection of armed escorts. Their route was laid down with the utmost precision and strictness, and no departure from the sailing instructions, saving a specific discretion to the *patrono* or master under certain contingencies, was permitted in the absence of an express authorization from the Government. The number of caravans which were fitted out in the course of a year depended, however, on circumstances. In times of war and pestilence, it was restricted; at seasons of abundance when peace prevailed, it exceeded the average. The most celebrated were the Flanders Galleys which traded between Bruges and the seaports of France, Spain, Portugal and England, and supplied both England and Venice, among other necessities, with the paper of Flanders bearing the special watermark of a hand; the Romania Galleys; the Galleys of Armenia which visited Aias on the Gulf of Alexandretta; the Galleys of Tana or Azof which confined themselves to the commerce of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof and the Crimea; and the Galleys of Cyprus and Egypt, the general destination of which was Alexandria and Cairo.<sup>1</sup>

Although private owners were at liberty to trade on their own account in their own bottoms, the ships constituting a voyage were, from season to season, purchased from the Government by auction, and were returnable into dock in perfect order at the end of the expedition, or, in special circumstances, on demand. Each commercial enterprise of this class followed a route laid down for it with precision by the Government, which had thus the means of knowing, in an emergency, where vessels were available for maritime or warlike purposes. It was a characteristic feature in the regulations controlling the mercantile service, that the build and measurements of all vessels were bound to be of a fixed official standard, so that the component members of a voyage were calculated to preserve their union, and the stores kept at coasting stations by consuls and agents fitted any disabled craft brought into port. From the story of Hasan of El-Basrah in the *Arabian Nights*, we glean that there was an

<sup>1</sup> Marin, v. lib. ii. c. 3; Depping, *Commerce du Levant*, i. 156 et seqq.

Eastern practice, so far back as the fourteenth or fifteenth century, of unlading into small boats sent to the ship which anchored outside.<sup>1</sup>

The Venetians studied with affectionate care their system of trading fleets, and their consular representation in nearly all parts of the then known world, but they never carried out the principle of establishing institutions analogous to the Dutch and English East India Companies which arose out of new maritime conditions and commercial possibilities. They had organized their own Fairs as well as their arrangements for supplying and attending those of other countries, their periodical oversea voyages and overland routes, and their methods of protection and redress for their subjects, on a basis sound and intelligent for the time; and they perhaps erred in being too conservative, in not taking full advantage of the new channels of commerce, opened by geographical discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But the Republic had grown rich and indolent, had become a capitalist and fund-holder, while its rivals for custom used the improved and enlarged opportunities for distant traffic with an ardour characteristic and worthy of the Venetians of bygone times, when the Stuart Kings were Shropshire yeomen, and the commercial capital of Holland was a feudal stronghold on the Amstel.

A decree of the Senate, passed on the 2nd of January, 1397-8, ordered the equipment of four galleys for the Flanders Voyage, two bound for Sluys, and two for London; and this document seems to reveal the interesting fact that, at that date, the port of Rye or Camber-before-Rye (Portus Camera), had been recently recommended as a safer anchorage for the Venetian ships coming to the south coast, than a point described under the name *Caput Doble*,<sup>2</sup> and explicitly described in an official paper of the time as a *stacio*, not a port, although, from the employment of the term "Caput," there is a plausible suggestion of the South Foreland, while "stacio" suggests the Downs. The captains both of Venetian traders and men-of-war were at first very imperfectly acquainted with the English Channel, and the early navigators confined themselves to the southern and eastern ports. In the chart of the British Isles

<sup>1</sup> Lane's translation, 1839-41, iii. 458.

<sup>2</sup> *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xx. 224-5.

by Andrea Bianco, 1436, places in Sussex and Hampshire only occur. In 1518, the pay of the commodore of this voyage was 600 ducats. The Flanders Galleys, on their homeward route, came to London, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Sandwich (which in a letter of 1461 is expressly mentioned as the port of entry to and from the continent), Margate, Hampton or Southampton, Poole, Rye, Lynn and Boston, and exchanged alum, glass, silk, drapery, sugar, wines, confectionery and even wood, for tin, wool, iron, hides and other staples. In 1456, a rupture arose between the commander of the Flanders Galleys and the civic authorities at London, by reason of some irregularity in regard to the fiscal liabilities and accounts of the Factory which found itself £14,000 in debt, and the Venetians were ordered by their own Government to leave London with or without a cargo. There was an arrangement by which amounts outstanding on the London account might be adjusted at Bruges. But at the latter place there were occasional difficulties; and, in 1450, the Captain of the Venetian trading-fleet was instructed from home, to inform the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy and the burghers of Bruges that, while he preferred to sell his cargoes there, if the necessary safe-conducts were not provided, he must seek another market.

From an official decree of the same year (1456), we are warranted in concluding that it had been a privately-understood matter that, for the sake of saving the import duty, the English excise officer received a bribe of £20.<sup>1</sup>

It was long the practice to put into Southampton on the return from certain of the voyages for repairs and supplies, and, leaving the flag-galley and commodore behind, to proceed to Flanders (Antwerp or Helvoetsluys) to exchange the goods which the merchants had bought in the other markets, when Southampton became the final rendezvous preparatorily to departure homeward. The recollection of the English town which the islanders frequented during so many centuries survived in a curious way, in the performance at the puppet-show or marionette theatre at Venice of the *History of Sir Bevis*, and the Italian version of the story was doubtless prompted by the so long intimate relationship with this ancient seaport. There is an interesting trait in the records of this

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), i. 83.



town under 1402 and 1429, when leave is given to the Captain of the Fleet, then at Sandwich, to proceed on a personal visit to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. In 1439, leave was granted to the captain to go ashore to attend daily mass, either at Sandwich or Southampton, but, in these cases, it seems to have been a rule that the captain should return to the ship to sleep.

In 1509, when the organization of the League of Cambrai threatened to absorb the resources of Venice, and to expose its merchant service to the attacks, not only of hostile cruisers, but of privateers and pirates in the narrow seas or English Channel, the Flanders voyage was suspended, and the trading-fleet, which happened at that juncture to be at Southampton, probably returned direct to the Adriatic. The loss on both sides from the interruption was very heavy, for the diarist Sanudo computes the value of the exports from England to Venice for a single month (July, 1505) at 17,000 ducats. The business was to a large extent a monopoly, since goods shipped to Venice in other bottoms paid freight nevertheless to the Venetian owners while the fleet was in commission. In 1517, the traffic was resumed to the infinite satisfaction and advantage of all parties concerned. There is a dispatch from the Venetian ambassador at Rome to the Signory, dated the 15th of June, in which he stated that the English representative there had asked him how this was to be, and that on learning that the Signory proposed to renew the old arrangement, he expressed his pleasure, saying that he should write to the King who would be very gratified by the news. The arrival of the fleet was delayed by a great storm on St. Andrew's Day; good business was expected on its coming, and the King intended to be there to make purchases. In May, 1518, the fleet again presented itself under the Commadore Andrea Priuli; Henry was there, and the Venetian ambassador Giustinian describes his Majesty's reception by the captain of the galleys on the 10th of June, and the sports and banquet which took place.<sup>1</sup>

The last voyage was made in 1532, after which date each trader operated on his own account and responsibility. The decadence of Southampton and many other maritime ports in the sixteenth century exercised a very unfavourable in-

<sup>1</sup> *Charters of Southampton*, 1909, xviii, note.

fluence, as a natural result, on the commerce of the Levant and on the visits of foreign traders. The associations with Southampton itself which had extended over centuries formed a chequered record. It had been a spot, a sort of headquarters, where the Venetians enjoyed almost a monopoly of the commerce arising out of the periodical visits and often protracted stays of the Flanders Galleys, and out of the agreeable and flattering intercourse with the most distinguished personages, crowned heads included, who frequented the town or passed through it, and its soil became the last home of many who had died at sea, and were brought thither to repose at North Stoneham. On the other hand, the Venetians sustained at intervals much injustice, much annoyance and much pecuniary loss on this ground. Henry VII. is found ordering some English highwaymen who had robbed Venetian travellers in the vicinity to be summarily hanged in sight of the fleet, and, in 1496, two noble Venetians were captured in the harbour by a French barque and a French barge, and held to ransom, while a third, one of the sons of a patrician named Donado, was wounded by a shot from a falconet, taken prisoner, and released only on payment of 150 ducats. The English authorities do not appear to have intervened, and the Signory was left to settle the claims which involved several other cases, out of the funds of the London factory.<sup>1</sup>

The Flanders voyage is that into which we are permitted to gain the fullest insight, because it brought to England the products which had been collected at an infinite number of points, and exchanged them for English staples. It was, however, only one of at least six which were annually undertaken, and which among them comprehended the entire range of European, African and Asiatic markets. The five other fleets took the Black Sea, Greece and the Morea, Syria and the Holy Land, Egypt and the north coast of Africa; moreover, the Republic had developed her early inland commerce by the Italian rivers, and supplied those states and cities which lay along the banks. Vessels from Venice, landing at Southampton and reloading, were at liberty to proceed to Calais where there was a staple on the same footing, but might not touch at any other Western port

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), i. 231.

on their outward voyage. Ships remained at Southampton about sixty days.

In 1613, the Venetians were importing cloth goods overland into Persia, and receiving Persian silks in exchange or otherwise.<sup>1</sup> In 1609, "Venice Reds" were among the commodities declared to be vendible in India; they recur in accounts of 1610 and 1612, and are said to be sold by the stammel.<sup>2</sup> In 1613, there was a vice-consulate at Bagdad, where a certain amount of trouble seems to have been occasioned at this time by the depredations of the Turks.<sup>3</sup>

In 1615, it was estimated that 500 broad cloths, as Venice Reds, light-coloured, stamells, purples, violets, light watchets, and greens, both grass and popinjay, were annually sold in Persia. But it is clearly manifest from contemporary evidences that, about this time, Dutch and English competition was becoming more and more serious, and that Venetian products or imports were less in demand.<sup>4</sup>

Howell, writing to Sir James Crofts in 1621, states that goods used to be transported to Cairo from the Red Sea on camels' or dromedaries' backs, a sixty days' journey, and from Cairo down the Nile, for conveyance to Europe.<sup>5</sup> One of the sculptured capitals of the columns at the Ducal Palace, ascribed to the fourteenth century, depicts the various nationalities with which Venice then dealt: Western Europeans, Tartars, Turks, Hungarians, Greeks, Egyptians, Persians.

With France, Spain, Portugal, Granada, Egypt, Cyprus, Greece and even India, the intercourse was frequent and regular. Portugal, which was to become at the close of the fifteenth century a serious rival to Venice by the progress of maritime discovery and its own internal development, had struck the Republic in the first quarter of the preceding one as a region to which, in common with Spain, it might be expedient to draw closer, and, about 1320, we find the Government of the Doge sending a reconnoitring naval expedition, to report on the best means of establishing advantageous relations with Seville, Cadiz and Lisbon. In 1374, we become aware that a basis of commercial intercourse with the Portuguese existed, from a demand to the court of Lisbon for redress,

<sup>1</sup> *Letters to the English E.I.C.*, 1896, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 32, 76, 240.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 273-5.

<sup>4</sup> *First Letter Book of the E.I.C.*, 1893, p. 462, and *Letters to the E.I.C.* passim.

<sup>5</sup> *Familiar Letters*, bk. i., No. 35.



in consequence of losses sustained by Venetian traders in Portuguese waters. In 1410, the latter Power approached Venice with a requisition for a loan, and, in 1428, the reigning king's son personally visited the city on the Adriatic, and was dazzled by its opulence and splendour. Within somewhat more than half a century from that date, Portugal acquired an ephemeral predominance, and Spain similarly rose, under Ferdinand and Isabella and Charles V., to the position of an empire of the first rank.

In 1469 and 1471, the Venetian Government found it necessary to take measures for the safeguard of the Flanders Galleys against the expected attacks of Giovanni or Giorgio Griego, called *Colombo*, and seems to have been successful in frustrating them by the provision of a powerful armed escort in the Flemish waters. Curiously enough, the Government was sentenced by the English Admiralty Court in 1471 to pay £1200 damages for a vessel captured off Scio by Ser Nicolò da Canale, Captain-general, who appears to have appropriated the whole of the cargo. The costs of the inquiry and the assessed claim amounted to £2300 which was recovered from Da Canale.

In 1485, a still more extraordinary occurrence took place. On the 22nd (it is elsewhere said the 20th) of August, the four Flanders galleys under the command of Bartolommeo Minio, who had received an unusually elaborate commission from the Doge, dated the previous 12th of April, encountered at night off Cape St. Vincent seven armed ships carrying the French flag, and commanded by the same Nicolò or Zorzi Griego, called *Colombo*. At daybreak there was a battle, and Griego, after several hours' fighting, was victorious, took the vessels into Lisbon, unloaded them there, transferred the cargoes to his own ships, and departed. There was a heavy loss in men and officers, and the corsairs even stripped the merchants of their clothes; the King of Portugal, however, gave them money and attire and sent them home. The news reached Venice on the 18th of September, and the Government demanded from France compensation for the outrage and the restitution of the booty. The negotiation spread over three years, attracting the notice of several of the European Powers; but it is questionable how it precisely ended. There appears to be slight doubt that the loss of life and property

was exaggerated, and there was the usual discrepancy between promise and performance on the part of the country whose flag was responsible, and which pleaded in exculpation that the Signory was under a papal interdict. On the 3rd of November following the catastrophe, we find the latter directing the seizure, at Alexandria by way of reprisal, of a large galleass belonging to the King of France, and the detention of it as security. Not the least singular feature in the business is the probability that the pirate who sailed under French colours and under the name Griego was the future pioneer of geographical discovery in the Spanish service, and, if so, that the story of his engagement in a sea-fight off Cape St. Vincent and his narrow escape from death answer to the fight on that very ground with the Venetian traders. At the same time, a measure of uncertainty exists as regards the identity of Columbus and Griego, since a decree of the Senate of the 2nd of December, 1485, mentions "Columbus's son and Zorzi Griego" as two persons.

The traffic which one Venetian mercantile firm, that of Albano and Marco Morosini, Brothers, maintained with Damascus, Beyrout, Famagusta, Aleppo and other places was enormous. In all those countries, they had factors who transmitted to Venice the products and manufactures of the East, and to whom they consigned in exchange the staple commodities of Europe or the curiosities of Tibet and Siam. Richard Lassels asserts that, when he wrote, Haleb or Aleppo was in some years worth four million ducats.<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo had familiarized his countrymen with the wonders of Cathay—he was the first European who is known to have visited Sumatra, where he was in 1291, and other points on the coasts of the East Indies—and, in 1585, the Japanese deputies who came to Europe on a mission to the Holy See paid a visit to Venice, and were treated with the greatest attention, but no practical fruits ensued, and, in 1590, European intercourse with this region was almost entirely suspended. On the other hand, in several even remote and then hitherto unexplored parts, including the Crimea, Venetian adventurers whose names have not been preserved had already, in the tenth century, laid the foundations of commercial establishments or intercourse,<sup>2</sup> and had to some extent

<sup>1</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, Pt. ii., p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, i. 108.

therefore forestalled Polo himself. At some points, even in the sixteenth century, Genoa continued to engross a certain measure of trade, especially with its own dependency of Scio to which the Venetians seldom came.

In the hold of a Venetian *cocca*, every land was represented by its fruits or its industry, and among the most precious articles of merchandise in those days were the iron of Staffordshire, the tin of the Cornwall and Devon stannaries, and the wool of Sussex and Lincolnshire. When the Republic was at the height of its national development, it was officially estimated that the manufacture of raw wool into various articles of use employed 30,000 persons, and large quantities of it were kept in store. The trade was in a flourishing state in 1265, when the commodity was already an object of commerce or exchange between England and Venice, and the woollen cloth of Stamford was exported from Boston by Venetians who paid a duty of twenty-four *solidi* on the whole piece, while *Milanese* Stamford was charged only five *solidi*.

A MS. of the thirteenth century<sup>1</sup> enumerates among the English exports to Flanders, wool, leather, lead, tin, coal, cheese; the Flemings, like the Venetians, buying the raw wool and manufacturing it themselves. It is fairly presumable that the *Lowestofts* of which we hear repeated mention were similarly goods made there from Venetian imports. A governmental experiment was made at Venice in 1339, in the direction of taxing on a graduated scale all foreign wools, as had already been done in the case of foreign cloths, and a report was to be presented to the College at the end of two years on the operation of the measure. But English and Flemish wools brought to Venice overland had already borne duty.<sup>2</sup> In 1457, when the arrears of the London factory engaged attention with a view to some gradual liquidation, and it was found that some of the traders had defaulted in payment of their dues on exports, an inquiry was instituted, reciting the respective amounts claimable on the different sorts of goods, and among the items copper occurs as assessed at a ducat per 1000 lbs.<sup>3</sup>

Both the glass and manufactured steel of Venice long

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), i. lxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 86.



remained staple articles of sale at English fairs, and the tables of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were furnished with cutlery and drinking-vessels imported from the Adriatic. In a news-letter from Palermo in 1515, we hear of an English vessel which carried, among other cargo, 2400 kerseys, of which many were for the Venetian house of Malipiero. A decree of the Senate in 1411 bespeaks in its terms its character as a re-enactment of a prior regulation in respect to bills of lading (cockets), which had evidently at that time been long in vogue, and it was now prescribed that all Venetian shippers should swear the goods mentioned to be their own property or that of a fellow citizen, and that, in entering the goods in the ledgers, they should similarly declare on oath whether they belonged to Venetians or to aliens.<sup>1</sup>

A personal narrative by Bernardo Contarini, consul and ambassador at Malaga, contains a singular account of his first introduction to the Moorish King of Granada. Contarini wrote on the 6th of October, 1400, to the College thus:—"Upon my arrival at Granada, I was received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who informed me that his Majesty was extremely anxious to see me. I excused myself at first, on the plea that the distance to the royal residence was fatiguing after my long journey, and that my vestments were soiled and dusty from travelling. But the minister was importunate, representing that it was an extraordinary honour which his master conferred upon me, since other envoys were usually detained for some time before an audience was granted to them. Hereupon I yielded, retired to my apartments, opened my valise, attired myself in a bright court-suit, and prepared to wait upon the monarch. My reception was peculiarly gracious and amiable, and I procured from the King, whom I found seated on a thronal dais and surrounded by his councillors, a charter written in Arabic characters upon red papyrus, by virtue of which the subjects of the Republic are placed in the enjoyment of personal security and many special and valuable privileges throughout Granada."

In the report of his mission to the court of Charles V. in 1548, Luigi Mocenigo takes occasion to refer to the intercourse between Venice and Nürnberg which he considered the best-governed place in the Empire, and the Venice of Germany.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (Venice)*, 1864, i. 53.

Many years before that date, a weekly mail had been established for passengers and goods between the two places, for, in 1506, Albrecht Dürer mentions to his friend<sup>1</sup> Willibald Pirckheimer his intention, after a more than twelvemonth's absence, to avail himself of this medium for returning home; probably he had travelled by the same route into Italy. In the middle of the same century, we encounter a case in which a German clerk, who was on his way to Rome, travelled on foot across the Brenner Pass to Venice, took ship there for Ancona, and walked over the Apennines through Loreto to the Holy City.

The earliest intercourse of the Republic with Russia seems to have been an incidental yet not necessarily unforeseen feature in the embassy sent to I'spaan or Ispahan in 1473-4; and the visit of Contarini to Moscow and other places in the then dukedom of Muscovy, with the publication at Venice of an account of Contarini's mission, yielded fairly early fruit when, in 1488, a Russian envoy made his appearance at Venice, and was succeeded by others in 1493 and 1499. Sanudo the diarist seems to have seen the last, and describes the members, under the 1st of December, as wearing long fur caps or bonnets, and as bringing credentials from their master as well as presents for the Signory. The letter of introduction was addressed "To the honoured and illustrious Count Agostino Barbarigo, Venetian." The acquaintance of Russia with Western Europe continued to be excessively limited and inaccurate even in the next century, for Ivan III., who was contemporary with Elizabeth of England, and was one of the aspirants to the hand of that conspicuous personality, was evidently not much less ignorant than his predecessors of the political conditions and independent rank of Venice, when he sent dispatches to that Power through the Holy See, directed to the Governor of the Signoria. Yet, immediately or otherwise, the commercial relations of the two countries, even with Archangel or the Fort of St. Nicholas on the White Sea and certainly with St. Petersburg and other ports, must, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have become of some consequence and volume; and it is astonishing to find the Grand Duke thinking it necessary to approach, through his Holiness, a

<sup>1</sup> Moriz Thausing, *Albert Dürer, sa Vie et ses œuvres*, tr. Gruyer, Paris, 1878.

Power at that time immeasurably more important than either. The oldest relation drawn up by a Venetian envoy or delegate to Moscow, apart from the incidental observations of Contarini and others in the previous century, belongs to 1557, four or five years posterior to the voyage of Chancellor and Willoughby under the auspices of Sebastian Cabot and the English Muscovite Company (established in 1555),<sup>1</sup> and deals principally with an account of the country, its ruler, its traders and its products; there does not seem to have been another effort to approach the Russians diplomatically till 1576.

Whatever might be the extent to which Venice and Russia exchanged their imports or products indirectly by means of fairs and caravans, the political relations continued to be intermittent and slight, until the Turkish question became one in which the Northern or Eastern Powers perceived it to be their interest to meet and support the Republic. This appreciation of friendly concert came rather too late to be of great service to Venice. It was in 1694 only that the Republic concluded a treaty with the Czar Peter, and, on the 11th of November, 1697, the Secretary, Francesco Savioni, was nominated by the Senate Venetian Resident at Moscow.<sup>2</sup>

The ignorance of the Muscovites of Venetian affairs was shared, even at a considerably later date, by a personage so intelligent and travelled as Christina of Sweden, for Angelo Corraro, in his report to the Pregadi about 1660, tells them that "at her first coming to Rome, she had so little knowledge of the grandeur of your State, that she thought it strange your Ministers should be treated equally with those of the greatest kings in Christendom; and therefore, when it was told her that my Predecessor intended to pay her a visit, she seemed, in the beginning, unwilling to allow him that honour she granted to the Ministers of other Princes; but, being informed that she mistook, she condescended to do it in the same manner as was usual at Court." He goes on to remark that, when Christina had been made to understand the great services of the Signory in withstanding single-handed the Ottoman Porte, she offered to raise a regiment of infantry for

<sup>1</sup> Farther and fuller particulars of the relations between England and the two Cabots may be found in Beazley's *John and Sebastian Cabot*, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> In 1607, the Hollanders already had a diplomatic agent there—an Englishman named William Russell who published in that year an account of the murder of the false Demetrius.



the service; but the project fell through, as money was not forthcoming beyond an initial payment of 1000 doubloons.

The twofold value of Persia as an additional barrier against the Porte, and as a region capable of yielding new ground for the commercial purposes of the Signory in the far East, led, at least as far back as 1437,<sup>1</sup> to the selection of a series of envoys to the Court of Persia, who discharged the double function of reconnoitring the whole region between the frontiers of Germany and the capital of Muscovy, and of drawing the latter and the Persian ruler into closer political and commercial relations with the Signory. For the earliest and fullest information on the state of Eastern Europe in the fifteenth century, the narratives left by Ambrogio Contarini, Iosafat Barbaro and Caterino Zeno, which were little known or studied till comparatively recent times, are our almost exclusive resource, and they naturally disclose a realistic view of the condition of the whole country trodden by the diplomatists—of the people, their government and their mode of life—the loss of which would have been a veritable calamity. The entire enterprise covering many years was, in its inception, perhaps primarily mercantile, but, as time proceeded and the Turkish power steadily and dangerously grew, the movement gradually assumed a political and maritime complexion on which the Signory did not fail to set a true value. Caterino Zeno, on his return home, found that the fame of his achievements had rendered him so conspicuous a public object, that, if he shewed himself abroad, a crowd gathered in the streets to behold and honour a personality so remarkable. He was shortly elected a member of the Council of Ten, in order that, in such an influential sphere, his ample and peculiar experience might be serviceable to the Republic.

Contarini himself foresaw the arduous character of his enterprise, but, out of regard for the interests of his country and of Christendom, he did not shrink from it. He left Venice, accompanied by his chaplain who acted as a secretary, an interpreter, and two attendants, on the 23rd of February, 1473; the members of the party were all dressed in thick garments cut in the German fashion. Contarini and his chaplain carried their travelling expenses in inner

<sup>1</sup> In 1428, Barbaro and six other Venetian merchants conferred at Tana over a scheme for exploring the country.

pockets. At San Michele di Murano, they received the benediction and the sign of the cross, and proceeded thence to Mestre where they took horse; thence to Treviso and Conegliano where they met a German who was going the same way. Nürnberg was reached on the 4th of March; its walls and general aspect won their admiration. They left it on the 14th, went through Brandenburg and stopped at Frankfort. The route lay through part of Poland, where Contarino had a gracious audience of King Casimir; he describes the mode of living as not very dissimilar from that at Venice. Two guides were engaged, one for Poland, the other for Lower (Bassa) Russia.<sup>1</sup>

The travellers, who evidently had a free hand in reconnoitring and consequently did not unduly hurry, seem to have experienced no difficulties or troubles beyond such as were incidental to the circumstances, and to have been received, wherever there were stations or centres, with favour and even with gratification. It is clear that the universal principle of largess in some shape played its part, nor was there an absence of reciprocity.

They came at length to a point where the King of Persia was overlord, and, on the 15th of June, 1473, they took ship. Contarini narrates an adventure. A personage of some pretension accosted him, and demanded how many kings there were in the world. "Maybe twelve," Contarini responded. "Thou speakest truth, and I am one of them, and thou hast come into my realm without any letters of introduction." The ambassador explained that this was because he had not expected to travel that way; but he cited his Holiness the Pope as a sort of reference, and eventually left on the best of terms, with the assistance perhaps of a *douceur*.

In regard to the commissariat, we hear at intervals of bread, wine, fish, poultry and meat; the cookery is said to be bad. A sort of metheglin (*bevanda di miele*) is mentioned as a prevailing beverage. As they draw nearer to I'spaan, it grows sensibly colder. This was toward the end of September,

<sup>1</sup> The narrative of the embassy, not improbably compiled by the chaplain, remained in MS. till 1487, when it was printed at Venice in a thin quarto volume. There is a later impression of 1524, in which the date of the appointment of Contarini is given as 1472, and the King of Persia is described as "*chiamado modernamente Sophi*." There are several later editions, and the account is incorporated with the Collections. The Travels of Zeno and Barbaro were printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1873.

1474. Contarini was struck by the general use of wood in the construction of houses in the Duchy of Moscow; they offered a contrast to Venice, yet the same thing had once not been unusual there. Not only the dwellings, he says, were of that material, but the castles.

In the course of their travels, they met many distinguished diplomatists and others with whom they exchanged courtesies and experiences, and there are several notices of gifts to various functionaries. Credentials were forthcoming, where provision had been made for them, more particularly to the Persian monarch Usein Hazare at I'spaan or Spa'an which appears to have succeeded Herat as the capital. Contarini seems to have remained there from the 30th of October, 1474, to the 21st of March, 1475, and had therefore abundant time and opportunity to advance his diplomatic and commercial aims. He not only saw the king who is described for us as a tall, spare man, with a very open, engaging countenance, but fell in with Iosafat Barbaro, who had once more left home in 1471, as we have heard; the two Venetians cordially embraced each other.

There are easily comprehensible obstacles to following the embassy on its way out and on its return, inasmuch as the names of places are incorrectly or obscurely rendered, yet we gain many interesting glimpses of the vast region traversed more than four centuries ago, when even Poland was far from familiar to the traveller, and Russia was as much unknown to Western Europe as the latter was to Russia. Contarini undoubtedly brought back a good deal of serviceable intelligence, both of the actual government and country which he was commissioned to visit, and of intermediate localities.

It was at the close of September, 1476, that he obtained an audience of the Duke of Moscow who was fairly gracious, but had complaints to make of the Venetian representative Trevisano. He recurred to the matter, and it was evidently something which rankled in his mind. We do not hear what the grievance was, and the Duke ended by proving very friendly, and assisting Contarini in a financial strait to which he had reduced himself by the unexpectedly heavy expenditure involved, and the difficulties of monetary exchange. Before the Duke became more tractable, Contarini had dis-



patched a special messenger to Venice on the 7th of October, 1476, to obtain the necessary funds; but all obstacles were surmounted, and he left on the best of terms on the 21st of January, 1477, apparently without waiting for the remittance. He was treated with marked consideration, and dined two or three times with the Duke who bestowed on him some costly gifts. On his departure, Contarini presented his noble entertainer with a horse which had accompanied him from Mestre, and also with two or three thoroughbreds. His experiences, nevertheless, like those of his predecessors, had been checkered and trying to excess, and the fortitude and energy of them all had been put to the severest test.

Both the Duke and his treasurer desired to be commended to the most Illustrious Signory, yet it was long before the Russians gained any precise notion of what or where Venice was. These three notable personages were the paviours of new ways and channels, and their labours were to yield far-reaching fruits.

It was not till the 10th of April, 1477, that the embassy arrived at Lizza-fusina. Contarini had written to notify his intention of reaching Venice later in the day, but was so impatient to see his family and friends, that he had started on the last stage of the journey at daybreak. He had stopped at Padua to offer a thanksgiving to God and the Virgin for his safe return. We find him protesting in one passage of his account, that it was by the mercy of God that he did not perish in those wild regions. He suffered from fever at one time, and tells us that he was once indebted to a Genoese for a bed.

He had been absent upward of four years, and his people had given him up for lost (it was the story of Marco Polo again in little). He found all his relatives in good health, however, and there were the customary greetings and endearments; but, before he went to his own house, on learning that the Council of Pregadi was in session, he repaired thither, and was invited to deliver a brief provisional account of his mission and adventures. Probably throughout the Venetian annals, such a series of sufferings and privations, heroically borne for the sake of their country by gently nurtured delegates, is not to be found. The old Roman spirit survived in varied forms and types in mediæval and

even later Italian life, but in modern days it has become rarer and more exceptional. Save in the case in which the Venetian envoy to Ispahan was waylaid by banditti, and experienced a difficulty in reaching his destination during the strained and threatening relations with the Porte just about the same time, no farther explicit intelligence of a contemporary or trustworthy character, concerning the political intercourse between Venice and Persia, has been transmitted to us, till we reach the middle of the following century, when the Republic appears to have succeeded in placing its relations alike with Persia and Russia on an improved footing, and in gaining a more accurate knowledge of the two countries through personal observation.

So early as the eighth century, Offa, King of Mercia, is said to have employed Italian moneyers, and there is the well-known tradition that his daughter, ruined by her alleged extravagance, died a beggar in the streets of Pavia. Even before the close of the eleventh century, Otho degli Gherardini, a Florentine, settled in England, and became the proprietor of lands in no fewer than eight counties; from this gentleman sprang the ancestors of the noble House of Fitzgerald.<sup>1</sup> In 1157, Frederic Barbarossa obtained a mercantile charter from Henry II.;<sup>2</sup> twenty years later, an English representative attended the famous meeting between Frederick and the pontiff Alexander III. at Venice; and, in 1200, King John declared that "all merchants, of what nation soever, should, with their merchandise, have safe-conduct to pass into England, and to repass thence, and to enjoy in that country the same peace and security as the merchants of England were allowed in the countries from which such merchants came."<sup>3</sup> In 1245, according to the testimony of Walsingham,<sup>4</sup> England began to swarm with Italian place-men, just as in a former age she had swarmed with Norman interlopers, and bitter and loud was the complaint that the foreigners were absorbing the richest benefices in the Church, but the abuse, if it was one, survived down to the Reformation. The Venetian ambassador at the court of Henry

<sup>1</sup> *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, by the Marquis of Kildare, 1858,

p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas, *Hist. of the Royal Navy*, i. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 157-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ypodygma Neustriæ*, 1574, p. 60.

VIII. from 1515 to 1519 furnishes an account of the foreign priests who obtained preferment in England about that time: among others, Adrian di Castello, prebendary of St. Paul's, Bishop of Hereford and of Bath and Wells, and a Cardinal; above all, there was that Cardinal Bainbridge (or Urswick), whose name has more than once occurred.

In 1224, one Raymond, late of England, supposed to be an Englishman but more probably a Frenchman, procured a writ of attachment against the property of Agnes of Marseilles whose daughter his son Giles had engaged to marry at Venice, her portion being 100 *livres parisis* and other effects. It was found on inquiry that the lady was dead, and the Signory settled on Raymond, in satisfaction of his claim or as a *solatium*, all or a part of the property in its hands, which included ginger, cardamums, mace and pieces of damask. Scant justice seems in this case to have been meted out to Agnes, but possibly we are not in full possession of the facts.<sup>1</sup>

The first direct and explicit allusion to Venice in the Public Records of England occurs in 1201,<sup>2</sup> in which year, on the 18th of January, King John granted to Johannes, the son of Leonardus Sucubus of Venice, and to his heirs certain commercial privileges of high importance. Johannes de Venetiâ and his successors, in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, rose to great note and affluence in the island, and acquired, probably by lapse of mortgages, estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Hampshire and Wiltshire, a few of which they appear to have held of the Crown *in capite*, some by sergeantry, and the rest by the more usual method. Among these lands are named West Ham in Essex, Estworham or Estwerldham in Hampshire and Draycott in Somersetshire, for the last of which they paid annually seven pounds and seven shillings to the King.<sup>3</sup> In 8 Edward I. Estwordham was valued at 100 shillings yearly rent. It seems not unlikely that an individual whose name is given in our histories as *Dolfin*, and under whom Cumberland, or part of it, was in the last years of the eleventh century an

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), 1864, i. 1. The document relating to the matter is dated 13th September, 1224, and occupies three words over twelve lines.

<sup>2</sup> *Rolls of Charters in the Tower of London*, vol. i. part 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Rotulorum Orig. Abbrev.*, i. 192; ii. 2, 145, 198; *Rolls of the Hundreds*, i. 152; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 41 Hen. III.; *Pipe Rolls of the Exch.*, 3 John; *Chancery Roll*, 3 John.



independent sovereignty or government, belonged to the ancient and noble Venetian house of Dolfino. During the reign of Edward III., other instances are known in which Venetians became landed proprietors, or at least mortgagees, in England; and it is consequently matter of some surprise, that the earliest example of naturalization is found only in 1430, when Gabriel Corbet, a Venetian and of Southampton, mariner, was admitted to the rights of a denizen of that place, on payment of a reasonable fine into Chancery.<sup>1</sup>

A treaty of commerce with Britain had been concluded between Edward I. and the Doge Gradenigo in 1304, by which the trade of London, Southampton and other ports was opened to the citizens of the Republic upon unquestionably advantageous terms; and the relations between the two Powers continued uninterrupted till the fulmination of the Bull against the Venetians in March, 1309, but the intercourse between Venice and England was resumed in 1313, or perhaps earlier. In 1319, the mutual good understanding was temporarily disturbed by a singular mischance. A merchant of Venice, Tommaso Loredano, dispatched to London, by a certain captain Nicoletto Basadonna, 10,000 pounds of raw sugar and about 1000 pounds of candied sugar, valued at about 4000 *lire*, besides a small sum of money. Basadonna sailed to London where he disposed of his cargo, proceeded to Boston in Lincolnshire where he purchased wool, and, in conformity with his instructions, went on to Flanders. On his way thither he was attacked and killed by his English crew, and his cargo was taken by them. This outrage was not permitted to pass unnoticed. An ambassador, Zuan da Leze or Legge (ancestor of the Earls of Dartmouth), was sent to London to demand satisfaction in the name of the Doge, and Royal Letters were granted after a considerable delay, for the security and compensation of the sufferers and others. The syndic accredited to the Court of Edward was directed to propose the establishment of a Consulate in the British metropolis; and even if such an object was not immediately achieved, it is indisputable that such an institution was soon in existence.

A second disagreement arose in 1321, involving the borough

<sup>1</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 386. Blount's *Tenures*, 1874, p. 113.

of Southampton and extending over two or three years.<sup>1</sup> Five Venetian merchantmen, trading off the Isle of Wight, entered into a contention on some point with the tenantry and servants of the chief local proprietor who is named Sir John De Lisle—probably the contemporary representative of the Redvers family which seems to have succeeded the Fitzosberts. A fatal affray took place; several Englishmen were killed; the Venetian captains abruptly weighed anchor and put out to sea, and the fear of the consequences deterred them for some time from repeating their visits. In 1323, however, on the 10th of April, the matter was virtually arranged between the Doge and the King, but in 1326 it had not absolutely been brought to a close. From the avarice and susceptibility of the Venetians on the one hand, seconded by the full sense of naval and commercial superiority, and from the stubborn and jealous character of the English on the other, quarrels and even ruptures of a more serious kind were in these early times far from infrequent; but, for the most part, the placability of the Italians and the necessities of their customers speedily reconciled disputes.

Relations long experienced no interruption after this incident, and the commercial intercourse of the Signory with London and other ports preserved in the interval so even a tenor, that during many years England ceased to occupy any place in the foreign correspondence of the Government. It was not till 1340 that diplomacy resumed its suspended functions. In that year, Edward III., desirous of prosecuting with vigour his war against France, announced to the Doge the challenge delivered to him by Philip of Valois and his (Edward's) offer to prove his divine right by facing ravenous lions or touching for the evil. He prayed his Serenity to co-operate by organizing at his cost a squadron of forty galleys which might harass the maritime frontier of the enemy. He granted the Venetians full leave to name their own terms, and pledged himself to discharge the debt within the twelvemonth in "gold, silver and merchandise." He desired that, if they were disinclined on any account to enter into the scheme, they would at least endeavour to prevail on Genoa to embrace his proposi-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, iii. 1008-9, 1011-12. *Comp. Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1864, i. 5-6, and Courthope's *Historic Peerage*, 1857, p. 294.

tion. In the meantime, he guaranteed to Venice important additions to the commercial privileges which she already enjoyed in the ports of his dominions; and, in conclusion, he begged his Serenity to send two or at any rate one of his sons to London, where they might be assured of a suitable reception and of a cordial welcome.

The reply to this dispatch was somewhat categorical and slightly evasive. After lamenting the breach between England and France, the Doge proceeded to represent that his country had no motive whatever for launching into hostilities against the latter Power; that the growing necessity of checking Turkish preponderance and aggrandizement was occupying the closest attention of his Government, and threatened at no distant period to engross its resources, and that the Signory was consequently precluded, to its regret, from affording his Highness the assistance which he sought. The Doge continued, that he did not feel himself at liberty to communicate, as an alternative, with the Genoese; that the exemptions which his Highness was pleased to accord were assuredly most acceptable; and finally, that by the courteous expressions which the king had employed touching his sons, he was indeed singularly flattered. With what degree of grace and composure the cholerick Plantagenet endured this rebuff is matter of conjecture only, but it is probable that he decided on the whole upon allowing the charter, dated the 27th of April, 1340, by which he had hoped to secure the active agreement of the Republic, to remain as a tacit pledge of Venetian neutrality.<sup>1</sup>

A little later on, there was some discussion in consequence of Edward's annexing certain conditions to the request of the Venetians for a renewal of their immunities. The King urged the perpetual goodwill and amity between the two Powers. The Doge, by his representative, replied that his country had always specially loved England and the English. The King stipulated that Venice should not lend help or countenance to his enemies. The Doge returned: "It is not the custom of the Venetians to interfere between disputants or belligerents, except for the sake and purpose of making peace." The King requires that the Doge shall apprise him betimes of anything detrimental to his government which may come within his Serenity's knowledge. His Serenity very sensibly points out

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. 142-3.



the great distance between Venice and England, the slight reliance to be put on political intelligence, and the commonness of false rumours which often, as Englishmen must be aware, give rise to erroneous and misleading impressions. This episode belongs to a time when Venice was more to England than England was to Venice; when a Venetian fleet ascending the Thames, could readily have taken London; and when the Venetians looked upon their fellow islanders as a people whose products and manufactures rendered their friendship highly valuable, but scarcely so valuable as the friendship of Bruges or the friendship of Marseilles.

The Act 17 Edward I. (1289), which provided for the transport of merchandise out of Ireland into England and Wales by foreign shippers, may seem to point to Lucca, Florence and even Siena, rather than to the Venetians, as the Lucchese and Florentines more especially had very important and regular dealings with the government of Edward about this particular date. There is a passage in *Arnold's Chronicle* which, without particularizing Venice, illustrates the history of mediæval maritime warfare, and establishes the early origin of the connexion between the British Isles and Lombardy, including the Republic:—

“Of Merchants Aliens:

“All merchants, but if they were openly afore forbidden, shall have safe and sure conduct to go from England, and to come into England, and dwell, and go in England as well by land as by water to buy and to sell without all evil tolls, and by old and right usages; save that in time of war, and if (they) be of land of war against us, and such be found in our land in the beginning of war, they shall be attached without harm of body or goods, till it be known of us, or of our chief justices, how the merchants be entreated the which be found in the land, and against us in the land of war; and if our folk be safe there, safe be other in our land.”

The Flanders voyage, which usually embraced England or at least certain English ports, and which dated from 1317 if not earlier, was suspended, doubtless on political grounds, from 1359 to 1374; but, in 1371, Edward III., at the prayer of the Doge, accorded a safe-conduct to all Venetian subjects in the English and Flemish seas, and, three years later, his

Government and that of Portugal were required to render satisfaction for injuries sustained by Venetian merchantmen.

During the War of Chioggia, William Gold, William Cook, John Berkit, two knights—Sir Walter and Sir Benedict, and Colin Campbell were among those who entered the service of the Signory.<sup>1</sup> The last, whose name was distorted by the Venetians into *Cantaletto*, was the first recorded soldier of his clan, and the first Scot of whom we hear in association with Venice. Sir John Hawkwood or *John o' the Needle* had been approached shortly before the war, but his terms were thought too exorbitant. With the exception of Gold, they distinguished themselves by their blustering and litigious disposition, no less than by their great courage; and, on one occasion, the Doge was obliged to summon them to the deck of his galley and to harangue them.<sup>2</sup> Gold's share of spoil after the recovery of Chioggia, a name which the countrymen of *Cantaletto* corrupted into *Chose*,<sup>3</sup> amounted to 500 ducats.<sup>4</sup> Gold who is described as constable-general, otherwise provost-marshal, of the troops, performed valuable service in preserving discipline. He was admitted by letters-patent to the freedom of the city on the 27th of April, 1380, and, on the 4th of July ensuing, received a pension of 500 ducats of gold, conditionally on reserving himself for disposal at any time when he might be required. His son, Bertram Gold, became a Venetian citizen in 1398.

The elder Gold had been in the Mantuan service, and there is a singular correspondence between him and the Marquis Gonzaga relative to a French woman, named Jeannette, of whom Gold was enamoured, and for whose recovery, when she eloped with another man, he solicited the offices of his former employer. It is not quite clear whether Jeannette was married to the rival, or even whether the rival was living; she had been married before, and was a widow when Gold met her. This incertitude was not the whole source of Gold's anxiety; but the fact was that the widow had not only forsaken him in favour of another lover, but had carried away, to provide for contingencies, five hundred florins of Gold's money: not that Gold cared about the latter, as will appear.

Gold had begged Lord Gonzaga of Mantua, his patron,

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. 288-92.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *Pylgrimage of Sir Richard Gylforde*, A.D. 1506, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Romanin, iii. 292.

on the hypothesis that the fugitives were within the Mantuan territory, to have them searched for, and to detain Jeannette till he could come—"for love," quoth Gold, "overcometh proud hearts." In the next scene, the frail one has been discovered and is in safe custody. The Englishman is prodigal of his expressions of gratitude and delight. "Since love overcometh all things," he reiterates, "therefore I herewith beseech your lordship to put everything else aside, and so order and command, that the said Jeannette neither may nor can go forth from Mantua nor from your territory, until I send for her. But let her be detained at my suit; for, if you should have a thousand golden florins spent for her, I will repay them without delay. Now, my lord, should I be asking a trifle contrary to law, you ought not to cross me in this, for some day I shall do more for you than a thousand united Frenchwomen could effect."

So powerful a plea must have triumphed, and we have no doubt that Gold gained his day. The meeting between William and Jeannette has not been left on record. From the evident desire of Gonzaga to befriend him, the constable-general must have been a personage of no mean pretensions and merit; and the Republic equally appreciated him.

In 1389 (13 Richard II.) an Act appeared, by which "it was ordained and assented, that no plain cloth, tacked nor folded, shall be set to sale within the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Bristol, and Gloucester, but that they be opened, upon pain to forfeit them, so that the buyers may see them, and know them, as it is used in the County of Essex; and that the workers, weavers, and fullers shall put their seals to every cloth that they shall work, upon a certain pain, to be limited by the justices of peace." This legislation by no means extinguished the grievance; declaratory statutes were made from time to time but without effect; and at length, the Venetians declined to give any bonus, or take the bad cloth of England in payment for their own genuine import. Of course, these differences and troubles were not often of very prolonged duration; the Republic was usually peaceable, and willing to commit passed matters to oblivion. One of the last acts of Richard prior to his deposition was to grant, under letters patent of the 17th of September, 1399, permission to passengers on Venetian ships to sell glass vessels on the decks duty-free.



In 1392,<sup>1</sup> Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, described as eldest son of the Duke of Lancaster, "the intimate friend of our Signory," passed through Venice on his way to Jerusalem, and was honourably entertained by the Doge Antonio Veniero, who met the Earl at Malghera. A galley was lent to him for his journey, and the Republic, anxious to oblige so distinguished a personage, more especially as he was introduced by the Duke of Austria, spent 360 ducats "for the honour of our State and benefit of our affairs," and 100 more on his return when he restored the vessel. Henry had to go by Parenzo, Zara, Lesina, Ragusa, Corfu, Modon, Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus and Jaffa, staying probably at each place; yet his visit did not last very long. When he ascended the throne as Henry IV. in 1399, he hastened to notify the event to the Doge in a cordial letter, dated the 4th of October, and to offer sundry preferential exemptions to Venetian traders, while he solicited his Serenity to write frequently to report the prosperity of his State and himself.<sup>2</sup> In December, 1400, there is an *inspeximus* and confirmation by him of the letters patent of 1399. The intercourse between Henry and the Signory was exceptionally amiable, and the latter spared no trouble or expense in its maintenance. A motion was put in the Senate in February, 1400, to send an embassy to London to congratulate Henry, and to incur considerable expense in the equipment of the two personages selected for the duty, but the proposition was negatived by a large majority, and, about a month later, it was decided that it would be sufficient to let the vice-captain and a master of the Flanders Galleys discharge the function, by delivering to the King or, if his Highness was not in London, causing to be delivered to him, the ducal letters. A good deal of correspondence was exchanged in reference to current mercantile details, and Henry IV. invariably displayed a readiness to please and protect the subjects of the Republic who frequented the English ports, but nothing of a serious character occurred till 1400, when some merchants of Venice were charged with an attempt to pass their money at a higher rate than was legal. The King, who was from London, minuted to the Privy Council, "that the merchants should be treated considerably, but that

<sup>1</sup> Capgrave, *Liber de illustribus Henricis*, Rolls Series, 1858, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. 334.

the law must be enforced." In 1407, 200 gold ducats were voted by the Senate for presents to the King and his consort, and, in the following year, a similar sum was devoted to oblations divisible between the King and the Duke of Burgundy.

We hear<sup>1</sup> how the Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford in the last year of Richard II. (1399) were expelled from the realm, and how Mowbray, the "banish'd Norfolk" of Shakespear,

retired himself  
To Italy; and there at Venice gave  
His body to that pleasant country's earth;<sup>2</sup>

he, in fact, brought a letter of introduction from Richard II., and was entertained as his opponent had been in 1392. The King, in presenting him to the Doge, calls him Duke of Guilford; but in other papers relative to his visit he resumes his true name.

While he remained at Venice on his way to the Holy Land, Mowbray borrowed 750 ducats of Antonio Bembo for his travelling expenses; and two letters to Henry IV., one from Bembo himself, the other from the Doge, both dated 1403, are extant, praying for the return of the loan out of the deceased Duke's property which had escheated to the Crown.<sup>3</sup> But the claim was possibly never satisfied, and the same fate may have befallen a second loan from Giovanni Cane, when (it may be surmised) Bembo declined to do any farther business with his Grace.

It is plain that Bembo considered his case a very hard one, and, in his memorial to Henry, he enters into an explanation of the particulars:—"Most Serene and Gentle King," he says, "the Duke of Norfolk came to my house in a most friendly way, and asked me if I would let him have seven hundred and fifty ducats in the way of friendship and in a spirit of perfect and mutual goodwill; for he was then so pinched by poverty; and I amiably and to shew my respect for your Majesty was at the pains to pleasure him on the spot, hoping that he would give it me back promptly according to promise, *which he did not do by any means.*"

The simple fact is that Mowbray stopped at Venice on his way to Jerusalem, and, finding himself short of funds, called in

<sup>1</sup> Rastell's *Chronicle*, 1529, reprint, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> *Richard II.*, Act iv. sc. 1, ll. 96-8.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd Series, i. 46-52.

a perfectly friendly and confidential manner (of course) on Bembo and the other Signore who, unfortunately for them, thought (in which Shylock would have differed) that an English *Illustrissimo Signore* was a safe customer and a sound man to have on their books.

During the reign of Henry VIII., the Duke of Norfolk had made an effort to recover the remains, but the place of interment could not be found. The slab, deposited over the body in 1400, and imbedded in the wall fronting the sea in the external gallery of the Ducal Palace, was accidentally discovered in 1682; it bore the banner of England, the white hart of Richard II., the white swan of Bolingbroke, and the Mowbray cap of maintenance. Nothing farther came of this till 1810, when the French authorities ordered the carvings to be defaced. The poor mason, however, Domenigo Spiera, employed to execute this order, preserved the stone intact by laying it down somewhere in a reversed position, and thus it rested till 1839 when it was transmitted to Corby Castle.<sup>1</sup> The Howards long retained an agreeable and even grateful recollection of their friendly relations with the Signory; in a letter written in 1668 to John Evelyn the diarist, Henry Howard of Norfolk says: "Tis not unknown to you how great the obligations of myself and family are to that Republic, wherefore I do not only write as concerned for their satisfaction, but will even own, as a most particular obligation to me, whatever favour or civility is bestowed upon them by any of my friends or acquaintance."

At the same time, although Shakespear, through the mouth of the Duke of York,<sup>2</sup> speaks

of fashions in proud Italy,  
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation  
Limps after in base imitation,

England had no particular reason to gaze with envy on the prosperity of the Republic. The household books and rolls of

<sup>1</sup> It is engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. It is remarkable that three Dukes of Norfolk died in Italy: Thomas Mowbray in 1399 at Venice, and two Thomas Howards at Padua in 1646 and 1677, respectively, the latter known as the supposed mad Duke. A portrait of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1554-72), by Titian is at Florence. Lassels (*The Voyage of Italy*, ed. 1686, pt. ii., p. 255) saw at SS. Giovanni e Paolo the tomb of Henry d'Aubigny, second brother of the Duke of Lenox and Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> *Richard II.*, Act ii. sc. 1, ll. 21-23.



the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries clearly shew that the English aristocracy was then remarkably opulent.<sup>1</sup> A poem by Richard of Maidstone who died in 1396 commemorates the profuse expenditure, sumptuous habits and rich costume of the Londoners of that period.<sup>2</sup> An Italian of rank, who visited London as well as Oxford and other towns both in England and Scotland about 1500, has left an account of the condition of the metropolis itself in the days of Henry VII. which, without gainsaying its curiosity, we must conclude to be somewhat florid and superficial.<sup>3</sup> In the Strand alone, he desires us to believe that there were fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels great and small that, "in all the shops of Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, there was not so many."<sup>4</sup> "There is no small innkeeper," he continues, "*however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking cups, and no one who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of £100 sterling, which is equivalent to 500 gold crowns among us.*"<sup>5</sup> We cordially go with him when he speaks of the antipathy of the English to foreigners. He makes, as may very well be supposed, strange havoc of English customs, institutions and names, but he was very powerfully and, on the whole, favourably impressed by the aspect of the country and government. Nor does he forget to repeat what he had heard from someone about the "unicorns' horns of unusual size" which they kept in some of the monasteries!

The dealings between Italy and England in ancient times were chiefly, as may be supposed, maritime and commercial. But nearer to us than the Italians lay the French; and France, though not so essentially a mercantile country as Italy, had opened up a regular trade with England, long before the

<sup>1</sup> *Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, 1289-90* (Camden Soc., 1854); *Liber Quotidianus Edwardi Primi, 1769*; *Manners and Household Expenses in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Roxb. Club, 1841); *Privy Purse Expenses of Edward IV. and Elizabeth of York, 1830*; *Camden Miscellany*, vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ricardi Maydiston de Concordia inter Reg. Ricard. II. et Civitatem London.* (Camd. Soc., 1838).

<sup>3</sup> *Relation of the Island of England* (Camd. Soc., 37). Yet, in his *Speculum Christiani* printed about 1480, John Watton or his printer refers to the English metropolis as *opulentissima civitas*.

<sup>4</sup> Pages 42-3. He speaks of the riches of England as greater than those of any other country in Europe; and as arising, to a large extent, from her enormous trade in tin and wool.

<sup>5</sup> Pages 28 9.

Lombards began to frequent our harbours and seaports. The Venetians, if not the Genoese, had established emporia in parts of France as early as the tenth century, and the probability seems to be that, until their relations with us became systematic and immediate, France was the source from which we received what the Italian traders had to offer us in the way of produce and manufacture.

We learn that English travellers to Italy, even so late as the reign of Henry VII. (1485–1509), proceeded by Boulogne, St Denis and Paris: thence to Lyons by stages, and so into Italy, and through the dukedom of Milan to Rome, if Rome happened to be the destination.

The Genoese transports and galleys were employed largely by our Plantagenet kings as vehicles of conveyance from point to point within their dominions, and, in the accounts of royal expenditure the items under this head are of frequent occurrence and serious amount. The Genoese, Florentines and Venetians found us excellent customers for every species of commodity.

The succour of the Italians and other foreigners was periodically demanded in other ways—even for English travellers or visitors in distant countries, who became involved in trouble and were reduced to the necessity of financial intercession. About 1513, we find Pope Leo X. granting an indulgence to all persons who should contribute to the repayment of the ransom of 2000 ducats, advanced by Venetian merchants on behalf of Sir John Pyllet, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, who had fallen into the hands of the infidels, and this licence was confirmed by Henry VIII. What security the prisoner gave and whether the loan was reimbursed does not seem to transpire.<sup>1</sup>

In 1403, while the friendly relations between Henry IV. and the Signory in the person of his old acquaintance the Doge Veniero remained undisturbed, a somewhat special application was addressed to Venice for the supply of cordage for the King's ships, and, in 1418, a similar demand from his successor was refused, on the ground that the Republic had no more than it required for its own purposes.

But in 1408 a grave incident occurred. Three Venetian

<sup>1</sup> Original document, slightly mutilated, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

galleys, having neglected<sup>1</sup> to discharge arrears of fiscal duties, were, after a certain term of grace, forfeited to the King, and the owners were compelled to redeem their property with a fine of 2000 marks. Of this proceeding the defaulters addressed a complaint to their Government, and the latter sent Fra Hieronimo, of the Order of Hermits, S.T.P., and subsequently Antonio Bembo, Esquire, to London, to investigate the matter, and, if the circumstances warranted such a course, to require satisfaction. The commission of Bembo was dated the 30th of April 1409.<sup>2</sup> The instructions of the Envoy were, upon his arrival in London, to call upon the Vice-Consul there (*de inde*), and to assemble at his house the Committee of Merchants to whom he was to explain the motive of his journey, and to take counsel as to the ways and means to be pursued in seeking an audience of his Majesty. In case our Lord the King happened to be from London, the Committee had power to determine the number of horses and servants which should be accorded to his Excellency; "but," says the Doge, in so many words, "you shall not take with you more than ten horses. For our purpose is that all the outlay to which you may be put, in excess of your salary and a certain limited expenditure, shall be placed to the account of the merchandise which is taken to Bruges and London, and from London and Bruges to Venice."

His Excellency was also reminded that it might possibly occur that the points which he had it in charge to bring under the royal notice would be referred to the General Parliament, "which Parliament," it is said, "meets about the middle of September"; and, in such an event, he was enjoined to consult the Committee upon his stay in the capital. "That you may be in a better position to attain your object in the Parliament

<sup>1</sup> *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, ii. 77-8; *Issues of the Exchequer for 1409* (Lond. 1837, 4to). "To Hugh Helwys, a notary public. In money paid to his own hands by consideration of the Treasurer and the Chamberlain for making and writing out an instrument made between our Lord the King (Henry IV.) and three owners and other good merchants belonging to three Venetian galleys, which arrived at the Port of London in the tenth year (1409)," etc. A nearly similar case occurred 3 Hen. VI., *Inventories of the Exchequer*, ii. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Commissione d'Ambasciata di Antonio Bembo a Londra*, Aprilis die ult. 1409 (*presso Romanin, Documenti*, iii. No. 8). "We, Michele Steno, by the Grace of God, Doge of Venice, etc., commit to you, the noble Antonio Bembo Esquire, our well-beloved fellow citizen, the task of going as our solemn Orator and Vice-Captain of our Gallies to London, to the presence of the Most Serene Lord the King of England."



or otherwise," continued the Doge, "you ought to employ some one good and efficient lawyer to whom you must pay such fees as are just and reasonable. After the delivery of your credentials, you will call to the mind of his Majesty how, in the year just passed (1408), on the occasion of an innovation (*novitas*) put into practice against our galleys and merchants and merchandise in the port of London, we sent to his Palace the most reverend Fra Hieronimo, professor of divinity, as our ambassador for the redress of our complaints and the restitution of our property, from whose report we feel assured that the King's Majesty is, as he ever was, benignly disposed toward us, our merchants and subjects. We charge you to make terms with Richard Stile, the customer (custom-house officer), because we are informed that, if the difference with him were settled, it would facilitate the adjustment of the difficulty. You will demand reparation for the noble Giovanni Zane in such manner as shall appear to you most expedient. You will try to procure an understanding that, if any of our citizens, subjects or lieges receive from any subjects of the King in London or (other parts of) England goods for which he may omit to pay, our citizens shall not on this account be molested, seeing that it is unjust that one should suffer for another.<sup>1</sup> We have confided to your care some donations for the most Serene King, and certain other English noblemen, which you will be so good as to present forthwith upon your arrival in London. Your allowance for this your embassy and vice-captaincy will be 400 ducats, of which the Masters of Galleys will contribute 100, and our Commune 100, and of which the remainder will be defrayed out of the London Trade Account; and you will be our Vice-Captain, in the same manner and under the same conditions as our other Vice-Captains at London, and it shall be lawful for you neither to engage in mercantile transactions at London, nor to employ any one to do so on your behalf, unless it shall happen that the business on which you are sent is thoroughly dispatched, in which case you may tarry eight days farther on your own affairs, and no more."

It is to be recollected that Fra Hieronimo had already contrived to put the matter in good train when his successor reached the Thames about the first week in June, 1409. It was reserved for Bembo to complete a negotiation which was evidently proceeding with a halting pace, to impart stability to the relations

<sup>1</sup> It was contrary to 27 Edw. III. c. 17.

between the two Powers, and to obtain guarantees for the future ; and it is highly probable that, even in the absence of any other motives, the vital interest, which the English and the town of Southampton especially had in the uninterrupted maintenance of the Venetian trade with their ports, was instrumental in securing a compliance with the wishes of the Republic. Bembo's private business in London was probably the Mowbray affair already mentioned.

In 1412, the Venetian Company of London lent the King £200 toward the outlay attendant upon his expedition for the recovery of Guienne ; and 200 marks were given in the same year for a similar purpose.<sup>1</sup> In 1415, Henry V., when preparing to invade France, had recourse, among other expedients, to pecuniary and other loans on the part of towns and private individuals, and among the royal creditors were Nicolò Molini and his Venetian fraternity who, under the pressure of a threat that if they were contumacious his Majesty would commit them to the Fleet till " he heard a different account,"<sup>2</sup> advanced him £1000. An embargo, however, laid by the King on three Venetian coggos (*cocche*) led to a strong remonstrance. On the same occasion, the Genoese contributed £1200, and the merchants of Lucca £200.<sup>3</sup>

It was shortly after 1415 that Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and uncle of Henry V., accompanied probably by the Prior of St. Mary's at York, a numerous retinue and sixty horses, took Venice on his way both to and from the Holy Land, and met with a hearty reception, the Doge meeting him in the Bucentaur. He was much honoured, we are informed, and in September 1418 he set out on his return to England ; he had originally reached the city on Palm Sunday.

There is a warrant by Henry VI. in 1447 for the payment of various moneys, value received ; and this is an average specimen : " Also we will and charge you [the treasurer of the Exchequer] that, of the above sums of money, ye do pay unto Perceval Merchezano, merchant of Genoa, £12. 13s. 4*d.* for 19 yards of purple damask, price the yard 13s. 4*d.*, on our behalf, bought of him by the reverend father in God our right trusty and well beloved Adam, Bishop of Chichester." But, indeed, every class of persons seem to have made it their business to

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 214.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 265-6.

bring acceptable articles under the notice of royal and noble individuals. In the Privy Purse expenses of Elizabeth of York, under 1502, there is an entry of 45s., as paid to Friar Hercules for a pound and a half of Venice gold at 30s. per pound.

During the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI., the Italians enjoyed great favour; but we must not forget that they were called upon to pay a pretty exorbitant price for the advantages which they asked and had. The English Government probably considered that there was no great harm in levying toll upon these foreigners, since they came for the sole purpose of making what they could, by buying and bartering, fetching and carrying, and being within easy call, whenever a little money happened to be needed in a hurry. Sometimes, notwithstanding, they proved useful in other ways, and could turn their hand to a real bit of hard and ticklish work. The Regent, the Duke of Bedford, was helped in 1416 by the Genoese at the blockade of Harfleur.

Long before that, however, the French and Scottish wars of Edward III. had been mainly supported by the Italians resident in London who, from time to time, advanced the King the sums which he required for his extraordinary disbursements, and for which he was reluctant to apply to Parliament. This money was, of course, lent on the security of royal letters guaranteeing its restitution. but scarcely any of it found its way back to the coffers of the deluded and impoverished foreigners. To the Florentine Company alone Edward became a debtor to the extent of upwards of £50,000, and after many fruitless efforts to obtain redress, the association was reduced to bankruptcy and the verge of pauperism.

A document was drawn up in 1449 by a countryman of our own whose name does not transpire, having for its more immediate object the demonstration of the best method of preserving and securing the English possessions in Normandy and France. In one paragraph the writer institutes what reads almost like a disparaging comparison between his own country and the Italian States:—

“Likewise,” he observes, as a sequel to what has preceded, “we must not be weary of emulating other nations in good arts. We know well enough what outlay the Venetians, the Genoese, the Milanese, and other peoples not comparable to the kingdom



of England, support year by year, in order that they may be in a position to protect themselves by force of arms, and may not retrograde through their luxurious indulgences."

In 1472, an Act of Parliament (12 Edward IV.), which was unquestionably declaratory of a much older measure, inasmuch as the consumption in England of Bordeaux wines in the reign of Richard II. is said to have been larger even than in France itself, compelled the Venetian merchants to bring, with each butt of wine containing from 126 to 140 gallons, four good bow-staves gratuitously, under penalty of 6s. 8d. for all butts sought to be imported without such staves; and this trade, indeed, was so profitable to the Republic, that her subjects consented at an early date to accept as payment one-third in cash and two-thirds in cloth. But the foreigners soon discovered that, while they were giving their customers 135 or 140 gallons to the butt, instead of 126,<sup>1</sup> the English were cheating them outrageously, and were palming on them "cloths of the which a great part be broken, bruised, and not agreeing in the colour, neither be according to breadth, nor in no manner to the part of the same cloths shewed outwards, but be falsely wrought with divers wools<sup>2</sup> to the great deceit, loss, and damage of the people, in so much that the merchants that buy the same cloths, and carry them out of the realm to sell to strangers, be many times in danger to be slain."

In the first year of Richard III. (1483), an Act passed directing "in what sort Italian merchants may sell merchandizes," and comprehending in its provisions "several restraints of aliens." The substance of this statute was, that these aliens brought cloth and other articles to this country, and sold them, not only in gross as wholesale dealers, but in retail also, and so excluded and injured native merchants; and again, that their mode of business was not good for trade, seeing that they did not lay out in England the money they made in the country, but took it away with them, "all to their great profit." They had contrived various other ways of playing into each other's hands, and made altogether too good a thing

<sup>1</sup> *Instructions for the Flanders Gallies*, 1337-8; *Misti Senato* (quoted at length by Romanin, iii. 376-84). By a proclamation of Henry VII., dated from Sandwich, 27th September, 1492, it was declared that on malmsey wines the Venetians should pay at London the same duty as was charged to the English at Venice.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, ii. 373, note 4.

of it, perhaps, to be pleasant to the lawgivers and shopkeepers of four hundred years ago.<sup>1</sup>

A side to the commercial relationship of Venice with other States which did not enjoy similar sources of wealth and sustenance is not usually contemplated or realized, namely, the extent to which countries dependent on agriculture and natural products owed their vitality to the visits of Venetian trading vessels. We have an absolutely piteous lamentation on the part of one of the Angevin kings of Naples, when there had been some temporary suspension of intercourse, to the effect that his subjects' goods were left on their hands, that the customs receipts had ceased, and that he had not money even for the purchase of common necessities. His Majesty would not forget that lesson when his valuable friends came back. The Neapolitans not only stood in perpetual need of foreign markets, but of the means of shipping their goods to distant and protected ports.

This was a leverage employed by the Republic as far back as the ninth century, even at a temporary sacrifice of profits; but it was necessarily one which could be carried out successfully, only so long as the Venetians commanded the sea, and other countries, less advantageously situated and destitute of the elaborate machinery for international trade, offered but a feeble competition.

Throughout a protracted period, in fact from the reign of Edward IV. to that of James I., there was an intermittent altercation on the subject of tariffs on the wines imported into England in Venetian or English bottoms. Owing to the deteriorated quality of the woollen goods which the Venetians had been originally content to accept in part-payment, they declined about 1483 to receive this settlement in kind any longer. The Venetian complaint of the inferiority of English cloths was not a new one, and had been met by an Act of Parliament, 13 Rich. II. (1389), but the abuse remained or revived, and now, nearly a century later, the foreign traders not merely refused to take these commodities in exchange, but reduced to 108

<sup>1</sup> Englishmen in Italy were, till a comparatively recent date, infinitely rarer than Italians in England. They used not to be so exclusively and emphatically a commercial people as they have since become, and had not the same facilities or inducements to visit the Continent. Probably, even in the days of Horace Walpole, no Englishman thought of setting out for Rome or Venice in the absence of some practical motive, or unless he was a person of distinction and wealth.

gallons the butt of malmsey which had run from 126 to 140. In 1489, moreover, Venice imposed on all wines shipped from Candia in any vessels for England a duty of four ducats a butt. Up to that time, while commercial relations in this respect continued to be mutually satisfactory, the Signory had not only acquiesced in the free exportation of wines from Candia, but had afforded facilities for the supply of the English market with sack, sugar and currants from the Ionian Isles and elsewhere.

In 7 Henry VII. (1491), England marked its sense of the imperious measure of 1489, as it was considered to be, by passing a provisional Act, whereby the butt of malmsey was to be of the gauge of 126 gallons or to be saleable at a proportionally reduced price, and a supplementary excise of 18s. a butt was to be payable at ports of entry. The result was that the Venetians withdrew their duty, and the Act of 1491 *ipso facto* lapsed, but the King refused to sanction the repeal, and the dispute lasted during upward of a century. Meanwhile, the fashion for malmsey sensibly abated, and Spanish vintages largely superseded it.<sup>1</sup> The consumers of malmsey, however, were at last relieved by the successful intercession with James I. of the Venetian ambassador, Marc Antonio Correr, through the Earl of Salisbury. In his report to the Senate in 1611, Correr explains at some length the nature and duration of the grievance, and states that, at the last moment, the removal of the tax was endangered, had not the King intervened by the grant of the revenue to a private monopolist. In the oft-quoted correspondence of Sebastian Giustinian, we find that masterful diplomatist in 1517 doing his best to prevail on Wolsey to use his influence for the purpose.

In the time of Elizabeth, the duties payable at the Port of

<sup>1</sup> The passion of the Duke of Clarence for malmsey is well known. It is mentioned in two passages in Shakespear's *Richard III.* :—

"*First Murd.* Take him over the costard with the hilts of thy sword, and then we will chop him in the malmsey-butt in the next room.

"*Sec. Murd.* O excellent device! make a sop of him.

"*First Murd.* Take that, and that: if all this will not do,  
I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within."

(Act i. sc. 4, 159-63, 276-7.)

In the second part of *Henry IV.*, Act ii. sc. 1, l. 42, the *Hostess* calls *Bardolph* a "malmsey-nose knave"; and in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2, 233, malmsey is mentioned as a table-wine. Thomas Deloney the ballading silk-weaver was noted, slightly prior to Shakespear's time, for his "ale-dropt hose and malmsey-nose."



London on certain Venetian imports are set forth in a publication of the time:—<sup>1</sup>

Venice gold or silver the pound containing xii vncis .	liiis. iiid.
Venice Pursses of lether the dosen . . . . .	xiiis.
Venice Pursses of lether imbrodered the dosen . . . . .	xxs.
Venice Pursses of silk imbrodered or knit the dosen . . . . .	xls.
Venice Riband the dosen pound . . . . .	xxvis. viiid.
Venice Turpentine the pound . . . . .	xii <i>l</i> .

The last-mentioned product was an ingredient in a specific called "Lucatella his Balsam," described in an old English Book of Receipts published in 1655. "Venice gold" is mentioned in a contemporary letter, giving an account of the meeting of Henry VII. and Philip of Austria in 1503 near Windsor—the Marquis of Dorset is said to ride "upon a bald sorrel horse with a deep trapping full of long tassels of Venice gold."<sup>2</sup>

Next to wine, currants, which were chiefly shipped at Patras, seem to have been the commodity, which in the Elizabethan time awakened the keenest and angriest controversy, and we have it on the authority of the ambassador Contarini in 1662, that, at that date, the threat of the Signory to prohibit the exportation of the fruit was out of the question, since England used a larger amount of it than all the rest of the world.

The fortunes and vicissitudes of the Venetian Factory in London, and of the trading transactions of Venice with England are legible in the statutes and State papers of the time, and whatever profit the Signory derived from the commerce with that country was liable to perpetual interruptions and drawbacks. A volume might easily be devoted to this aspect of the subject, especially if the treatment embraced similar relations with other parts of Europe and the world, where the hand was for ever stretched out by all classes and ranks for largess and the bribe, and the price demanded had of necessity to allow for a discount.

Occasional entries in official papers shew that, although the trading-galleys carried tolerably heavy guns, safe-conducts between the ports of departure and call were considered desirable. In 1450, special provision was made for the disturbances

<sup>1</sup> *Rates of the Customs House*, 1590, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii. 204.

in London through the insurrection of Jack Cade. The trading account appears to have been charged with the payment of sums of money for settlement of disputes, and even for gifts to distinguished personages whom there was a desire to propitiate.

Already, in the sixteenth century, the *Savii alla Mercanzia* endeavoured to convince the Government that the system of protection and heavy duties was an economic fallacy, and pointed to cases in which the scale of excise having been lowered, an immediate benefit and expansion had been the result. This was in 1598; but the prejudices were too strong in an opposite direction. In 1610, we find the senator Leonardo Donato taking up the habitual rôle of Marino Sanuto, and doubtless with better warrant. In addressing his colleagues, he declared that trade wanted capital, and that the nobility invested their money in other ways; that foreign merchants no longer frequented the city, that industries, population, the revenue, everything was declining, and that the rigorous system of excise and customs was absolutely fatal, having diverted commerce into other channels, and given it to the Florentines and Genoese, the Dutch and the English. The speaker was reiterating the warnings given in 1598; he contrasted the prevailing deficiency of business and money with the luxury and waste on the part of such few as could still afford to spend their capital. He urged that Venice should be made a free port, and pointed out that prosperity would return to them, favoured by their geographical position. "Otherwise," said he, "you will soon be unable to obtain any more ships, any more men; you will soon have no merchants, scarcely any capital, scarcely any inhabitants. Long prior to this date, Lord Burghley in England, almost at the outset of his great career, endeavoured without success to introduce a sort of free trade. The English system of excise was at that time prohibitively onerous.

In the same sense Luigi Contarini wrote from London in 1628, stating that the English preferred the port of Leghorn, where the dues were lighter and the goods could be warehoused or bonded without additional charge, and that they could deal through that channel indirectly with Genoa, Marseilles and Spain, and save themselves the long and not very safe voyage up the Gulf and back.

This picture was certainly pessimistic, yet those who aimed at bringing the Government into their plans for inaugurating a better state of things, and not only keeping pace with the age, but taking the lead as the country had been accustomed to do in times passed, doubtless perceived the necessity of putting the points with telling emphasis. Thirty-four years later (1662), and still before any movement of the same nature had been made elsewhere, the Senate actually passed a law of free trade agreeable to the notions of that day, and then vitally modified it by abolishing the import duties and retaining those levied on exports. But no beneficial results were found to accrue from this concession, and, after a fair trial, it was revoked in 1684; nor was it until the ports of Trieste and Ancona had in succession been thrown open by Austria and the Holy See respectively, and the important fair of Sinigaglia instituted by Clement XII., that Venice in 1736 at last gave way, when the reform was almost too late to be of any signal utility. Even then, the modifications in the tariffs were only such as sufficed to place the port on an equal footing with the two others. A simple Venetian merchant traversed the same ground, when he deplored the state of trade and indicated remedies. England and Holland were getting the business by a lower tariff and a more expeditious distribution. The theory of Free Trade in the seventeenth century was rather what has been described as Fair Trade. The Venetians deemed the English tariff on imports in the time of Elizabeth very high, and attempted reprisal; but the *Rates of Merchandize*, settled in 1660 after the return of the Stuarts, seem, to the limited extent to which they affect the Signory, tolerably heavy. We meet with gloves, plain and embroidered with gold and silver, gold and silver thread, Castello of Venice web, and sword-blades, but there must have been a large number of other dutiable articles not here cited.

About this time (1670-80), the Venetian commercial world seems to have thoroughly awakened to the progressive decline in many branches of trade, and an energetic attempt was made to promote a revival of activity. Consular establishments were opened at Alexandria, Durazzo and Vallona, and there was a movement for developing the trade with Western Europe, Spain included. The Government sought the advice and assistance of the leading merchants,



and manifested a greater willingness to entertain proposals, even from strangers, likely to be directly or indirectly advantageous to the State. In a decree of 1653, the art of printing is cited as one of the principal glories of the city, and regulations are laid down for the maintenance of a high standard of execution. A certain healthy spirit still prevailed within, but all the external influences and sympathies, which had so long remained in harmony with Venice, were undergoing a fundamental change which Venice too slowly realized, and there was, besides, a failure of the rallying potentiality.

The Doge Foscari, a man of advanced views, recommended in 1745-6 the construction of a viaduct to connect the city with the mainland, as in his opinion such a step would have vastly facilitated intercourse, and at that period no longer have offered the strategical objection which might have existed to it before the introduction of artillery. But it was precisely a century after his day before the improvement was made, not in the shape of a viaduct, but in that of a railway starting from Malghera where the Doge so often met distinguished visitors in the Bucentaur, and with a terminus in the very city. The establishment of an East India Company, the erection of a breakwater, and the revival on a large scale under influential patronage of the ship-building industry, have contributed to the return of trade, the increase of the population, and the recovery of a certain measure of prosperity.

Even in 1773, the Inquisitors of State were addressing themselves to the task of accomplishing a commercial recovery, and drew up a list of interrogatories to be answered by the various guilds. The replies pointed to the universal mischief arising from protection and monopoly, which could only be remedied by the Government itself. At that time, it was supposed that in Venice, in one branch of trade alone, there were still 30,000 operatives, but with a diminishing tendency, out of a total population of less than 200,000. From 1791 onward, however, there was an increasing disposition to relax the impediments to free trade, and to afford official encouragement to manufactures and inventions.<sup>1</sup>

The old Republic, indeed, exerted its best efforts to neutralize the injurious consequences of the discovery which brought

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, viii. 379-80.

the Indies and America within easier reach of European traders, but Venice was the product of conditions which were even then beginning to grow out of harmony and touch with the views and wants of the world—the product of a more sparsely-populated globe, of imperfect geographical knowledge, of narrower political and commercial doctrines, of protected markets. The abnormal growth of its prosperity and power was due to its precocious appreciation and energetic seizure of the unique opportunity afforded by the indifference of neighbours and contemporaries, to the hardships and risks attendant on trade with remote countries; how firm its grasp of the advantages thus won and how vast its prestige, we recognize in the resistance which we have seen the Republic offer to uncontrollable circumstances; and we shall perhaps conclude, that no other government could so long have survived the justification for its independent existence, which stretched from the fall of the Roman Empire to the establishment of the North American Union.

It was the opinion of Priuli the diarist, who was a personal witness of the injurious effects which the discovery of America and the geographical and commercial results of that event almost immediately produced on his country, that the old-fashioned warehousing system was largely accountable for the decline. Traders to distant ports, instead of conducting direct exchanges or sales of their purchases, were compelled to bring them home and deposit them in the vast stores of the city, where they remained, pending local or other realization. The diarist points out that the Portuguese quickly adopted the wiser principle of disposing of their cargoes at the nearest point, and escaping costly freights and dues, and the losses incidental to long voyages.

## CHAPTER LV

Municipal Trading Gilds—Their antiquity superior to extant evidences—List of some of their bodies—Many unincorporated—The Painters and Tapissers—Gold cloth workers—The Tapissers—The Carpenters—The Masons—The Stationers—Glass-furnaces—Antiquity of the manufacture—Exportation—Imitations of the Venetian fabric—Sparing resort to window-glass—Chefs-d'œuvre in Glass in 1585—Spectacles.

THE early chronicler Marco, to whom we owe so much and whose surname has been lost, enumerates many trades or occupations as existing in the Middle Ages, such as corsers or horse-breeders, saddlers, trainers of hunting dogs and hawks, furriers, carters, shepherds and many others. All of these were loans, in the first instance, from the mainland, and followed the ancient traditions of Venetia Maritima, obeying by degrees the peculiar wants and limitations of their insular settlement.

The municipal corporations or gilds (successors of the Roman *collegia*) were instituted for purposes of common protection and welfare, as well as with a view to knit together, on terms of fellowship, members of the same calling. All these bodies possessed their executive government and their capitulary or *mariegola*, which strictly prescribed their relationship to the State, their obligations to each other, and the nature and limit of their privileges. Many of them attained great prosperity, and were enabled on public occasions to defray the cost of elaborate and imposing spectacles. Of some the mention recurs more frequently, because, perhaps, the character of the industry lent itself to display. All, however, united in constituting a valuable element in social no less than in commercial existence, and in diversifying the monotony of careers. Of six of the trades or arts the headquarters were long indicated by the names which they conferred on them, the *Ruga degli Orefici*,<sup>1</sup> the *Calle dei Fabbri*, the *Casselleria*, the *Rio dei Sartori*, abutting on which water-way, the Tailors' Gild still owned in the last century seventeen houses,

<sup>1</sup> In a seventeenth century Life or History of Mary Queen of Scots by Caussin, the French Jesuit, the copies of an Italian version are said to be published "in the *Ruga d'Oresi* in Rialto under the Portico."



the *Veriera*, and the *Riva degli Schiavoni* where the alien seamen had their quay, their chapel dedicated to St. George and embellished by Carpaccio, and their places of abode and public restaurants. Several vocations, even of importance, never attained an independent municipal rank, and we trace them only by casual or indirect references. The *Ponte della Fava* at the outset indicated the immediate neighbourhood of an emporium for the sale of the sweetmeats called *fave*; the *Calle del Scalete* marks the site of a shop for the cakes known as *scalete*; and a comparatively recent (1844) murder reveals a vendor of nails known as *Brochetta* in the *Calle San Zuane* (near the *scuola* of the same name). So the Spicer, a leading and very influential gildsman in early London, presents himself here individually, but not corporately.

The repugnance of the poorest Venetian of the older days to mendicity had been met by the funds appropriated to the relief of aged or distressed members, and, when the gilds declined and eventually disappeared, the Government thought fit to take their place in this respect, and provide some easy employment for the superannuated operative. In their prime, their eleemosynary functions were, as in other countries, a conspicuous feature in their constitution and justification.

Some of the companies and schools or *scuole*, which incidentally come under notice are:—

Bakers.	Gold-beaters and Wire-drawers.	Shoemakers.
Barbers.	Gunners.	Silk-cloth Weavers.
Bath-makers.	Linen-drapers.	Silk-weavers.
Butchers.	Mariners of San Nicolò. <sup>1</sup>	Skinners.
Carpenters and Joiners.	Masons.	Smiths.
Carpet-makers.	Mercers. <sup>2</sup>	Stonecutters.
Casemakers ( <i>Cussellieri</i> ).	Merchants.	Tailors.
Cask-makers.	Painters.	Water-carriers of San Bascio.
Ferrymen.	Printers and Booksellers.	Wax-chandlers.
Fishermen.	Sausage-makers.	Wholesale Druggists.
Fringe-makers.	Sawyers ( <i>Segatori</i> ).	Wine-merchants.
Fruiterers.	Scavengers.	Wool-merchants.
Fur-dressers.	<i>Sensali</i> (or Agents).	Woollen-cloth Dyers.
Glass-blowers.	Shipwrights.	Woollen-cloth Weavers.
Goldsmiths.		

<sup>1</sup> "Regole et Ordini della Fraternità di S. Nicolò dei Marinari in Venetia, dalla sua Institutione anno 1572 sino al anno 1736." Folio MS. on vellum, with illuminations and arms in blazon. The entries are in a succession of hands.

<sup>2</sup> At Padua, in 1406, the silk-merchants formed one of the four estates of the commune.

We miss several callings such as chemists, locksmiths and plumbers, but it is possible that they may be comprised in others, while the Stationer, in the sense of a vendor of literary property, was presumably represented here by the Printers and Booksellers' Gild. But this enumeration is of interest, since it proves, what might be otherwise concluded, that there were facilities on the spot for procuring all the necessities and luxuries of existence. Among the commoners who subscribed to the patriotic fund for the War of Chioggia, occur a wine-merchant and a barley-factor. Some estimate may be formed of the immense volume of trade and corresponding demand, when we find as many as seventy-one depôts of a single species of costly apparel. The *fabbro* of the *Cronologia Magna* (14th century) may have executed different branches of the craft.

The Gold Cloth Workers enjoyed the monopoly of the trade in vestments of cloth of gold and purple dyes, in the form of mantles or *palli* for both sexes; and the profit arising from this industry alone must for centuries have continued very large, as, besides the local demand, large quantities were exported abroad. From the early growth of a passion for sensuous opulence of ornament derived from Indo-Byzantine sources, a large business in gold-leaf or foil for architectural and decorative purposes seems to have existed, even in the earlier half of the fourteenth century, for Ruskin cites, on the authority of Cadorn, an entry in the procuratorial accounts, under the date, the 4th of November, 1344, of a payment of thirty-five ducats, for making foil to gild the lion over the door of the palace stairs on the site of the present Porta della Carta. This tissue may have come from the goldsmiths or gold cloth workers: more probably the latter.

The oldest vestige of a school of painting, which ostensibly combined domestic embellishment and mosaïc, is a passage in the *Cronaca Altinate*, in which mention is made of Marturius, a master of what is termed *pittura*. The Painters were then known as *Damarzi*, and probably were of Greek origin. It was not, as we are going to find, till a relatively advanced date, that the clear line of distinction was drawn between the mechanical artisan and the professional producer of landscape and portrait.

In a MS. in the Correr Museum, appears the Master of the

Gild of Carpet-makers or Tapissers, presenting the Statutes (*matricula* or *mariegola*), probably about 1440, to the Doge Foscari for approval. A specimen of the work of the fraternity forms part of the illustration; it is a bordered mat with a floral design. The Doge is unattended, and is seated in a high-backed chair in a small apartment with a tessellated floor, but the details are evidently arbitrary. The art of making carpets of various kinds seems to have originated among the tapestry-weavers; Chaucer mentions the Tapisser in his *Canterbury Tales*,<sup>1</sup> and there is no doubt that at Venice, down to comparatively modern days, such an article of domestic use was almost unknown, except for the purpose of suspension on walls or for bed and chamber hangings.

The Painters and Tapissers seem to have united to execute articles of ornamental furniture in stamped and gilded leather, formerly so common in ancient houses in all parts of Europe; the former body also charged itself with embroidery and playing-card designs.

This gild presented in its inception a certain inconvenient anomaly, inasmuch as it embraced all handlers of the pencil and the brush, and all were on a footing of fraternity. Twice a year the corporation met in chapter to discuss matters of business, and the members naturally sat together at the same board, from Titian to the man who laid the paint on the portal of his door, or the varnish on the framework of his windows. There was a strong spirit of *bonhomie* in many respects among the different classes, and even the Doge is found condescending at special seasons to mix familiarly with his humbler compatriots, but the artists at last revolted against this form of municipal brotherhood, and erected themselves into an independent *Collegio*.

The Painters, apart from the Artists who thus seceded, consisted of several sections (*colonnelli*): painters, gilders, miniaturists, pattern-designers, broderers or embroiderers; makers of gilt leather, playing-cards and masks; decorators of shields and other weapons of defence. But they also included in their undertakings and accomplishments the art of embellishing the interiors of houses, presenting a fusion of the operative with the professional designer, and the walls of the *salons* and *boudoirs* of Venice, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

<sup>1</sup> Prologue; line 362.



were enriched by the brush of a Tiepolo, with lines and tints and airy fancies worthy of a fitter place and of a more enduring fame.

The art of card-making thus seems at Venice to have devolved on the Painters; but its exact origin is obscure, and the date at which the industry was introduced can only be surmised from proceedings of the *Signori di Notte*, under the date, the 20th of January, 1390, in which there is mention of *unum par cartarum a ludendo*. There is also a municipal decree of 1441, prohibiting the import of foreign goods of this description, which were said to have reduced the local trade to decay. Some of the most ancient specimens of Italian playing-cards are engraved by Chatto in his well-known work (1848), and one of them, in the suit of Bells, bears the Lion of Saint Mark—an almost indubitable evidence of its origin. Under a notice of Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, who died in 1447, occasion was taken to refer to his passion for cards, and to the employment of persons about the court in painting them. In the fifteenth century, the Italians appear to have used suits or packs consisting of cups, swords, coins and clubs, and these, with dice and tarots (*tarocchi*) or triumphs, supplied the material for the gambling-tables, against which the Church began at an early date to declaim.

There is an engaging passage in the story before us, about a Doge of the seventeenth century, the rich Antonio Priuli who flourished from 1618 to 1623, that, in return for the customary oblation made on behalf of the Fruiterers' Guild to the Crown on each accession, his Serenity gave the delegates muscadel wine, loaves, pastry, hams and other salted meats. Going back nearly a hundred years, mention occurs in 1521 of the nature of the offering and of the number of contributors. The Doge then received a lemon from each of the 130 fruiterers in Venice, but his quasi-feudal equivalent does not transpire. A collation of the two records establishes an interesting exchange of amenities between the head of the State, and a body of which excessively little is otherwise known.

Under the term Glass-blowers are concentrated an employment and an art of the widest range. But the national manufacture, lace, hardly comes within any of the foregoing categories.

What may be treated as a farther illustration of the

gracious flexibility of the Venetian character was the annual election, by the Free Commune of Fishermen at San Nicolò dei Mendicoli, of its own Doge, Executive Board and Chancellor, at which representatives of the central government were appointed to attend, and the ceremonial visit of the Doge of the *Pescatori* to his brother sovereign at Saint Mark's, accompanied by the secretary of his Grand Chancery.<sup>1</sup> It was a day of *fête* and gaiety and friendly union, and constituted one of the innumerable ways in which the people were taught to stand shoulder to shoulder, patrician and plebeian, at the advent of a crisis, forgetful of all but their country. We seem to be reminded of the saying of Goethe, that the Doge was the grandpapa of all the race, and of the remark of the Russian prince, *Ce peuple est une famille*. It was so, in a measure, but these observers were acquainted only with the Doge and the Venice of their own day. Instances might, however, be multiplied without end of the peculiar bonhomie, not only of the Venetian but of the Italian character generally. There is a singular one, belonging to the last quarter of the fifteenth century and to the annals of Forlì in Romagna, in which a half-witted bricklayer is permitted to approach the sovereign, to grasp him tightly by the hand, and to tender his advice.<sup>2</sup> It is not unusual to find at all periods of history, more especially under despotic governments, this occasional suspension of ceremony and official etiquette. The means of resumption were ever at hand, and the parties concerned understood each other: extremes met.

The Printers and Booksellers had been originally incorporated in 1548-49, and there is a manuscript copy of their bye-laws or *mariegola*,<sup>3</sup> approved by the Council of Ten in that year, but which was apparently not officially published till 1567. We have also their Minutes for the year 1571. Both these documents exhibit the constitution of the body, its range of authority, its system of mutual protection and its amenability to the State. Membership was not obligatory, and it became an important part of the functions of the governing

<sup>1</sup> This was akin to the old usage of electing an annual King among the fisher-folk of Galway in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Pasolini, *Catherine Sforza* (trans. and abridged by Sylvester), 1898, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> H. F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, pp. 83-6. The rules are there printed from the Cicogna MS. in the Marciano.

committee over which the Prior presided, to watch the interests of the Gild, and resist encroachment and other irregularities on the part of outsiders.

The *Squeraroli* or Shipwrights, in their reply to an official inquiry in 1773, stated that they had been constituted in 1610, that they received apprentices up to fourteen years of age, that these might become master-builders in six years and ordinary workmen in two, and that, in order to qualify, each had to construct a craft: if he was going to "fabbricar di grosso," a galley or other vessel; if "lavorar di sottile," a gondola. It may deserve a passing mention that, in the earliest representations of vessels of all kinds in books, the artists had before them as models the designs then in general vogue; but an engraver of the sixteenth century naturally gave to antecedent eras the naval architecture of his own.

The Casselleri or Casemakers, whose quarter was the *Casselleria*, near Santa Maria Formosa, had the right of taking within Venetian woods material for their trade, free of charge. It was this craft-gild which made the hats long annually brought to meet the Doge, when he came to honour, with his presence, the *andata* instituted to commemorate the rescue of the Brides of Venice.

The Sawyers peep out, as it were, from one of the archivolts of the Basilica, where they form part of a group of trades typical of the Republic. The Wax-chandlers pursued a calling which for centuries remained as busy as it was lucrative, for it appealed alike to the needs of the Church and the lay-folk. The incessant and multifarious demand for lights,<sup>2</sup> in connexion with services, processions and obits, or for domestic purposes, represented an enormous yearly consumption, for even the sole alternative, the torch, was charged with a fusion of wax and resin.

In the account of the visit of Henry III. of France to Venice in 1574, the *Sensali* of Rialto are noticed as contributors to the pageantry, and as occupying their own brigantine, covered with crimson satin. This body appears to have com-

<sup>1</sup> *Il Ratto delle Spose* (the Rape of the Brides) by Istrian pirates in 932. The *Casselleri* were foremost in the rescue.

<sup>2</sup> Molmenti (*Vita privata*, i. 188) gives a fourteenth century illustration, after Giovanni da Bologna, of the peculiar sticks or holders in which the candles were then fixed.



prised within its range the functions of providing official couriers, keeping a staff of officers who attended to the security and requirements of strangers, exercising control over hotels, and certifying mercantile agreements. Their bureau was known as the *Messetaria*, and their jurisdiction was perhaps restricted to the capital. But, in the melodramatic episode of Bianca Cappello in 1563, a *Sensale di casa* and his wife were implicated; and this individual ostensibly discharged a different class of duties not readily identifiable with a domestic post. The name suggests a primary restriction to the duty of attending to visitors who come to the yearly *Sensa*.

In a mercantile city, of which the houses were constructed for the most part exclusively of timber, the Carpenters and Joiners necessarily formed one of the most numerous and important classes of mechanics; in point of fact, they enjoyed a pre-eminence in both these respects. Of the followers of this calling, there existed within the Dogado two separate and distinct bodies; the one was composed of those who confined their attention to the ordinary duties of the trade; the other consisted of such as were employed in the Public Arsenal and Dockyard in the capacity of shipwrights. The latter occupied, of course, the higher and more eligible position.

Until the period arrived when wood fell into disuse for purposes of building, and a demand arose for some material less inflammable and fitter for making history, bricklayers and stone-masons were in little request; and indeed, till the commencement of the twelfth century, they were rarely employed, except in the construction of cathedral churches or edifices of great pretension. In 827 the Church of San Zaccaria, which had been accidentally destroyed by fire, was restored in stone at the expense of one of the Byzantine Emperors, who sent from Constantinople an architect and a body of operatives, most probably from a desire to adopt in the new structure a style of architecture with which the Greeks were more familiar than the Venetians.

Throughout an almost immeasurable time, the carpenter was an operative of the first consequence, for all buildings, public and private, were long formed wholly or mainly of timber and thatch, and demanded perpetual replacement. Construction in stone must have remained rare down to

the great fire of 1106, but external walls may very well have been formed of something more substantial than wood, before the latter by very slow degrees made way for masonry. The current patronymic *Tagliapietra* which occurs in 1380 is a sort of clue to the existence of the industry in some shape at a much earlier date, and stone-work for churches became more or less familiar under the beneficent rule of the Badoers from 809 to 830. The masons appear to have been of two classes—the *Muratori* or wall-builders, and the *Scarpellini* or stonecutters.

An industry, not specifically indicated, is that of the plumber who, where such vast quantities of lead were used in the roofing of churches and public edifices, necessarily possessed considerable importance.

In 1585, when the Japanese deputation called at Venice on its way from Rome, among the trades which contributed to the show prepared in honour of the visitors were the Apothecaries who followed a calling of great antiquity. An apothecary named Cicogna was one of the commoners called up to the Great Council after the Chioggian War in 1380, and almost precisely two centuries later, his descendant became Doge in the person of Pasquale Cicogna who reigned from 1585 to 1595. In 1574, when Henry III. of France was at Venice, the Apothecaries were among the bodies who contributed to the pageantry a Turkish rowing-barge of twelve banks of oars, splendidly appointed, and having at the prow the sign of the Gild, the *Testa d'Oro*, and the symbol of a pelican with the legend *Respice, domine*; the Apothecaries at this time had their headquarters at San Bartolommeo. The Stationers, or occupiers of *stazioni* in the public thoroughfares where it was officially judged convenient, were dealers in innumerable varieties of common requisites supplied by the different trades, and had even valuable commodities for disposal. They held a position at Venice almost exactly parallel to the original *Stationarii* of the City of London.<sup>1</sup>

It is believed that the *Veneti Primi* carried with them into the Lagoon a knowledge of the manufacture of glass, with which both the Greeks and Romans were perfectly conversant. Specimens have been found in the excavations of Ilium and Pompeii and among the ruined cities of the Mississippi, but

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's *Livery Companies*, 1892, p. 625.

the origin and development of the art are due to Egypt, whence it was communicated to the Phœnicians. The first ancient and the first modern people who attained excellence in this valuable art were dwellers in a sandy region. It is supposed that the crucifix in the Church of the Dominicans at Treviso, painted on the glass and bearing the date 1177, is of Venetian manufacture. In many parts of the world where the means of manufacturing glass itself were absent, we find references to the use of horn, talc and other semi-transparent substances.<sup>1</sup>

It is easy to understand that, at the outset, Venice did not concern itself with the question of location; each man set up his furnace where he listed. Building had not made great progress; space was everywhere abundant; sanitary regulations, if they existed at all, were diffidently framed, and often contemptuously disregarded.

But the day arrived, when the metropolis at last began to awake to the necessity of providing for the health and comfort, and indeed security, of a swelling population, for the nature of the industry demanded the incessant maintenance of the fires. Conflagrations in the neighbourhood were traced to this source, and, on the 8th of November, 1241, a decree was published, banishing all the furnaces from the city and its environs. The glass-workers concentrated themselves at Murano, within the tribunitial district of Torcello, and were constituted an independent municipality with their own *gastaldo*. The Government had indulgently signified that such manufacturers as happened to have stock in course of completion were to be allowed to finish it; but, although a heavy penalty was attached to disobedience, and the Signori di Notte were enjoined to enforce it, the official order was imperfectly respected, and, in 1297, a second appeared to a similar purport. Yet the authorities remained so languid and unliteral in carrying out the law, that, in 1321, the celebrated Minorite, Fra Paolino, still possessed a property of the kind in Rialto, and it was not till the second half of the fourteenth century that the entire collection of scattered furnaces was transferred to Murano, and that the latter place became the exclusive headquarters of this industry. From the wording of a decree which passed

<sup>1</sup> Saint John, J. A., *History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, 1842, ii. 82.



the Legislature on the 17th of October, 1276, the twofold inference is to be drawn, that the manufacture was then in a flourishing condition, and that the Republic had become anxious to convert it, as far as might be practicable, into a monopoly. Among the companies which joined in the procession of the Trades in 1268, the Glass-blowers occupied a distinguished place, and brought samples of their interesting specialities for inspection.

Evelyn has, under 1645, a passage in his Diary which partly explains the peculiar merit and success of the product: "It is the white flints," he tells us, "they have from Pavia, which they pound and sift exceedingly small, and mix with ashes made of a sea-weed brought out of Syria, and a white sand, that causes this manufacture to excel." He invested in a supply, and had it sent to England "by long sea." A few years before, in 1635, Lady Miller desired James Howell to procure for her, through Mr. T. Lucy who was then at Venice, "a compleat Cupboard, of the best Crystal Glasses Murano can afford, by the next shipping." In 1621, when Howell visited the city of Alicante in Spain on behalf of the English Glass-works in Old Broad Street, we hear of the export of barilla or salt-wort to Venice, for use in the glass-manufacture there.<sup>1</sup>

The richer classes at home became munificent patrons; so large was the demand for the article in the metropolis alone, that, in all the better neighbourhoods, every thoroughfare had at last its own glass-warehouse which mainly depended for patronage on the tenants of the few mansions spread along on each side of it. At Murano itself in 1567, we hear of the Rio dei Vetrai, the manufacturers along which had customers in various parts of the Peninsula.

The Furnaces were, in the old days, in unremitting activity day and night; there were relays of hands, and the workman alternated six hours of labour with six hours of sleep, snatching his meals as best he could. Saturday was a whole holiday, and there were numerous festive oases. The *gastaldo* and a bench superintended all the arrangements, and took care that the regulations laid down in the capitulary were strictly observed. This board of control, again, was responsible to a department of the Executive.

<sup>1</sup> *Familiar Letters*, book ii., No. 27, book i., No. 25; also Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1891, i. 278, ii. 115.

It bespeaks the usual pioneering and paternal policy of Venice in nearly all that she devised, on the one hand for the protection of the State and the observance of order, and on the other for the well-being of her subjects, that, in such processes as demanded a resort to mercury or lead, child-labour was interdicted in the statutes of the Gild which were approved by the Government.

Objects in glass and alabaster occur in the inventory of the effects of the Doge Marino Faliero taken in 1355, but whether the former was of local origin or antique is not stated. Glass and earthenware were exported from Venice to England in the fourteenth century, and one of the last acts of Richard II. was a grant of safe-conduct for these goods, dated thirteen days before his abdication. About 1550, Venetian operatives were brought over to England, and the manufacture of glass on the Italian model was pursued till late in the following century. The same may be said of the Low Countries and Germany, where a vast quantity of articles must have had their origin, and where the Venetian manufacture sometimes received the finishing touches to suit the local taste or requirements—perhaps the addition of the armorial bearings<sup>1</sup> of the buyer—and became distinguishable with difficulty from the true prototype; at the same time, the latter remained in great request. In 1580, Queen Elizabeth was induced to grant a patent to a Venetian whose factory was situated in Crutched Friars, London, for making glasses in the style and material adopted by his countrymen at home. The concession awakened a certain amount of jealousy and hostility on the part of the Glass-sellers' Association in London, but no farther tidings of it come under notice; we owe a knowledge of the circumstance to the representations of the aggrieved parties to the civic authorities or to the Crown. In 1575, the Glass-house in Crutched Friars had been burned down, but that was possibly a different concern.

When the Japanese envoys visited Venice in 1585, one of the shows planned for their entertainment was under the charge of the School of San Giovanni dei Vetrai of Murano, and consisted of a castle and an organ made entirely of glass;

<sup>1</sup> There is a lamp with the Tiepolo cognizance of undoubted originality, Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii. 172.

but unfortunately the exhibition could not be completed in time to join the procession. Its ponderous character must also have created difficulties, as the other features were susceptible of treatment in more portable material.

The Glass-makers were formed into a Gild only in 1436, when they commenced their Libro d'Oro, and had their governing body and their distinctive cognizance—a cock with a worm in its beak. The capitulary, periodically reviewed by the Proveditors of the Arts, was their constitution. In the Capitulary of the Council of Ten, 1578, the twenty-fifth clause wholly concerns this body, but merely lays down the rule and law that they shall not leave Venice or communicate their secret methods to strangers.

The coronation-oath of 1229, which does not forget the rights and immunities of the Gilds, but refers to both as matters of ancient usage, shews that the Glass-makers had been preceded in the enjoyment of corporate privileges by several of the other trades. By degrees, extraordinary perfection was reached, and the furnaces of Murano diffused over the world<sup>1</sup> an infinite variety of objects for ornament and use, exhibiting the most ingenious combinations of colour and form. Readers of the *Bravo of Venice* recollect the poisoned glass poniard which the bandit chief gave to Abellino; on the other hand, it has been alleged that the drinking goblet could be made so sensitive, that it would immediately betray by fracture the presence of poison. If in this manufacture they did not, like one of the early Egyptian kings, extend their efforts to the production of coins in glass, they soon comprised among their staple commodities measures and weights and all descriptions of fanciful and decorative knick-knacks, which the correspondents of the English East India Company repeatedly mention as in great request by the Great Mogul and his harem.

We see from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton, English envoy at Venice, to a noble friend in London, that he was on good terms with the artificers at Murano, and that he proposed to send his correspondent by the first ship a chest of Venetian

<sup>1</sup> In one of the show-cases at the British Museum, are two examples of decorated objects of fanciful form, seeming to indicate a trade in ornamental glass with Servia, and an imitation of the fifteenth-century German patterns. Both are in the Waddesdon room—one, a cup, has a Servian inscription on the foot; the other has armorial bearings and the date 1518.



glasses of his own choosing. When Thomas Coryat visited the works in 1608, the authorities permitted him to make a specimen with his own hands.

The output here became sufficiently large to supply the majority of European markets, and, in the time of Charles II. after the incorporation of the Glass-sellers' Gild in 1664, large consignments of claret, sack, beer and other glasses, with or without covers, some choicely enamelled, speckled and clouded, and of mirrors, necklaces, toys, were made to London, whence they found their way all over the country, and formed one of the attractions at the great fairs. The correspondence of a firm in the Poultry, London, between 1667 and 1672, admits us to an acquaintance with the class of goods which their source of supply at Murano was periodically shipping to them. The letters of instruction are very precise as to quality, kind and measurement; and there are occasional complaints of the arrival of cases in bad order, as if they had been left, after being packed, in the rain. We hear of various sorts of looking-glasses, some for coaches; and the English house represents that Venice mirrors were to be had in London more cheaply than Signor Alessio of Murano invoiced them to that town. Signor Alessio is begged to be very particular as to how he describes the goods, in order to lighten the heavy customs tariff; to smuggle into the packages a few extra pieces, and to remember to forward the bill of lading in duplicate. This is rather a late glimpse of so ancient and so long-established an industry, but it seemed to offer a few points of interest and curiosity, inasmuch as certain items specified in the orders sent out must have been equally in local use, although the lists comprise articles to be made to English measure and, again, such things as brandy tumblers. The directions to the Venetian, in regard to packing of the wares with layers of dry weeds, and the hooping, nailing, marking and numbering of the chests, are most minute, and he is to see, in the first place, that the receptacles are strong and seaworthy.

Sometimes it unfortunately occurred that there were losses, either on the side of the shippers or the consignees. Sir Thomas Roe, writing to Mr. Kerridge at Surat on the 6th of December, 1617, says: "The Venetians [*i.e.* mirrors] have sold here, two feet square, cost £20 sterling in Venice, for sixty rupies";

he adds that many other pieces are in hand which will never yield money.<sup>1</sup>

Lassels,<sup>2</sup> writing some time before 1670, says: "An other day we went to *Murano* againe, to see the *glasse houses* which furnish amost all *Europe* with *drinking glasses*, and all our *Ladyes cabinets* with *Looking glasses*. They utter here for two hundred thousand crownes worth a yeare of this brickle ware; and they seem to have taken measure of every nations belly and humour, to fit them with drinking glasses accordingly. For the *High Dutch*, they have *high glasses*, called *Flutes*, a full yard long, which a men cannot drink up alone, except his man, or some other, hold up the foot of this more then two handed glasse. For the *English* that love *toasts* with their drink, they have curious *tankards* of thick *crystal glasse*, just like our *sylver tankards*. For the *Italians* that love to drink leasurely, they have glasses that are almost as large and flat as *sylver plats*, and almost as un easy to drink out of. And so for other nations. In one shop they were makeing a set of glasses for the *Emperor*, of five crownes every glasse: They were drinking glasses with high covers made like *spred eagles*, and finely guilt." He proceeds to speak of ships, organs and castles which were occasionally made of this material, and we know that such had been the case a century before when the Japanese visit was paid to the city. The author of *The Worth of a Penny*, published in 1641, reports the objects in crystal as things to be tenderly handled.

Imitations of the Venetian fabric existed, we perceive, prior to the establishment of the English Glass-sellers' Gild in 1664, which put forward, in fact, as a plea for its foundation, the irregularities then committed in the trade. Evelyn, writing in 1676, expresses the opinion that the works at Lambeth, under the auspices of the Duke of Buckingham, made looking-glasses better and larger than any that came from Venice.<sup>3</sup>

The mention of the absence of glass from the windows at the Casa Foscari in 1457, and the intention to supply the deficiency before the abdicating Doge took possession of premises which he had owned ten years, seem to import a practice of movable window-frames which might be stored when not

<sup>1</sup> *Letters to the East India Company*, vi. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, Paris, 1670, pt. ii. pp. 423-4.

<sup>3</sup> The Casa Salviati has revived the glass mosaic work. See Howell's *Venetian Life*, Edinburgh, 1883, ii. 47-49.

required, leaving only the ordinary *schiavine* or blinds. An indifference which at present seems strange was clearly long manifested in regard to the protection of premises from the weather by means of glazed casements, and, in England in the Elizabethan time, the Hall of a leading City Gild<sup>1</sup> is said to have no glass and to be exposed to the rain.

But, as still continues to be the case, the Venetians of the humbler classes, as well as those who occupied premises devoted to commercial purposes, resorted very sparingly to the glazier. Every population, in its architectural economy, naturally has recourse, not only to the material which is most accessible, but to the forms which seem most convenient.<sup>2</sup> In a city where narrow and dark courts abounded, either open longitudinal bars or Venetian blinds, as we call them, were apt to prove more airy and more secure than glass windows. Even the casements of some of the old prisons under the colonnade of the Palace were known as *schiavine*, and were made on a similar principle, so as to serve the double office of a window and a grating. Glass was, in general, reserved for ecclesiastical and palatial edifices; but even in churches they had, in early times, as in the cathedral at Torcello, substantial Venetian shutters (*seuri*), revolving on massive stone hinges and opening outward on the street.<sup>3</sup>

Artificial aids to sight were already in use in the fourteenth century in England. Eye-glasses occur in the inventory of a London haberdasher's stock in 1378, and the biographer of Carlo Zeno, who died at the age of eighty-four in 1418, expressly states that he never wore spectacles—an indirect proof that such appliances were available at Venice about the same period. Allusions to such matters are not unnaturally rare, and we do not know whether the optician was a salesman or merely manufactured for a retailer. In the large engraving of 1782 which depicts an historical scene at the San Benedetto theatre, several of the spectators hold opera

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's *Livery Companies*, 1892, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Of this the singular sliding shutters of a kind of mother-of-pearl at Manila supply an illustration; and the same principle manifests itself in the material used for hedging at Penrhyn in North Wales, at the Cape of Good Hope, and among the African ivory-gatherers.

<sup>3</sup> Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 73. In Madeline Anne Wallace Dunlop's *Glass in the Old World*, London, 1883, there is an interesting and useful account of the Venetian manufacture (pp. 142-4). Molmenti devotes several pages to it (i. 303, *et seq.*, and ii. 169-75).



glasses,<sup>1</sup> but lorgnettes mounted in gold are illustrated in Molmenti, and telescopes for naval and military purposes must have been as familiar and early here as anywhere.

A very gracious and winning side of the earlier Venetian life presents itself to our consideration and view in those numerous *scuole* or sisterhoods under holy patronage, which arose and multiplied in various parts of the city, and had their independent homes and special places of worship. From the thirteenth century at latest, these associations were established on a charitable and philanthropic basis, somewhat cognate with the underlying principle of the Gilds, and their members dedicated their lives and labour to the relief of the poor and the exercise of religious offices, for which some of them had their own rituals. From the latter and from their *mariegole*, the work of eminent artists, a delightful glimpse is obtained of phases of their daily routine and costume; and, for many centuries, throughout the most prosperous and the purest epoch of the nation's history, these institutions formed a beneficial and characteristic element. In their possession and use were service-books embellished with drawings by the first masters of the day, in which the discipline and ceremonial of the body were vividly portrayed, and these volumes received bindings of corresponding splendour.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the large folding plate in the pocket of the present work, vol. ii., and page 956.

<sup>2</sup> Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 178-184.

## CHAPTER LVI

Organ-building—Bells—Iron foundries—The bell as a time-keeper—Early clocks—Computation of time—Earthenware and Porcelain—Majolica—Lace—Alien Corporations—Turks, Armenians—Florentine Association—*Fondaco dei Tedeschi*—Cries of Venice—Puppet-shows—Tobacco—Guides—*The Compagnia della Calza*.

THE introduction of ORGAN-BUILDING, which implies a familiarity with the art of working in metal, is traditionally assigned to a certain priest Gregorio, who is said to have brought in the eighth century a knowledge of the mode of construction from Constantinople where the science was even then in high repute. The art which the Venetians had thus apparently acquired from the Greeks they were not remiss in turning to a lucrative account, for Eginhard, the secretary and biographer of Charlemagne, relates that, in 826, there came with Baldrico a certain priest of Venice, named George (perhaps the aforesaid Gregorio), who said that he knew how to construct an organ, and that the Emperor (Louis le Debonnaire) sent him to Aachen, and desired that all the necessary materials should be given to him. From this date, the manufacture of instruments so essential to religious services, alike in the church and in private oratories, doubtless increased in extent and in excellence, although these matters have, from the absence of specific records, to be judged by inference and from accidental allusions. The organ employed by Matthias Corvinus was made in Venice, and was afterward in the possession of Caterino Zeno who might have acquired it in the course of his travels.

But at Florence, and arguably here also, chamber-organs were in vogue in the first half of the fifteenth century; and, at the social gatherings in which the great Cosimo de' Medici so much delighted, one of his daughters was in the habit of playing on such an instrument. This was the *Regale* or regal, which is noticed in the procession of the Schools at Venice in 1585 in honour of the Japanese ambassadors, and

of which Bacon speaks. But a far more remarkable example might have been the organ, entirely constructed of glass, which was to have been sent from Murano, and which was excluded from the spectacle just mentioned, because it was not ready for delivery.

Under 880-1, the ducal chronicler Dandolo writes: "About the same time, the Doge Orso Badoer was made a Protospatarios by the Greek Emperor; and, in recognition of the honour which he had just received, he sent to Constantinople, as a gift to Basilios, twelve large bells, and from this time forth the Greeks used bells." We are thus to understand that, if Venice owed her acquaintance with organs to the East, she requited the obligation by imparting to Constantinople a discovery, or rather a revival, at least equally valuable and practically still more important. It is surmisable, on the contrary, that Dandolo was under a misapprehension in supposing that the Greeks owed this service to his countrymen, and the present of bells in 881, beyond its commercial value which must have been considerable, could only have furnished the Byzantine prince with evidence of the progress of the Republic, in an art almost unquestionably derived from the East, and in all likelihood from his own Italian subjects. For, in the contemporary or nearly contemporary account of the visit of the exarch Longinus to Venice in 567-8, it is distinctly stated that, on his arrival, he was received with the sound of bells and musical instruments which almost deafened him; and these, while they were not necessarily, or even probably, of national manufacture, were then obviously familiar objects, procured, perhaps, from the Greeks of the *terra firma*, partly to meet growing ecclesiastical wants. Nor is it very hazardous to conclude that there was a fairly prompt transition from the stage of importation to that of local fabrication.

The passage from Dandolo, coupled with the other evidences which we have placed side by side with it, satisfactorily establishes the existence toward the end of the ninth century, not merely of a foundry at Venice, but the arrival at a fair state of working efficiency; and the members of this art were bound to work a fixed quantity of metal annually, as their assessed quota of direct taxation. Nor, indeed, viewed in connexion with the manifold uses to



which iron might be made applicable at home, and the extensive and increasing demand for the article itself in its wrought and manufactured state, which the Venetians had, so far back as the epoch of the Badoer dynasty, from the Saracens and many other warlike nations, will the antiquity thus claimed for the Venetian foundries appear unreasonable. In later times, the Corporation of Ironfounders acquired social influence and note by its importance and number; it had its peculiar franchises and its own Prefect or Gastaldo.

Comparatively speaking, the Iron Trade opened to the Republic during the Middle Ages the same source of profit as it at present affords to the English nation, but, apart from any relative increase in the demand and supply of the article, a wide discrepancy exists between the position of the two countries in this respect. At Venice, iron was simply a manufacture, not a product, and the Venetians did not possess facilities for converting the trade into a monopoly. The probability is that, when the present of twelve bells was made to the Byzantine Court in 880-1, the art was in a somewhat advanced stage of improvement; it was only a few years later that the general structure of the celebrated Campanile was brought to completion (888-900), and that the Tower was made ready to receive the Great Bell. The latter, the metal of which was expressly cast for the purpose, was of stupendous bulk and diameter in the estimation of that age, and there can be no doubt that it long continued to be accounted one of the wonders of the city. It was viewed by the saunterers on the Piazza in the days of Pietro Tribuno (888-912) with intelligible feelings of pride and admiration.

The mediæval employment of bells for civil and ecclesiastical purposes has been referred by some writers to a period considerably anterior to that here indicated; but this point is more or less doubtful, and, certainly, even among the priesthood, their use was at first curtailed by the cost and difficulty of purchase, and the old fashion of striking a board to announce the hours of devotion or repast was long generally retained from necessity, if not from a conservative or indolent option.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a picture of a very ancient bell at p. 213 of *Les arts du moyen âge*, by Lacroix, 1869. It is the representation of a handbell or *tintinnabulum*, ascribed to the ninth century and copied from a MS.

Prior to the general introduction of clocks, the bell played a much more important part in our daily life than we can at first sight believe to have been possible. It was the universal timekeeper and summoner, and it is a point deserving of careful investigation, whether its employment as a factor in the early social system did not precede its adoption by the Church, first for the mere purpose of announcing the hour of prayer or devotion, and subsequently as a moral and religious agency.

In the absence of household clocks, the division of the night into bells was ingenious and indispensable, for the two or three clocks erected in the metropolis itself were valueless after dusk, and all social arrangements depended on this primitive notation of time. Indeed, in an age destitute of culture and education, and among a nautical people, the progress of the hours was long ascertained in chief measure by the courses of the sun and moon and the rise and fall of the sea, as certain islanders in the Pacific still regulate the calendar by the ripening of the yam. We are too prone to see in our method of calculating the hours the sole possible one; the world grew into middle age, and made some excellent history, clockless. It is noticeable that in 1756 Casanova casually remarks that the Terza bell then rang at different times, according to the season of the year; he is writing under the 3rd of July, and it sounded, he tells us, at twelve.

As chancicleer was the sole clock of the primitive villager—the “early village clock” of Shakespear—the bell was long the only machinery for marking the divisions of the monastic day; elsewhere its function at the auction mart has been recorded. It is of those things which already half belong to the past, perhaps in all its purposes, certainly in its ecclesiastical; for while horology was in its nonage, and places of worship were filled by more scattered congregations unprovided with timepieces, the bell became and remained a valuable auxiliary, whereas at present it seems to be somewhat of an anachronism.

The traditions are familiar enough, which carry back the invention of water-clocks or *clepsydræ* to the third century of the Christian era, and of instruments with metallic works and an index or hand acting on a striking-bell, to the eleventh if not to the ninth. Horology which properly ranked among

the discoveries of Archimedes was speedily regained in the renaissance of civilization, but it was brought to perfection by the moderns very slowly and gradually. The clocks which existed in England, France, Germany and Italy in the first moiety of the fourteenth century were sufficiently primitive in their mechanism. They seem to have been uniformly diurnal, to have had one hand only, and to have sounded, through the medium of a bell, the hours but not the halves or the quarters. That at Glastonbury, manufactured in 1325, had stone weights. The famous astronomical clock at Padua, made by Jacopo de Dondis, belongs to the same epoch—a few years later; and the middle of the fourteenth century witnessed the erection of the even more remarkable one at Dijon in Burgundy, surmounted by two human figures which the striking process set in motion—an artifice which in different forms was soon to be seen in France, Italy, Germany, and even Sweden. As to watches, Peter Henlein (1480–1542) is credited with having, in the sixteenth century, invented a pocket clock or watch, known as the Nuremberg Egg. We do not hear of the set larum in Venice, but it was in use in England in the time of Queen Elizabeth; Philip, Earl of Arundel, had one in the Tower.

The instruments which were set up during the same century at various places in England, such as Westminster, Dover, Glastonbury, Wimborne, Exeter, Peterborough, were all alike remarkable for their cumbrous machinery and the costliness of their production. Some may have been the work of ingenious and leisured ecclesiastics, but for the most part they proceeded from the hands of secular experts who are to be commended for their initiatory skill, not for a moment to be blamed for having executed what time and experience only transformed into anachronisms and historical monuments. All these clocks were automatus, but they demanded unceasing attention, were perpetually out of repair, and entailed incredible expense. Charles V. of France instituted, after 1364, a special office for the superintendence of the *Horologe*, and the holder was styled “the Governor of our Palace Clock at Paris.”

The absence of any specific testimony of the existence of timepieces at Venice itself anterior to 1310 cannot be accepted as a proof of an ignorance of them. On the



contrary, taken in connexion with the advanced state of Venetian civilization in other respects, it indicates that the invention was too familiar and of too ancient date to become subject of particular record. On the institution of the Decemviral Council in 1310, one of the earliest decrees promulgated by that tribunal was directed against the practice of traversing the streets by night, a custom which the recent Quirini-Tiepolo Conspiracy had rendered suspicious, and it was ordered, "That no person whosoever shall be suffered, without special licence, to walk abroad after the third bell of the night." This edict undoubtedly alluded to the bell which formed, in the infancy of horology, a substitute for the striking-clock, and which, in the mediæval clocks of larger size adapted for churches and other public buildings, was of corresponding dimensions and compass. We yet retain at sea, and in ports or other places where clocks are absent or invisible, the practice of sounding the hour-bell, and in a Venetian political letter of 1515, the old method of computation is used; the hour-bell used to be rung in the city of London, at all events down to the time of Edward II. Under 1332 there is a notice of the eleventh bell before noon, and similar reckonings occur elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

It is documentarily established that, prior to 1393, a magistracy resembling that at Paris existed here, and that large sums were expended on the construction and repair of chronometrical instruments. In the year mentioned, a report was addressed to the Government on the state of the *old* clock of San Giacomo di Rialto. It appeared<sup>2</sup> that this timepiece, weighing *six hundred* pounds, was clumsy, ponderous and unserviceable; that its bell, from some flaw in the action of the hand, emitted a sound which was barely audible, and that it was, at the same time, a great charge upon the Treasury. In these circumstances, the Procuratorial department sanctioned a proposal laid before them by a mechanical engineer of the day, to replace the instrument by a new one which should be of lighter materials and on an improved model, and, as regards the tone of the bell, of three times the compass.

The computation of time and the necessity for regulating the movements of public bodies, of calculating the dates of the arrival and departure of ships, and of providing for

<sup>1</sup> *A Chronicle of London*, 1827, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. 349.

future arrangements in commercial and other affairs, suggested in 1488 a recourse to an ingenious expedient on the part of one Salomon, probably a Jew, in the shape of a Perpetual Calendar. Earlier issues are possible; this is the first which has been so far recovered, and it forms a folio broadside, having at the foot in the right-hand corner: *Stampata per Nicolo ditto Castilia*.<sup>1</sup>

In or about 1496, the Clock Tower on the left of the Basilica was first erected on its present site opposite the Campanile. Its original form probably differed from that with which we have grown familiar, and the entire mechanism of the time-piece was undoubtedly primitive and imperfect. The Tower is not distinguishable in the painting attributed by collateral testimony to 1494, in which the procession of the *Corpus Domini* occupies the foreground. Evelyn notes under 1645: "Over this porch stands that admirable clock, celebrated next to that of Strasburg for its many movements; amongst which, about twelve and six, which are their hours of Ave Maria, when all the town are on their knees, come forth the three Kings led by a star, and passing by the image of Christ in his Mother's arms, do their reverence, and enter into the clock by another door." He also alludes to the bell at the summit, on which two wild men strike the hours with their hammers, and states that the man who superintended it had recently been killed by failing to avoid the blow as it descended.

Abundant evidence exists to shew that at Venice, down to the eighteenth century, the principle of dividing the civil, as distinguished from the natural, day into two terms of twelve hours each was not generally recognized, and that the clocks registered continuously from 1 to 24. When a Doge took office in 1457, the contemporary official memorandum says: "feliciter eadem die hora XXII. regimen ducatus intravit," or in other words, he assumed his authority at ten o'clock at night, having been elected, according to the same record, at fifteen and a half o'clock, or half past three in the afternoon. In 1755, Casanova speaks of hearing "vingt une heure" strike; the same system probably prevailed throughout Italy. We see from several passages in the Life of Cellini that it did so at Rome, and from Pasolini that the same principle was followed at Forlì. In a letter to his brother in 1621, from on

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in facsimile by Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 433.

shipboard before Venice, James Howell states that he heard a clock from Malamocco strike twenty-one hours.<sup>1</sup>

When we note in the Travels of Marco Polo from 1270 or thereabout till 1295, that he witnessed in the Chinese province of Fo-Kien, at the city of Ting-chau or Tingui, the processes by which the inhabitants already made utensils of porcelain, and saw cups and dishes of that ware on sale, it is difficult to believe that it was not till the fifteenth century that the material and manufacture were introduced into Venice. The truth appears to be that objects in porcelain were long regarded in Europe as luxuries or ornaments; and the more richly and artistically decorated examples, produced by the Chinese themselves, do not date back beyond the sixteenth century, that and the seventeenth being accounted the finest period of fabric and design; it may therefore be the case that the Italians did not recognize in the ruder work an appreciable advance on their own domestic appliances in wood, earthenware or metal. Articles of porcelain, not Oriental but of local origin, are mentioned, however, in a letter of 1470, as then brought to perfection, and also as being modelled on the Oriental style to which the writer considered it superior. Ordinary pottery had probably been in use much earlier, first as an import from the East, and finally as a home product; but majolica is not supposed to have been an article of Venetian manufacture prior to the fifteenth century, when a certain Mistro Agustino of Venice seems to have executed this description of work. A plate is said to be still in existence bearing the inscription: "1530 · fato p. M. Agustin in Venetia." The earlier records of the porcelain and majolica works in Venice are apparently very obscure and incomplete, notwithstanding the Campori, Piccolpasso and Drake papers of which Chaffers had the use.<sup>2</sup> As early as 1520, Titian figures as negotiating a supply of majolica and Murano glass for the Duke of Ferrara, but the pavements of certain ecclesiastical buildings are mentioned at an anterior date as formed of majolica, though there is a disposition to attribute this

<sup>1</sup> *Familiar Letters*, bk. i., No. 27. The railway system in Italy still follows this method.

<sup>2</sup> See also Drake (Sir W. R.), *Notes on Venetian Ceramics*, 1868. The most remarkable assemblage of Italian majolica, including a large number of utensils designed for professional purposes and originally belonging to the Dukes of Urbino, is preserved in the Santa Casa at Loreto. The collection had come from the medical dispensary attached to the palace at Urbino. Chaffers, 1912, p. 148.



to Siena. The manufacture of majolica and earthenware continued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that of ordinary pottery much later. Mistro Lodovico occurs in 1540 as the salesman of majolica at a shop on or adjoining the bridge leading to San Polo; the same depôt was in existence in 1568, a painter named Domenigo working for it. There is some ground for the opinion that Faenza (whence comes the term *faïence*) was the inspiring source of the Venetian school of ceramic art, as the products of these two places bear a striking resemblance to each other. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a revival of the industry took place at Murano under official protection; but it did not succeed.

Immense quantities of earthenware for domestic and pharmaceutical use were doubtless made here, as well as at Padua and other cities on *terra firma*, from the fifteenth century onward, and the trade was largely in the hands of the Bocaleri Gild which enjoyed the usual privileges and exemptions. But, alike in regard to pottery and porcelain, if not also majolica, Venice is shown to have been an extensive medium for the distribution in Europe of Eastern wares, before the Republic started as a maker or imitator.

The regular manufacture of true porcelain is ascribed to the Vezzi family<sup>1</sup> who commenced their operations about 1720 at Lido. The business was soon converted into a company, with a capital of 30,000 ducats, to which Carlo Ruzzini, Doge from 1732 to 1735, belonged, and which rented the premises of the family. The main difficulty arose from the need of obtaining the kaolin from a distance, but the industry continued with more or less success down to 1812, and both sorts of paste were made. The marks were numerous, including the creeper or fish-hook which differed from the Chelsea anchor, although the latter may have been suggested by the Venetian symbol found on the Chelsea work of the second period, attributed to Venetian hands. Chaffers draws attention to the resemblance borne by the English china to its Italian prototype, not merely in gilding and painting, but in the method of preparation; as a matter of fact,

<sup>1</sup> For some account of Francesco Vezzi, goldsmith and jeweller, b. 1651, see Drake, p. 19. Giovanni Vezzi, the father of Francesco and Giuseppe, was a follower of the same business at the Golden Dragon in San Zuanne, in Rialto.

a comparison of the same object—such as the figure of Justice—made at the factory at different periods prompts the suggestion that the Italian style is the later one. He engraves the mark on a Venetian cup and saucer, “Ven<sup>a</sup>. A.G. 1726,” which is taken to be the most ancient example with a date. The marks on the majolica are of course infinitely more varied, and usually comprise the name of the artist and that of the salesman, with his address, whence comes the information that majolica was made in Castello and Murano, as well as in Venice itself. There is a dish bearing the inscription: “Fatto in Venezia in Chastello. 1546.” Both majolica and porcelain were made at many places in the Venetian territories outside the Dogado, particularly at Bassano, Verona and Treviso. A peculiar kind of white china, long assigned to Capodimonte, is now pronounced to be Venetian.

A customary wedding-gift in the eighteenth century was a service of china in a leathern case or box bearing the arms of the family or families. One with the coat of the Semiticoli is mentioned as having been in the Cavendish-Bentinck collection.<sup>1</sup> There is elsewhere a mention of the dessert-service of fine porcelain, painted with mythological subjects, presented by the Queen of Portugal before 1784, to Angelo Emo, the famous Venetian admiral.

LACE does not appear to have entered into any of the programmes of the guilds, unless it fell within the province of that of the Fringe-makers, the *Scuola dei Passamaneri*. But it was an object of extensive manufacture in nunneries and private dwellings, and ladies of the highest rank dedicated a portion of their time to this accomplishment. Two Dogaressas of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Dandolo-Malipiero and Morosina Morosini-Grimani, and the noble Viena Vendramin-Nani zealously encouraged it. To the last, Cesare Vecellio inscribed his *Corona delle nobili e virtuose donne* in 1592, which closely and suspiciously corresponds with a volume published by Gianantonio Tagliente in 1560, *Ornamente delle belle e virtuose Donne*. The production in private houses continued down to the latter part at least of the seventeenth century, for De la Haye notices that, when the ladies are at home, they commonly entertain themselves in making their *Punti in aria*, which are the *Points de Venise* so much valued in France, and sometimes improperly

<sup>1</sup> Litchfield, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 1900, p. 305.

claimed and described as *Points de France*. Mention has been made of a volume of German, French and Italian designs by Pagano, published at Venice in 1525; but this book seems to belong to a later date—about 1560—and has no note of issue.<sup>1</sup> In 1530, Zoppino published his *Book of Patterns* ancient and modern,<sup>2</sup> and the varieties became very numerous and the application of the art more and more extended, the Church sharing with the house and the person the benefits of this charming invention. Both sexes made lace a part of their ceremonial attire, and, even at a date prior to any distinct records of the export of the material to foreign countries, the fame of the Venetian fabric must have been well diffused, for it is thought that the lace worn at the coronation of Richard III. of England was obtained from this source. The Venetian *Lace* and *Linen* Books were, during half a century or so, constantly reprinted, yet complete copies are naturally of very rare occurrence. In 1414, the horses in a state procession at Venice are said to have housings of the material, but it was probably not in ordinary use for female costume till the seventeenth century. Gold and silver lace was largely employed in the vestments of ecclesiastics, and in the robes of ceremony and state worn by both sexes. In a contemporary account of the rich costume of the Dogressa Mocenigo in 1763, the petticoat (*sottana*), partly shewn beneath the outer mantle of cloth of gold, is described as covered with flowers in gold lace.

The manufactory of Burano claims the distinction of having invented the *coupé* and the point in relief. It is difficult to decide what credence is due to the tradition that the germ of this beautiful fabric is to be sought in the art of the net-maker, or in the seaweed. It was the same principle as that of the net, differently applied and more delicately handled. But a species of seaweed known as *Alcyonaria* also bears a strong likeness to lace, and examples of lace coral have been found at considerable depths in the Antarctic Ocean. The noble Italian ladies often distinguished themselves by their skill in needlework and embroidery as well as in lace-making.

<sup>1</sup> *Raccolta de tutti i ritratti e disegni di ricchami in Alemagna, in Francia et in Italia.* 4°, with many engravings and a representation on title of women at work.

<sup>2</sup> *Esemplario di Lavori dove le tenere fanciulle et altre donne nobili potranno imparare il modo et ordine di lavorare.* 4°, Vinegia, 1530.



In 1502 we find Battista Riario thanking Madonna Caterina of Forli for seven shirts which she had made him.

The cosmopolitan tendency and attributes of the Republic involved, almost as a necessity and beyond mere tolerance, the admission into the city of traders of all the most prominent nationalities of Europe and Asia. The Greeks, the Turks, the Jews, the Armenians, the Germans, the Swiss were not only welcomed, but were accommodated in a suitable and convenient manner, subject to strict conformity with the laws as well as with special regulations framed in the interest of general tranquillity. All these strangers were originally at liberty to reside where they pleased; but it was discovered to be inconvenient on different grounds to allow persons of heterodox faith the free range of the capital and its suburbs, and separate and special quarters were successively assigned to the Jews and the Turks, the former occupying the *Ghetto*, the latter, subsequently to 1621 when the ancient Valmieri palace was converted to this new use, being restricted to the precincts of the *Fondaco dei Turchi* on the Grand Canal, where the Government caused all the approaches to be closely guarded and watched after sunset, and interdicted visits from women and young boys. The building has in our time been reconstructed, and now holds the famous Correr Museum. In 1507, three women of the town were whipped through the Merceria, for having been found within the precincts and having lain with Turks.<sup>1</sup> Of the most ancient foreign fraternity we perhaps hear the least. The Armenian merchants were already in 1178 established here, and by his will the Doge Sebastiano Ziani, who had in earlier life resided in their country and probably accumulated part of his wealth there, left to the company one of his houses in the street of San Giuliano.<sup>2</sup>

An element in the system of foreign domestication at Venice, which differed from the others in one respect, was the colony of Silk-weavers from Lucca which, in the first half of the fourteenth century, was driven from its home by tyranny, and sought an asylum in the lagoon, where it formed itself into a sort of fraternity, and built for its use the Church of Volto Santo of which some remains were recently visible

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii. 603.

<sup>2</sup> Filiasi, *Ricerche storiche*, p. 137.

near the ruins of that of the Servites. In the often-quoted oration before the Pregadi in 1423, the Doge Mocenigo lays heavy stress on the benefits which accrued to the Venetians from the Luccese settlement.

The Florentine Association dates even farther back than that of Lucca, for it appears in the light of an important and wealthy body in 1313 during the course of the negotiations for a settlement of the Ferrarese difficulty, and the Government is found putting some pressure on its members in order to facilitate an exchange of Venetian for Tuscan money. In 1425, one of the provisions of a treaty to which Florence was a subsidiary party placed this body on an equality with the German Gild, as a means of indemnifying the Tuscans for disappointment in other directions. At this point of time, Giovanni de' Medici was a member, and acted in a diplomatic capacity on behalf of his country during its unequal struggle with Milan. There is a distinct indication that, at a much later period, the Tuscan colony at Venice remained numerous and influential, for, in 1621, funeral honours on a splendid scale were paid by the Florentine residents here to Cosimo II., Grand Duke of Florence.<sup>1</sup> On the Campo dei Frari at a relatively late date, the Milanese were permitted to establish themselves, and, in immediate contiguity to their Hall, to have a Chapel in the Frari Church where they were at liberty to use the Ambrosian liturgy. It is scarcely probable that this event happened prior to the middle of the fifteenth century—perhaps after the Treaty of Lodi, when the political relations between Venice and Milan had become more friendly through the death of Filippo Maria Visconti in 1447. The altar-piece in the chapel was not completed till 1498.

Every country in the world, having diplomatic or commercial relations with Europe, and more especially Northern Italy, was adequately represented at Venice. Ambassadors, consuls, agents or factors, bankers, abounded through the whole of the flourishing and strong period. The Italians of the *terra firma*, the Germans, the Swiss, the French, the Spaniards, the English, had their delegates, and the utmost facilities for trade and personal protection. It was to the obvious interest of the Republic to encourage, by every legitimate method, all

<sup>1</sup> *Esequie fatte in Venticia dalla Natione Fiorantina al Serenissimo D. Cosimo il quarto Grand Duca di Toscana, il di 25 di Maggio, 1621. Folio, Venetia, 1621.*

those who conduced to promote its mercantile welfare, and to maintain its dignity and rank as one of the family of European States. Of all the establishments erected for the benefit of foreigners the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, previously in succession the Casa Pesaro and the palace of the Dukes of Ferrara, is probably the most familiar to the eye of the modern traveller, since it has survived every revolution, and is to be seen at the present day on the Grand Canal—a splendid shell, for it has long ceased to answer the purpose for which it first rose from the lagoon; indeed its palmiest days preceded the advent of the Hollanders to the front rank for a season. Within those precincts, even the princely house of Fugger of Augsburg once thought it desirable to have a branch of their bank to meet the convenience of German traders and financiers, till that Power gave way before the wave of Dutch ascendancy.

Coryat saw the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, and speaks of it as the *Fontigo* of the Dutch merchants. "They say," he tells us, "there are two hundred severall lodgings in this house: it is square and built foure stories high, with faire galleries, supported with prety pillars in rowes above each other."<sup>1</sup> Over the entrance there was an inscription in stone: *Leonardi Lauretani Incltyti Principis Principatus anno sexto*, which seems to indicate the restoration in 1507-8 after the disastrous fire of 1505. The exterior of the old building had been decorated with frescoes by Giorgione and Titian. So far back as 1268, the German Gild was under the superintendence of three Visdomini, and at all times the Venetian Executive regulated the whole external economy of the institution, which was at once a boarding-house, a restaurant and a club.

In the eighteenth century, on the decline of the chartered trading associations, arose a considerable number of licensed itinerant hawkers. Gaetano Zompini has left evidence of sixty callings, represented in this way, in his illustrated *Cries of Venice*,<sup>2</sup> and possibly there were others. Part of the value of the book lies in the fair assumption that the condition of affairs depicted by Zompini might be equally applicable to the earlier years of the century, if not to the preceding one, for the Venetians were inimical to change. The author

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 245-6.

<sup>2</sup> Zompini (b. 1698, d. 1778). *Le arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia*, folio, 1785.



has etched for our benefit the Vintner, the Cooper who equally officiated as a shop-fitter, the Cobbler, the Tinker, the Knife-grinder, and the peripatetic Glazier who carries in his arms a whole window-frame, the Coal-higgler (who is made to say that there are only two authorized by superiors, although five or six are discernible in the picture), the Quack who offers his miraculous balsam, the Slop-seller, the Wood-dealer from Friuli, who is depicted, hat in hand and tools on shoulder, making a bargain with a customer who smokes a long pipe, and the Chair-mender from Cadore which yielded, after all, something more than Titian. In an early engraving belonging to another work, the Chimney-sweep, with his long broom and the sack for the soot, is in a street parleying with a woman from an upper casement.<sup>1</sup>

Two vocations which modern judgment has separated appear to have been possessed by the same individual, who was at once your gardener and your dustman; he would even attend to your vineyard. A pretty industry, followed by a later Autolyceus, was the street traffic in small wares, needles, pins, laces and ribbons. We perceive that people of the Grisons were specially licensed to vend buns, that the man with the performing monkey was a Piedmontese, that there were dancing-dogs of unrecorded origin, and that the seller of singing-birds for casements found his business brisker in March. In one plate there is a puppet-show, and in another some sort of kaleidoscope, where a boy, mounted on a stool, has paid a *soldo* for a peep. The dealers in comestibles are numerous and persuasive. There are for the fortunate persons at hand with money in their pockets black puddings, hot puddings buttered and seasoned with cheese, plum-fritters, *polentina* or hasty pudding, and snails; the last, properly dressed, are particularly recommended for children and invalids. In the cut in which the fritters are on sale, a lady and gentleman, the former holding a fan, appear to be contemplating an investment. The dealer in *polentina* has, as his clients, three hungry and eager boys, who regard the covered dish, laid on a basket turned upside down, and evidently deprecate delay in coming to terms. The merchant who supplies Easter eggs is not forgotten; and we are reminded in the text that there was the Egg-game, in which the victory was to whoever played longest

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, iii. 188.

with an egg without breaking it. In one of the plates, there is a statement which we cannot guarantee, that the price charged by the pedlar was lower than that asked in shops. It is numbered 29, and the letterpress verses beneath are:—

“Da tutte le stagion mi vendo fruti  
Più a bon marcà de quei delle botteghe,  
E per la baza ghe ne compra tuti.”

The ingenuous vendor is weighing the quantity ordered, and one of two women holds out her apron to receive it. A phase of Venetian life, familiar enough down to the close, if even yet obsolete, was that shown in No. 43 of the present series, in which a fortune-teller and palmist is holding a levee of persons of both sexes and of different ranks. From the most remote age, necromancy and all the cognate arts had had their votaries at Venice.

The collection of which we have made use more immediately depicts the later life, and does not seem to approach exhaustion; for, in a similar one for Rome of 1646, which is evidently a reprint of an earlier issue, an examination readily detects numerous industries which must have been common to other places—sulphur matches, pure ink, locks and bolts, melting-ladles, straw hats, hornbooks, rat pills and spindles. There is a third publication of correspondent type, purporting to illustrate the trades of Bologna as they were in the time of Annibale Caracci.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the ordinary puppet-show, there was the cheap theatrical spectacle, where the proprietor was not precluded, on certain special occasions, from erecting in the principal thoroughfares a temporary scaffold, whence the performer or company might operate without obstruction, generously relying on voluntary fees. A similar method was pursued even by the astrologer and the cheap or charlatan tooth-drawer, who

<sup>1</sup> *Le Arti di Bologna, designate da Annibale Caracci, ed intagliate da Simone Giulini*. There are editions of 1608, 1646, 1776. So early a knowledge and use of the lucifer match seems to have escaped Fournier, *Le Vieux-Neuf*, 1877, i. 120–1. There are also the glimpses of the broom-seller in 1443, whom we meet, as it were, as we go down the street of SS. Gervasio e Protasio, talking to a woman at a casement above on an October day about some passing matter, and of the woman who sells eggs, who is introduced by Titian into a picture of the Presentation at the Temple. Molmenti, *op. cit.*, ii. 453.

In the Cries of Bologna, we encounter the cheesemonger from Piacenza, the chair-mender, the house-painter, the gardener with rake and grapes, the architect, the picture-dealer, the cat's-meat man, the pork-butcher and the vendors of sieves and clogs.

conducted their respective callings in the sight of the admiring crowd.

We do not precisely know in what places of business, unless it was at the apothecaries', tobacco and snuff were on sale, and still less the boxes for holding them, but we encounter the man in the street in the eighteenth century, with his stock of tobacco on a covered stall. It grew into a habit among ladies in a certain sphere or of easy manners, to take pinches of snuff out of men's boxes as a pretty or gracious compliment. We have in the *Cries* the fellow smoking a long pipe, probably of clay; a German traveller observed the same thing in London in 1598, yet as a novelty, at least to him.

An occupation which probably engrossed the services of a sufficiently large body of respectable and trustworthy hands was the constant duty of guiding parties at night to the theatre, the masquerade and the dinner or evening party; this phase of humble industry is reflected in the pages of the volume before us, where the lantern-bearer (*codega*) precedes two masked and cloaked figures bent on some errand of pleasure. One of the prints indicates that keys to the Opera-house were publicly sold; a vendor is seen in the foreground holding a bunch in his hand.

Allied to the Gilds, merely in a ceremonial and festive sense, was the peculiar organization, the *Compagnia della Calza* with its numerous branches. It was a rich and brilliant fellowship of gallant and debonnair young aristocrats, devoted to the pursuit of pleasure in all its healthier forms. In every fashionable wedding, in every gala, regatta, tournament, masquerade, its members took a distinguished part, and generously contributed to the attendant expense. The association was wholly non-political, and did not interfere with the government, nor the government with it. The preparation of its sumptuous programmes in connexion with periodical entertainments, their successful issue and the agreeable survey in retrospect went far to engross the time and thoughts of these superb triflers, to make topics for gossip and opportunities for harmless intrigue, and to save the Signory the trouble of curbing a bevy of hot and restless spirits.

The uniform of the society<sup>1</sup> consisted of a striped parti-coloured stocking (*calza*) worn on the left leg, reaching to the

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 6-7.



hip, drawn over tight breeches, and embroidered with quaint figures of quadrupeds and birds; a doublet of velvet or cloth of gold with open sleeves and facings displaying the shirt-frill, a flowing mantle of silk or other costly texture, thrown back on the shoulder in such a manner as to shew the emblematic stocking richly worked on the lining, a black or red bonnet with a jewelled apex, and long pointed shoes studded with precious stones. Many of the female members of the aristocracy were honorary associates, and on festive occasions the latter wore a dress bearing on the sleeve the mystical device of the CALZA. The Company had its own statutes and bye-laws. At a subsequent date, its numbers increased, and it was divided into several branches of which the *Immortals*, the *Royals*, the *Ethereals*, the *Accesi* or *Gay* and the *Peacocks* were the most noted.<sup>1</sup> Nor was there a peremptory limit of age when a personage at once eminent and popular desired to join. There were also foreign honorary associates; in 1476, Lodovico III., Marquis of Mantua, was admitted on his visit to Venice to the fellowship as a distinguished stranger.

Apart from the *Calza* which wearers of the Orders of the Bath, the Garter and the Thistle need not undervalue, the Venetians had two methods of bestowing marks of their appreciation on personages of merit: admission to the rights of citizenship, which was very frugally dispensed and was, of course, limited to foreigners including crowned heads, and the diploma of the unique knightly order of the patron evangelist, which was open to all.<sup>2</sup> In a few instances, knighthood was conferred by foreign sovereigns on the diplomatists accredited to them by the Signory, and eminent Venetians have been so honoured by the English kings from Henry VII. to George III.

<sup>1</sup> Morelli, *Solennità e pompe nuziali presso li Veneziani*, 1793, 14-16; Mutinelli, *Del costume veneziano*, 1831; Malespini, *Novelle*, part 1, No. 41.

<sup>2</sup> In 1662, Andrea Rossini, a faithful public servant and Master of the Mint, received this distinction. The diploma occupies thirteen lines on a single sheet of parchment, and is engrossed in large characters in black and gold, with a broad illuminated border displaying the winged Lion of St. Mark. The seal, silk cord and tassel are still attached to the document.

## CHAPTER LVII

The COINAGE—Obscurity attendant on the most ancient currency of the Republic—Lengthened poverty of the system—Fifty or sixty varieties of a mediæval silver *denaro* recovered—Payments calculated by weight—Foreign money recognized—Bills of exchange—The silver *grosso*—Sterling coinage—The first gold ducat (1284)—The legends—Earliest pieces with the likeness of the Doge—The practice promptly abolished—The *Scudo d'oro* (1528–30)—The silver ducat (1559–67)—The *Doppia d'oro*—The *Giustina* (1571)—The *Scudo della croce*—Colonial currencies—Money of necessity—Convention Money—*Oselle* or ceremonial pieces—The 100-ducat piece of Luigi Manin.

THERE is, on the whole, no portion of an historical task on which so much labour attends, as an attempt to trace the beginnings of a nation's coinage.<sup>1</sup> The right to strike money, by its own authority and on its own soil, is one which every country has been anxious to claim and to cherish, and even this jealous solicitude has increased in great measure the embarrassment of the historian. For the legitimate interest and curiosity which have always been manifested in this subject since the revival of literary tastes, have led to an immense fabrication of false pieces which have formed the material on which credulous and inconsiderate persons have built false theories and opinions. From this form of danger and mischief Venice has not enjoyed an exemption. At Padua in 1818, an attempt was made to present a complete view of the currency in circulation under the consuls, and this so far differed from ordinary impositions that it was entirely unsophisticated by authenticity. It is certainly remarkable, however, that, in the continual process of dredging the lagoons under government inspection in the days of the old Republic, numismatic relics should not have been exhumed even in abundance; and it is extremely likely that excavations undertaken on the spot would bring to light

<sup>1</sup> "I must first thank your Serenity for sending me the money with your imprint. I will take it home with me to shew to his Majesty, who will be pleased, as the excellency of the money is one of the chief evidences of the greatness of princes."—Sir Henry Wotton, British envoy to Venice, addressing the Doge in Council, 18th December, 1618.

some valuable and authentic examples of the primitive coinage.

When we look at the coins struck in the darkest ages by nations infinitely less advanced than the Republic, they almost compel a belief that Venice must have had some sort of money, several generations before the probable or approximate date of any now known. In the first quarter of the sixth century, the Prefect Cassiodorus, writing *Tribunus maritimorum*, in which term it may be allowable to suppose that the Venetians were embraced though the hypothesis is not vital, describes those whom he addresses in the name of his royal employer as striking *moneta victualis quodammodo*. In other words, a traveller who had commercial relations at that time with Venice and her neighbours was expected and bound to accept in payment any symbol which he knew or believed to be officially recognized. Perhaps at the very first outset, strips of leather as among the Russians, or tablets of salt such as Lord Valentia mentions as circulating in Hindustan and to which the Frankish Veneti themselves are also alleged to have resorted, were received here on the authority of certain accredited marks or characters, as equivalents for smaller parcels of goods and in ordinary daily transactions.

It seems beyond belief and possibility that any State having, like Venice, a free existence from the middle of the fifth century, should have neglected for a very great length of time to organize some more or less distinct monetary system, but the hypothesis that one which was from the outset so emphatically commercial should or could do so is simply inadmissible. In the eighth century, at all events, the Republic was making war and concluding treaties on her own account. At the commencement of the ninth (810), the emperors of the East and West joined at Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle in pronouncing her independent of either. A community, increasing yearly in wealth, power and estimation, possessing its own sovereign, governed by its own laws, was not likely, when it wanted nothing else essential to its political life, to be without a currency of its own, however imperfect and rude, or without some more or less efficient substitute for it. In the earlier half of the ninth century, *Monetario* or Moneyer had found its way into the Venetian



nomenclature. It is perhaps not too rash to infer that, before it became the name of a family, it was that of an established vocation. Unfortunately, as to the date of settlement of the Monetarii in the lagoons we are at fault, nor do we seem to hear of them any more—they were possibly foreigners.

According to a passage in the chronicle of Dandolo, Rodolph King of Italy, in the year 926, “declared that the Doge of Venice had the power of coining money, because it appeared to him that the ancient Doges had continually done this.”<sup>1</sup> Now, it is excessively important to remember that this is not a licence to strike money, but a declaration that the Doges (according to the information afforded to Rodolph, rather than possessed by that prince) had long done so, and had the right. The mere sanction of a weakly established German potentate, such as his majesty, might not have been of much real utility, when an extended recognition of a currency was even more important to the Republic than the leave to issue one on her own account. The question arises, What was this money which the ancient Doges issued? The answer must be, We do not certainly know.

The Venetians, entitled from the sixth to the ninth century to the privilege of a separate mint, had a comparative abundance of models before them. They might have copied and improved the Lombardic types as Charlemagne did. It was open to them to imitate the Byzantine coins, like the Merovingian moneyers; or, with regard to the old Greek and Roman pieces in all metals, there was no difficulty in reproducing them with a few necessary changes of detail, and it was almost impossible that such reproductions should have been worse than the efforts of the Gauls and the Britons in the same direction. A series of coins of the Frankish type in about fifty-five varieties, from the time of Louis le Débonnaire to that of Henry IV. or V.—a period extending over two centuries and a half—appears to be the whole salvage of tons upon tons of metal, impressed with recognized characters at various mints including even Paris. The series embraces silver denarii of the *Otto Imperator* type and with the name of the Emperor Berengarius II., both of the tenth century and bearing the

<sup>1</sup> “Declaravit Ducem Venetiarum potestatem habere fabricandi monetam, quia ei constitit antiquos Duces hoc continuatis temporibus perfecisse.”

word "*Venecias*." Other coins of the same rulers were struck independently for Verona, which may tend to shew that those inscribed *Venecias* were limited in their circulation to Venice and the more or less immediate confines.<sup>1</sup>

Under a democratic government, it is especially probable that, the pattern once approved, the coin was reproduced year after year without material alteration; and the extant specimens may represent what was issued during the ninth and following centuries by hundreds of thousands. The *denaro* occupied the same position in the primitive monetary system of Venice as the *denier* among the Franks and the silver penny in England. It was the only circulating medium in Venice till the twelfth century, in France till the Carolingian era, and in England till the reign of Edward III. But in all these countries, though in the Republic to the largest extent, a great amount of Byzantine and other foreign money was freely taken in payment; we have, besides, to consider that the mediæval system of taxation and trade had a tendency to retard, rather than to stimulate, the development of a metallic currency. The so-termed Galley halfpence or *Suskin* and *Dodkin*, of which casual notices present themselves, were probably small billon pieces of various origin, which were long accepted in payment from the Venetians and other foreign visitors arriving in the port of London, but their precise monetary value was apparently uncertain, and at length the Venetians at least were ordered, under penalties by Acts of Parliament 13 Henry IV. and 4 Henry V., not to bring or tender them. They were, however, still occasionally offered and accepted.<sup>2</sup>

The translation of the remains of St. Mark to Venice took place in the year 829. From that date and that circumstance, an inference has been drawn which we shall content ourselves with describing as rather a bold one. Taken in connexion with the absence of any mention of the new patron saint on the *denaro*, the arrival of the holy relics is presumed to have been posterior to the issue of the coin, or, in other words, the *denaro* has been pronounced older than 829. In this superior antiquity there is nothing improbable; the type and character themselves are not

<sup>1</sup> The present opportunity may be taken of noting that the various and able works of Count Papadopoli on the Coins of Venice render more than a general view superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Hazlitt's *Coins of Europe*, 1893, pp. 236-7. Galley Row was between Hart Street, Crutched Friars and Church Lane.

sufficiently pronounced or distinctive to fix the origin of the coin within a century, but the argument is of no validity. We should prefer to describe the piece of money as apparently the earliest Venetian coinage yet discovered, and as the only traceable currency of local mintage in the Republic from the sixth to the ninth century.

The public and private collections of England and the Continent are seldom without specimens of this sort of *denaro*, unmistakably emanating from a Frankish or German mint, with the name of the reigning prince on one side and *Moneta Venecias*, *Venecias*, or *Venecia* in one or two lines on the other. These pieces are generally accepted as having been intended for the Province rather than the City of Venice, and are presumed to have been *denari* specially struck for currency in the peninsula by the kings of Italy. They do not go farther back, it seems, than the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, with whose name two types are extant, and, during the continuance of the Carolingian rule, they must have passed habitually through the hands of Venetian traders and travellers. In general appearance they are not dissimilar from some of the Anglo-Saxon pennies, but they more immediately resemble in fabric much of the earlier imperial money on which they were doubtless modelled, as well as the autonomous coinages of Trieste, Aquileia, Mantua and Genoa. They may be seen in all their modifications and varieties in the Papadopoli monographs. The association of the name of the reigning emperor with that of the local government had its precise analogy in the other Italian currencies of the Middle Ages, including that of the Popes from the tenth to the thirteenth century.

The game of problems, however, is not quite terminated; we do not yet come to firm ground. Schweitzer<sup>1</sup> and Padovan<sup>2</sup> have included in their series two billon coins, one of eight, the other of ten grains,<sup>3</sup> with the name of one of the emperors styled Henry on one side, and of the ordinary imperial type, but, what is surely very remarkable and speculative, having on the reverse S. MARCVS VENE and the effigy of the Saint. Both writers seem to concur in thinking that

<sup>1</sup> *Serie delle monete d'Aquileja e di Venezia*, 1848-52.

<sup>2</sup> Padovan and Cecchetti, *Sommario della Nummografia veneziana*, Venice, 1866.

<sup>3</sup> The weight slightly varies in specimens equally unworn, the preparation of the flans of metal having been imperfect. Of course, friction and use are other powerful agencies in the decline from the Mint standard.



the Henry meant is Henry IV. who was crowned only in 1084. Henry III. became emperor in 1039. Whichever it may have been, the date might be the same within about fifty years; it was a piece struck in the eleventh century. With every desire to keep within cautious limits, we will go so far as to add a belief that this other *denaro* was issued at Venice for circulation in the Italian territories of the third or fourth Henry, with the imperial name as a mark of complimentary distinction, and the name of the tutelary saint as a proof of local origin, somewhat on the same principle as the continental convention-money from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. There is an analogous case in a coin of the same epoch struck for West Friesland. There the name of the Emperor Henry III. is associated with that of Count Bruno III.; Venice, being a republican government, might have preferred the introduction of the tutelary saint. Delepierre speaks of a Count of Flanders in the seventh century; but, at any rate, the provinces of the Netherlands severed themselves at an early date from the German yoke, and were practically as independent as the Republic herself. Count Papadopoli<sup>1</sup> has described and engraved types of the Venetian piece with and without the name of St. Mark. On the whole, the ancient coinage, although it was scanty from a modern point of view, was not more so than the contemporary coinage of such countries as England and France.

Yet, even when the Republic had fairly begun to establish its own coinage, and to reduce the operations of the mint to a system and a science, the process was slow, and the results unimportant. It was long before the currency acquired any considerable proportion or volume. The truth is that the *denaro* continued to be the staple, if not the sole, medium. Just as the English were six or seven centuries without possessing any higher denomination than a penny in silver, the Venetians mechanically reproduced the *denaro* from generation to generation, and relied, for coins of higher value and in the more precious metals, on the specie which came to them from various directions, more or less regularly in the way of business or tribute, and which was tacitly recognized and accepted. The moneys of all countries were probably at one time by sufferance legal tender;

<sup>1</sup> *Monete de Venezia*, 1893. See Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 155-166.

and among the Italian republics generally the coinage was apt to acquire an international character. A merchant merely asked in payment of his goods something tangible which would enable him to go back into the market and enter into new purchases. Thus it happens that in ancient documents foreign currency is mentioned just as familiarly as if it had been that of Venice itself. At the same time, precautions were necessary in the reception of more or less considerable sums in foreign specie, to secure proper weight and genuine money; and from a rather obscurely worded clause in the coronation-oath of Giacomo Tiepolo (1229), it is not very dangerous to infer that some system of assay was carried on by a department of the Executive, to check abuses in importations, and to regulate the standard at home.

In the remarkable account of benefactions of Fortunatus, Patriarch of Grado, about A.D. 825, the property described is estimated by *romanati*, *mancusi* or *mancosi* (marks) and *libræ*. Of these three denominations, the first was simply the Byzantine *solidus* of gold, which varied in weight and value, but may be approximately set down as worth ten shillings of English money; from the coronation-oath of Tiepolo (1229), we learn that the yearly tribute from Veglia to the treasury was paid in *romanati*—the ordinary currency of the locality. The mark was not a coin, but money of account, and represented about 13s. 4d. The *libra*, so often named by Fortunatus, must be interpreted as a measure of weight—there was no money so called at the period or till very long after; and where we see some costly object appraised by the patriarch at so many pounds, it is to be concluded that they were pounds of *denari* or *lire di piccoli*, unless they are specified as being of gold, in which case an equal bulk in Greek *solidi* is presumably implied.

Muratori speaks of *Libræ Veneticorum* as current in the middle of the tenth century, but he does not tell us what they were, and in 1088 we meet with an equally vague reference to *libræ auri*. A clause in the coronation-oath of 1229 goes a step farther, in referring to the cloth of gold to be presented by a new Doge to the Church of Saint Mark, which was to be worth twenty-five pounds of *denari* of Venice (*libræ denariorum Venetiarum*) or upward. The *denari* might be large or small, but the calculation was by weight or in bullion; the *libra Venetiarum* was not a coin. The close

intimacy between weight and early currency is illustrated by the *uncia* or *onza* of some European States as well as of Chili and Peru, the *peso* of South America *in genere*, the *peseta* of Spain, and (to a certain extent) the *drachma* and *obolos* of ancient and modern Greece. In an account of the English towns of Warwick in Norman times, we similarly hear of *libræ denariorum*—evidently a computation by weight.<sup>1</sup>

Of foreign money, in addition to what we have enumerated, there were three other varieties which Venice, from lack of a sufficient supply of her own manufacture, acknowledged and accepted during the earlier centuries. These were the Arabic dirhem of silver which conveniently adapted itself to current requirements, being equal to two Lombard or Frankish *denari*; the *perpero*, and the bezant or byzant. The last certainly, if not both that and the *perpero*, existed in two metals, gold and silver; and it is particularly noticeable that, in the time of the Doge Domenico Contarini (1043–71), the *byzant* passed commonly current in the Republic on Saturday market days. Whether this was the gold or the silver piece is not stated; perhaps it was both; and we may observe that, in the important treaty between the Republic and Armenia in 1201, the byzant is the only coin named, the gold and silver of the document being pretty clearly bullion, like the three hundred pounds which King Tarquin gave for the Sibylline Books, and the silver which the patriarch Abraham paid for his field. The silver byzant was known as the *byzantius albus*, just as the Venetians subsequently had their *quattrino bianco* and the French their *blanche*, and was received in England in 1395 as equivalent to two shillings.<sup>2</sup> In the phraseology of mediæval codices and deeds, *alba firma* usually stands for silver or bullion currency. In the same manner as the *denaro*, the *perpero* was treated also as money of account, and value was occasionally calculated by *lire di perperi*.

With reference to the right of circulation accorded on Saturdays to the byzant of one or both metals, it is perhaps a notion apt to occur to the student that, so far from this being the original form of the privilege or licence, it was probably a limitation of a wider acceptance or recognition, a transition from a general to a special reception of the coin of another Government.

In addition to the *lira* or *libra*, regarded as a measure of

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's Blount, 1874, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 247.



weight, and the other artificial expedients of the same sort already mentioned, there were two species of money of account in use—the *libra grossorum* or *lira di grossi*, and the *libra parvulorum* or *lira di piccoli*. In a work giving an account of a sale of galleys by auction in 1332, the realized values are uniformly computed by the *lira di grossi*.

All these devices for obviating the inconvenience arising from a scanty currency might, however, have failed to provide any adequate remedy for the evil, if trade had not been largely conducted on a basis of exchange, and payments in kind had not long remained in universal vogue. Bills of exchange were already well known in the fourteenth century at Venice, and the broker who conducted such transactions was a familiar figure on the Rialto and in Lombard Street. The names of several of them have come down to us.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Venetian bill so far recovered belongs to 1394; in numerous cases they are recorded in the archives in the shape of protests or errors. The rate was reckoned at the current value of the gold ducat from day to day, and was, so far as London or England was concerned, from 46 to 53 silver pence. An immense volume of business was done for centuries in these securities, and it is to be more than suspected that, in the civil commotions and troubles in England and Scotland, the Venetian traders suffered at intervals in a pecuniary direction, through the uncertainty and the vicissitudes of fortune incidental to the wars of the Plantagenets and their royal successors. The practice of making payments in this manner arose from the constantly increasing amount of business between parties at a distance, and the different monetary standards in vogue. Default was doubtless a not unusual incident, and we encounter protested bills as early as 1442—such documents may very well have existed long before. We have an actual document of 1326, immediately belonging to Milan, but it is the counterpart and sample, beyond doubt, of thousands or hundreds of thousands which once existed up and down commercial Europe. It is in the subjoined terms, and points to a practice of giving six months' credit, or, as it is now expressed, of drawing at six months:—

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<sup>1</sup> The terms for the cession of Padua to the Signory in 1405 comprised in pecuniary payments 5000 ducats in bills of exchange on Florence. In 1481 a bill for 2000 ducats was registered by Thomas Kyffyn, citizen of London and notary public, at his house in Lombard Street. Cal. of State Papers (Venice), 1864, i. 143.

"Pagate per questa prima letera a di ix Ottobre a Luca de Poro, Lib. xlv. Sono per la valuta qui da Masca Reno al tempo si pagate e ponete a mio conto, e che Christo vi guarde! Bonromo de Bonromei de Milano, ix. de' Marzo 1325."<sup>1</sup> The promissory note, which seems in the first instance to have been simply an undertaking to perform an act, not necessarily to make a payment, must impress us as an institution and resource as absolutely indispensable as the bill, and both were long drawn by clerical or other scribes in the absence of a general conversance with the art of writing. The memorandum book, at first, no doubt, rudimentary enough, and somewhat analogous to the English writing-tablets, was made in later days of costlier material. In special cases it was clothed in a sumptuous binding, if a wealthy trader or traveller, perhaps accompanied by his wife, visited Venice, and recorded in this manner his experiences, expenses, or transactions. It was a method of assisting the recollection, which descended to us from ancient times and was the companion, not of merchants only to note the rate of exchange and similar matters, but of authors, playwrights, artists and persons of various callings, and was prone to early destruction when its temporary use had been served. Even when facilities arose for possessing printed books of this class, the manuscript form still held its ground, as it does to the present day. A dainty little oblong duodecimo volume, which appears originally to have belonged to a family at Nürnberg, and possesses realistic portraits of the owner and his wife, with their arms, all excellently done, may have subsequently passed through other hands, and yet retains the richly gilt black morocco binding centre-pieces and clasps of the sixteenth century beautifully preserved.

Prior to 1156, the old denaro, first without, and then with, the name of the patron saint, had been reinforced by a second coin representing the moiety of it, the *denaro minore* or *piccolo*. This new piece, which some have confounded with the *maruccio*, to be presently noticed, was of billon, and weighed from eight to ten grains. On the obverse appears a cross, with the pellets in a double indented circle, and the legend D. MAVR. DVX (Domenigo Morosini); the reverse ex-

<sup>1</sup> From a transcript in *Notes and Queries*, more than possibly an inaccurate one. There was a large find of *bianchi* of Ziani, Malipiero and Enrico Dandolo in 1901.

DENARI OF SOME  
TWELFTH-CENTURY DOGES



SEBASTIANO ZIANI

1172-1178



ORIO MALIPIERO

1178-1193



ENRICO DANDOLO

1193-1205





hibited the bust of St. Mark, with the glory or *nimbus* and the inscription S. MARCVS VEN. The circulation of *denari* was, for some unknown reason, suspended from 1205 to 1268, or, at least, no examples are known of the reigns comprised within those years.

Where the purchasing power of money is extraordinarily great, the fractional divisions of the coinage seem to be almost infinitesimal. In the reign of Vitale Michiele II. (1156-72), the idea was conceived of striking a *bianco* or *bien* of mixed metal and weighing eight grains; it had, on the obverse, a crosslet in a double circle, with the legend V. MICH DVX, and, on the reverse, a full-face bust of St. Mark and the legend S. MARCVS VNE. Sebastiano Ziani and Orio Malipiero, the two next Doges (1173-92), added the double, or *denaro piccolo*, in more than a single variety. These pieces, which, with some modification of type, had a duration of two or three centuries, led to endless trouble, on account of the difficulty of giving change in small transactions or the tendency to evade it, and numerous cases present themselves in the official registers of penalties inflicted on tradesmen, for imposing on customers by withholding the difference or part of it. This was constantly occurring down to the fourteenth century or later; and many particulars are preserved.<sup>1</sup> The punishment was not infrequently remitted when the culprit was poor or was thought to have acted inadvertently.

But the first clear step of an important character was the introduction of the *grosso*, during the administration of Arrigo or Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205). It was of fine silver weight 44 grains in proof condition, and of Byzantine pattern. It was the prototype of the French *gros* and the English groat, and was originally worth 26 *piccoli*; it was subsequently raised to 28 and 32 *piccoli*, and eventually merged in the *grossetto*. Its value in English computation was about 5d. On the obverse were represented the erect figures of the Doge and St. Mark, face to face, the latter with the *nimbus*, and tendering the standard for which a flag-pole does duty; the legend is DVX H. DANDOL. S. M. VENETI. On the reverse, the Saviour with the glory is seated on a decorated throne, His right hand extended in the act of benediction, His left holding the Gospels, and the letters IC . XC. This handsome coin was also known as a

<sup>1</sup> Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 63.

*matapan*, and was so called from the cape of that name between Zante and Cerigo. The reason for the denomination is uncertain, unless the exigencies attendant on the unexpectedly protracted expedition to Constantinople in 1202 led to the local coinage of a special issue for immediate use. There is a farther difficulty as to the precise date at which the *grosso* first appeared, for, while the historian Andrea Dandolo assigns it to the year 1194, and Marino Sanudo to 1192, Martino da Canale who lived nearer to the time distinctly speaks of it as introduced to pay the operatives engaged in the preparations for the voyage to the East. But Da Canale, according to the text of his *Chronicle* handed down to us, also makes Enrico Dandolo contemporary with the *ducat*, not coined till nearly a century later, and aggravates the mistake by describing it as of silver,<sup>1</sup> in which metal no such money existed before 1559. One clue to a solution of the difficulty may be the form of the title of the Doge which, in lieu of the Christian name alone, adds the family or surname, a practice not observed on the *quartarolo*. This may therefore have been a piece not originating till late in the reign—possibly 1202 or thereabout. The *grosso*, which had a run of at least two centuries (we have specimens struck by the Doge Foscari 1423–57), with its divisions in its own metal, has the appearance of having been the earliest distinct aim, on the part of the Mint, at the establishment of a standard. It fluctuated, indeed, in weight three or four grains under successive Doges, but it was far from being so irregular and capricious as the groats of the English Edwards. There was not the same inducement.

The word *sterling*, in relation to the coinage and currency, is found in documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and must be understood to mean standard metal, in contradistinction to mixed or billon of which much of the mediæval money was composed. On the 9th of October, 1274, the Great Council directed the Mint to cast bars of silver of sterling standard, for the convenience of merchants trading with Bruges; it was a medium which, in the absence of paper money, was immensely serviceable in large transactions.

The *grosso* or *matapan* of or about 1192 was the first piece struck which can be said to have been of a fixed weight and fineness. From 1356 to 1368 there was no coinage of *grossi*,

<sup>1</sup> Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 81.





Grosso of Reniero Zeno, 1253-1268.



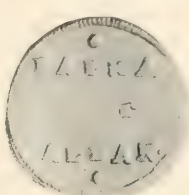
Soldino of Marino Faliero, 1354-1355.



Lira Tron or Trono of Nicolò Trono, 1471-1473.



Gold Scudo of Andrea Gritti, 1523-1538.



Soldo of Dalmatia and Albania.



Silver Ducat of Luigi or Alvise I. Mocenigo, 1570-1577.



Osella of Luigi or Alvise I. Mocenigo, 1570-1577.



and when it was resumed under Andrea Contarini (1368-82) the pattern was altered.

An exceptional and almost insuperable difficulty arises at this time and stage of the inquiry, in regard to the identity of the *soldo* specified as equivalent to eight *denari grandi* in the coronation-oath of 1229; and the question directly concerns the *grosso* immediately under notice, because it is open to conjecture or hypothesis, that the *soldo* is the same as that more usually known under the other name, and that the *soldino*, otherwise the *little soldo*, presently to be introduced, was the moiety of it or of the *grosso*. The point is, that no silver coin actually recognized as a *soldo* is found in the numismatic records of Venice, and yet it is perfectly possible that at first, and down to 1229, the denomination more generally known as a *grosso* may have been accepted and officially described under the other term. It strikes us as singular that, while the Republic possessed the *grosso* and the quarter *grosso*, it did not strike the half till so many years later, for Count Papadopoli<sup>1</sup> apprises us that the denomination was first ordered in or about 1332; but the same authority states that the public records are imperfect for the immediately prior years.

The reign of Dandolo also witnessed the foundation of a copper currency. Somewhere about the close of the twelfth century, the Mint coined the *quattrino* or fourth of the *grosso*; the legends E . DADVL . DVX, and cruciformly within a circle the four letters V N C S for *Venecias*. The Government of Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311) ordered a double quattrino of copper or half-grosso, but we hear no more of it.

The successor of Dandolo, Pietro Ziani, continued, during his reign of twenty-four years (1205-29), to strike all the pieces now in circulation; but he added to the wealth of the coinage nothing but a small copper piece called the *maruccio*, or little mark, of five or six grains, with a cross having in the angles triangles in lieu of pellets, and the legend P . ZIANI DVX. On the other side occur St. Mark with the glory in a double circlet and the legend ∞ . MARCV ∞ VE. Giacomo Tiepolo (1229-49) issued the *grosso* in two states, with and without a mint-mark, and that valuable emblem of distinction here makes its first appearance. It presents

<sup>1</sup> Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 158.



itself in the form of a triangle enclosing three pellets under the mantle of the enthroned Christ. Andrea Contarini (1368-82) altered the pattern by placing the figure of the Doge in profile, and his successor made farther changes.

Reniero Zeno (1253-68) made an experiment of an entirely novel kind; for, as a companion to the silver *grosso*, he produced one in copper of 40 grains, with the Doge's name and S . M . VENETI on one side, and the usual seated effigy of the Saviour on the other. In the field to the left is a small globe which may be a mint-mark. Zeno also struck the silver *grosso* in six types, weighing from 38 to 40 grains, and the next Doge coined one of 40½ grains. But the copper *grosso* does not seem to have met with favour; although it was larger than the silver piece and varied in other respects, the similarity of denomination, in an illiterate age, made it perhaps too open to the ingenuity of the plater, and it was permitted to drop.

Thus, toward the close of the thirteenth century, the Republic found herself provided with a currency in silver, copper and billon. It was reserved for Giovanni Dandolo (1280-89) to venture a step farther, and to meet the increased demand for money, owing to the development of trade, by striking the famous Ducat in 1284. After the removal of the Mint to the Giudecca, which in the Venetian dialect was called *Zecca*,<sup>1</sup> the ducat was better known as the *zecchino*.

The coin of Dandolo was of fine and pure gold, and was equivalent to 8s. 8d. English currency, although Coryat states that it was seldom reckoned in England at more than 7s. Of money of Venice it originally represented 20 (subsequently raised to 24) silver *grossi*. In its character it displayed no prodigality of invention, following very much the same lines as the *grosso*. On the obverse we see the Doge in costume, kneeling before the patron saint who delivers to him the banner, with the legend IO . DANDVL . and S . M . VENETI. The reverse portrays the Saviour with the *nimbus*, full length in a stellated oval, His right hand extended as usual, and His left holding the Gospel. The legend is SIT . T . XPE . DAT . Q . TV . REGIS . ISTE . DVCAT.<sup>2</sup>

Like the *grosso*, the ducat shewed a tendency to copy the

<sup>1</sup> In Latin documents the word is corrupted into *cecha*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sit Tibi, Christe, datus, quem tu regis, iste Ducatus.*

Byzantine style of art, and, in fact, the moneyer had doubtless before him the earlier coin as a model or point of departure. The long familiarity of the Republic with the Greek currency predisposed those who presided over such matters, to borrow the patterns and ornaments engrafted by that nation on the imperial coinage of Rome. In the figure of the Doge, as he appears in an attitude of genuflection, the portrait is more or less conventional; but it, as well as that of the Redeemer, suffered an essential change in the time of Andrea Dandolo (1343-54), under whom also the Ducal bonnet or berretta first assumed the shape of the corno. That familiar head-dress dated from the ninth century, and had been originally presented to the Doge Tradenigo by the nuns of San Zaccaria. The value of the piece was nowhere expressed; the probability is that it was proclaimed, as usual, by cry. But its peculiar freedom from alloy and the strict maintenance of the standard procured for this, as for all the other sterling money of the Republic, in common with that of Florence and Verona, an immense celebrity and a wide circulation throughout the Peninsula and throughout the world.<sup>1</sup> Such a demand necessitated a large annual issue; in or about 1420 it is said to have been a million in ducats alone, of which the greater part was exported. Vasco da Gama found the ducat current at Calicut in Malabar; Bruce saw it in Abyssinia; it is still occasionally discovered in Egypt. But reconversion into bullion and other causes have rendered the whole series of ancient ducats more or less scarce, especially pieces in fine preservation and of certain reigns.

There is a sequin of Pierre d'Ambusson, Grand Master of Rhodes (1476-1503), which is a copy of that of Venice, except that St. John is substituted for St. Mark. The Republic, as far back as 1423, had intimated its displeasure at this practice, which was not confined to one locality or Power. Nor was Rhodes the earliest offender. From 1314 to 1341, the feudal lords of Foglia Vecchia are found copying the style and costume of the Venetian piece, even to minor details, the legends, of course, varying to suit the circumstances, and the standard being probably lower. In 1357, a communication

<sup>1</sup> In the *Comedy of Errors*, iv. 1, Angelo the goldsmith speaks of a transaction in which a gold chain is made up to a certain value by the addition of three ducats, but it is open to question whether the poet exactly understood the current value of the piece or its relation to bullion.

was addressed by the Genoese, at the instance of Venice, to the Signore of Mytilene, remonstrating with him for the output of a gold type, resembling that of the Republic but of inferior standard. In 1370, the Government of Venice insisted on the discontinuance of this piracy by the authorities at Ephesus. Other places whence issued about the same period these more or less inferior copies were Chiarenza, Scio and Pera, and at a later period the Prince of Dombes in France added himself to the roll of culprits, and incurred the reproof of the Doge. While Genoa and its dependencies were temporarily under Milanese rule, Filippo Maria Visconti issued a gold sequin for Chio, closely following the Venetian pattern. There were even Indian *contrefaçons* which are said to have been treated as phallic symbols. All these imitations surely regarded the general acceptance of the Venetian original rather than its artistic merit. They led the Government in 1447 to make a regulation that the employment of engravers at the Mint should be restricted to Venetian citizens, by way, at least, of modifying the abuse.

The Gauls and Britons had struck gold coins at a remote epoch, some in grotesque imitation of the Greek staters, others in the later Roman taste. Specimens exist, not only of pieces in the same metal issued by the order of the Merwing dynasty in France, but of a similar type struck in Holland, Germany and many other parts of Europe. In Sicily, the Norman Duke of Apulia, Roger II., introduced, about 1150, a gold coinage suggested by that of the Arabs; and, in the same or following century, the German princes Henry VI. and Frederick II. struck the *augustale* and its half on the model of the Roman imperial *solidi*. We have also the gold money of Louis IX. (1226-70), and the so-called gold penny of Henry III. of England (1216-72), but both are probably posterior to the Florentine piece. It may well be doubted, again, if either of these had much width of circulation or were in general use; the English one is ordinarily treated as an unpublished essay. With the exception of the *fiorino d'oro* of Florence, which claims a priority of about thirty years (1252), and was equally designed as a practical trading medium, the Venetian ducat of 1284, which a great commercial people would have at once the means of applying to practical purposes and had long been wanted, may be entitled to rank as the oldest gold currency established in



medieval Europe. In 1313 when the Republic paid the Holy See a sum by way of indemnity, the pontifical Government stipulated that it should be delivered in Tuscan currency, but, in 1422, the Florentines unsuccessfully attempted to procure the acceptance in Egypt of their own gold florin, on the same footing as that of Venice, pleading that, of the two pieces, it was slightly the heavier and finer. Twenty years later, they practically retracted this declaration by issuing ducats of Venetian weight for their Oriental trade. The Tuscan coin, however, was not usually received on the same footing, and did not obtain the same universal recognition as the ducat, which, in one sense, strikes us as more analogous to its distant prototype, the Lydian heavy stater of Phœnician weight. An influential motive to preserve the standard was the need of successful competition with the Oriental currencies in the same metal, which were generally of great purity.

Beyond the issue of a double quattrino or mezzo-grosso of copper, with the name of the Doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311), the Mint paused a little after its introduction of the zecchino; nor was it till the administration of Francesco Dandolo (1329–39), that the Venetian moneyers reproduced the old forms in a new combination in the *soldino* of silver, also the moiety of the grosso, and the piece to which allusion has already been made. On the obverse was the Doge with the bonnet on his head and the standard in hand, encircled by the legend FRA. DANDVLO DVX: on the reverse, St. Mark as usual. A second and distinct type which was popularly called the *cenoghelo* represents the Doge kneeling, and, on the other side, in lieu of the saint, the lion rampant holds the flag-pole in his claw: the legend, S. MARCUS VENETI. The numismatists allege that these pieces fluctuated between 22 and 10½ grains; but the truth is that this wide discrepancy has resulted from testing specimens in different states, as the old Venetian money has descended, for the most part, in a far from satisfactory condition. The soldino is almost undoubtedly the moiety of the piece which we sometimes find described as the *soldo*; and, as mention of the latter occurs in a state-paper of 1229 and in other documents, it may reasonably be surmised that, as in a few other cases, the original issues have perished, more especially as the very

Doge (Arrigo Dandolo, 1192-1205) who published the grosso, also published the quattrino or fourth of it. It is perhaps fair to question whether the soldino was ever struck otherwise than in silver, although Schweitzer seems to draw a distinction between the original piece and a later one which he specifies as the *soldino d'argento*; the only difference may have been in the smaller proportion of alloy. In the series of *soldini*, a comparative examination leads to the discovery of a differential individuality, which, if it could be taken to have an authoritative source or character, would possess this feature of interest and importance, that in some cases—nearly all—we should gain an approximate idea of the personal appearance of the Doges, including Marino Faliero; the same remark may be thought to apply to other coins bearing the ducal effigy. The long series of silver *soldini* appears, in common with all the Venetian coins of professedly pure metal, to have always preserved its reputation for standard, and, in 1493, when the Duke of Saxony was preparing to visit the Holy Land, he succeeded in obtaining a special issue of these pieces for his petty expenses. It is supposed that an example exhibiting the Redeemer rising from the Sepulchre is a solitary survivor of this coinage.

Possessing already the double quattrino and the soldino, the Government under Andrea Dandolo (1343-54) thought proper to create a third equivalent for the mezzo-grosso in a silver coin called the *mezzanino*, weighing 14 grains and a fraction. On the obverse we have the Doge, St. Mark and the flag-pole; but the reverse shews a light stroke of originality in the figure of Christ rising from the tomb, with the legend XPS. RES VRESIT. The mint-mark in one example is a sword, but the same Doge sanctioned several varieties of the mezzanino with distinguishing mint-marks after its original issue in 1346, and, in 1354, the coin of the Doge Francesco Dandolo was reproduced with technical alterations under the name the *soldino nuovo*.

The copper grosso had been a failure and did not remain in circulation; its place was successively supplied by the double quattrino, the soldino or soldo, and the mezzanino; the first in copper, the two latter in the same metal as the grosso itself, but Andrea Dandolo seems to have approved of a second trial piece in the shape of a ducat in copper of 30 grains. The experiment was, perhaps, not carried out, and the specimen which

exists is presumed to have been one of the patterns submitted to the Government.

The business of the Mint at the end of the fourteenth century began to grow heavy and responsible. Even when no new dies were in preparation, the ordinary issues of coins in standard use from year to year were sufficient to keep a large staff in employment, more particularly at a period when the various processes were not very expeditious. It is said that in 1423 the yearly coinage, independently of a million gold ducats, extended to 800,000 pieces—a total of nearly two millions. When, therefore, we have to traverse six reigns (1354–82) without meeting with anything fresh to report, we are not to conclude that the moneyers were idle. The Doge Celsi who sat on the throne from 1361 to 1365, although he apparently added nothing to the numismatic series, often gave a morning to the Mint which he, no doubt, invariably found a scene of interesting activity.

A billon piece, called the *grossetto*, and resembling in character and design the *grosso* which it seems to have supplanted, but having on the reverse the legend *TIBI LAVS & GLORIA*, made its first appearance under the Doge Veniero (1382–1400), and, at a later period, we find the half-*grossetto* (1523–38). The *grossetto* weighed nine carats. A triple *grossetto* which is said to exist is supposed to be an essay, but such an inference seems to have no better foundation than its alleged uniqueness. The *piccolo* or *denaro* had been continued under the majority of reigns from the twelfth century. In 1442, we first find the *bagattino* in billon for some of the provinces.

The inconvenience of possessing no currency intermediate between the *grosso* and the ducat must, at the same time, have soon been felt, and Francesco Foscari (1423–57) struck two types of a silver coin, equal to eight *soldi* or *soldini* and styled a *grossone*. On the obverse, the Doge stands with the national banner in his hand: the legend, *FRANCISCVS FOSCARI DVX*. The reverse has a full-faced bust of the Evangelist, and *SANCTVS MARCVS VENETI*. In the second variety the Doge kneels.

Two pieces of money which possess rather a special interest are the *gazzetta* and *gazzettino*. The latter, which it may appear justifiable to treat as of later introduction, is said to have originated during the dogeship of Leonardo



Loredano (1501–21), but Romanin states that the *gazzetta* itself was not struck prior to 1528. At first of billon or a low standard of silver, it degenerated into a roughly struck copper coin of two values—the *gazzetta* and *double gazzetta*; and the name is so far remarkable, that it lent itself to the synonymous periodical news-sheet which spread over Europe, representing, no doubt, the price of issue. But, whatever may have been the true date of birth of the *gazzettino*, it is eminently probable that the *gazzetta* preceded it. The Venetian synonymous publication is named by Howell in a letter of 1623 to Lord Colchester, as inclosed in a letter which he is sending to his lordship from London, so that it was probably a broadsheet of which there is an extant series.

The numismatic annals of Venice resemble a stream which, in its earlier course sluggish and narrow, expands into a swift and broad torrent. We are arriving at a time when an extraordinary development took place in the currency of the Republic, and the Venetian coinage was, within a short period, to manifest a variety and profusion, strangely contrasting with the indigence of former days, and with the advised simplicity of modern monetary economy. But, in the absence of paper, and with the constant demand for heavy amounts in specie to pay troops and meet the unceasing expenses of the Arsenal, the parallel employment of several coins of large and nearly identical denominations becomes tolerably intelligible, and, where the value was expressed on the face of the piece as in a few exceptional cases, it was not particularly inconvenient at the time.

As regards the form given to the legends on the money, we observe that, at first, there was no indication on the face of coins that they were destined for the city of Venice and not for the province of Venetia. The earliest movement in the direction of localizing the currency and denoting its actual source was the insertion of the name of the patron saint, in addition to that of the Emperor for the time being. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a few pieces of small module occur, with the Christian name of the reigning Doge abbreviated in lieu of the imperial title, as *V. Miche. Dux*, *Seb. Dux*, *Auro. Dux*, or *Enric. Dux*, for Vitale Michiele II., Sebastiano Ziani, Orio Malipiero and Enrico Dandolo; but, although such an expression is commonly employed in public documents,

the coinage never exhibited the *Dei Gratia* introduced into nearly all the monetary systems of Europe from the ninth century.

The activity of the Mint may be said to have had its real commencement in the middle of the fifteenth century. The copper *bagattino* and *doppio bagattino* of copper and billon, and the silver *lira* and *mezzalira* which were ushered into the world with a well-executed likeness in profile of Nicolò Trono (1471-73) were the earliest attempts to transfer to the coinage a realistic and professed resemblance of the reigning Doge. The *lira* which represented 20 *soldi* was an important step in the direction of making the silver coinage more comprehensive. Of the *bagattino* there are four known types, including those struck for Verona and Vicenza, and Bergamo; the *doppio* was a billon piece of a different pattern, and appears to be of the utmost rarity, the unit being unrecorded. This *doppio* was ordered by the Government in 1520, and an example was discovered among the ruins of the Campanile in 1902. But the usage of giving a portrait of the Doge in office on the money was soon superseded by another less obnoxious to the oligarchical taste. After the death of Trono, the only Doge in whose reign the experiment had been permitted, a decree of the Great Council, pursuant to the recommendation of the *Correttori*, forbade its continuance, and a copper piece of his immediate successor, Cristoforo Moro perhaps struck prior to the settlement of the new order, and at present of the first rarity, brought the short-lived usage to a close. Yet, not only in the likeness of the reigning Doge, said to be discernible in the small kneeling figure on the *sequins* and other pieces coined throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the kneeling figure on the *grosso* of the second type of Francesco Foscari (1423-57), and the seated object at the top of the column on an *osella* of Francesco Morosini (1688-94) certainly seem to be intended for portraits. The repugnance of the aristocratic Government, however, was probably awakened by the presentation of the features of the chief magistrate, in the same prominent manner as those of the heads of professed monarchies. It did not interfere with a few cases in which the *Serenissimo* or even his consort transferred his or her lineaments to a medal, which might, in common perhaps with the *osella*, have been viewed as outside strictly political lines.

It seems that dissatisfaction was now beginning to make itself felt at certain irregularities in the processes of coining, and in the adjustment of the weight of pieces, and the Government treated it as a public scandal that the currency should be suffered to deteriorate in character or decline from the original standard. It is interesting to mark such a solicitude, but, on the part of a mercantile community which had lifted itself to the height of power and renown, nothing could be more natural or more sagacious. On the 11th of November, 1457, a decree was promulgated against this evil, shewing that the blame rested, not with the moneyers, but with the workmen and overseers at the Mint, who neglected the instructions delivered to them for the verification of the weight and alloy.

The multiplication of small pieces of a low standard gradually entailed trouble and loss through the extensive output at home of counterfeit money, and, in and about 1473, this abuse prompted the Council of Ten to nominate two changers to station themselves on the Piazza of St. Mark and the Rialto, as a check on utterers of false or light coins. Representations were made to the authorities at Ferrara and Bologna, in regard to the surreptitious and illegal imitation of Venetian types, and many persons, even of rank, were severely punished at Venice for connivance at the circulation of this spurious specie within the Dominion.<sup>1</sup>

It is a curious circumstance that, at this date, the accumulation of very small coins of correspondingly trifling values had led to a practice, obviously prone to abuse, of carrying specified amounts of such money in purses or *cartocci* whereon the sum inside was recorded in writing, and offering the collection in payment as it stood, without inquiry by the recipient, as we accept a bag of gold or silver from our bankers. Such a plan seems, in 1458, to have been tried sufficiently long to prove to the authorities the expediency of its disallowance.

The *mezzalira* coined during the government of Nicolò Marcello (1473-74) was christened the *marcello*; and again, on its reissue by Pietro Mocenigo (1474-76), the *lira*, which had passed under the name of the *lira Tron*, became popularly known as the *mocenigo*.<sup>2</sup> It was a method of associating a piece of currency

<sup>1</sup> Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, Parte ii. 1907, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> In 1477, a silver piece called the *massenetta*, equal in weight to the *lira* but otherwise not correspondent, was struck by the Duke of Ferrara. It was equivalent in value to 5½ *quattrini*.



with the reigning Doge, while his likeness upon the money was from political motives forbidden. The *marcello* presented, on the obverse, the Doge on his knees accepting the standard, and, on the reverse, Christ on a throne of a more richly decorated character than before; the legend was also changed. Schweitzer quotes four types; it appears to have been known under the same name as late as 1509. A somewhat later Doge, Marco Barbarigo (1485–86), issued a copper sesino of 25 grains, but without a portrait, and we soon meet (1486–1501) with a half-marcello struck for the colonies. It is an illustration, one among so many, of Italian adherence to ancient names and usages, that the *lira Tron*, popularly known as the *Tron*, as well as a second piece called the *marchetto*, continued, in some parts of the old Venetian Dominion down to the close of the nineteenth century, to be recognized and cited under their original appellations.

Agostino Barbarigo (1486–1501) added the *bezzo* or *quattrino bianco* of silver, the moiety of the soldino (one of the most popular pieces current in Venice) and the fourth of the old grosso or matapan. Its obverse offered nothing beyond the hackneyed flag-pole with the kneeling Doge and the upright Saint, and, on the reverse side, Christ erect, with the new legend LAVS TIBI SOLI. The most curious feature in connexion with this piece, however, is the coinage of multiples of it in silver, distinguished as *da Quattro*, *da Otto*, *da Dodici* and *da Sedici*, which must have assisted in making the currency still more intricate than before. In the time of Leonardo Loredano (1501–21), the idea seems to have occurred of issuing the half of the gold sequin of 1284. The quarter did not come into use till 1577–78, and is a piece of the rarest character, although specimens survive, both of that and the half sequin, belonging to the latest era of the Republic. The legend on the reverse is altered to *Ego Svm Lxx Mvndi*. The half and quarter sequin represented in modern English money about 4s. 9d. and the moiety. The weight of the ducat underwent slight variations in the sixteenth century, and fluctuated between 120 and 124 *soldi*; the former was known as *ducato mozzo* or *ducato a moneta*. But the *ducato corrente*, otherwise described as *ducato d'oro in oro* preserved its standard; and, to render the payments in the highest metal additionally unexceptionable, a customer might demand *ducati venetiani d'oro novi di cecha* (in mint state), as the freedom from alloy involved

an early deterioration. Under Andrea Gritti (1523-39), the Mint produced a remarkable novelty in a *scudo* or crown of gold and its half, in addition to the sequin and half-sequin already in existence. The new pieces were possibly suggested by the French *écu* and *demi-écu*; they were worth 6 *lire*, 10 *soldi* and the moiety respectively.<sup>1</sup> These newcomers were not designed for commercial purposes, but for the pay of troops and other general matters, as they fell below the standard of the ducat. The *scudo* and its half did not extend, however, over more than two or three reigns, and examples are of some rarity; yet, after a long interval, the *doppia* of gold, equal to two of these *scudi*, made its appearance (1618-23). The *doppia* was, in fact, a double crown, and was estimated at about 12 *lire*; it was the highest denomination ever in regular use. In the return of the expenses of the Venetian diplomatic representative in France in the second half of the seventeenth century, some of the amounts are set down in *doppie*. At the same time, a method, which, in the absence of paper money, was apt to be useful, was devised, by which two or three of the large silver coins—the silver ducat, the *scudo della croce* and the *giustina* of 140 *soldi*—were struck in limited numbers, no doubt in gold, to pass for four, eight, sixteen and twenty ducats, the divisions of the pieces in the lower metal answering for the inferior values. These issues were known as *da Quattro*, *da Otto*, *da Sedici*, *da Venti*, respectively, although they retained on the face their silver equivalents, and were independent of occasional outputs of multiples of the ducat in the more precious metal, under some of the later Doges.

Since the launch, in 1429, of the *grossone*, a piece of eight *soldini*, the Republic had made little progress in the silver currency. A coin representing about three shillings in modern English money was still the largest piece known in this metal, but, during the government of Girolamo Priuli (1559-67), there came into existence the ducat of silver, worth 124 *soldi*, or 6 *lire* 4 *soldi*, and the half and the quarter. The need of affording ampler facilities for commercial and other monetary transactions was at last finding a response. The Mint did not rest here, for, a few years later (1571), it brought out the *giustina* of silver,

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the piece intended by the proclamation of Elizabeth of England, 2nd November, 1560, in which it is misdescribed as a *pistolet*, and allowed currency.

valued at eight lire or 160 soldi, and its divisions. Ere long (1585–95) succeeded the *giustina minore*, corresponding in value with the silver ducat, as well as the half and the quarter. The Doge Marino Grimani (1595–1606) added to these mediums the *scudo della croce* of 140 soldi, and his two immediate successors (1606–12) completed this extensive series by a new variety of silver *zecchino*, current for ten *lire*, with its divisions (1606–15). The sixteenth century may thus be regarded as the epoch at which, above all others, Venice provided herself with a metallic currency, eclipsing in richness and capability anything of the kind achieved before or since. The only supplementary feature in the numismatic chronicle was the substitution (1606–12) of a gold ducat, diverging in design and circumference from the original sequin of 1284. It was a broader and thinner piece, of analogous type and nearly identical weight; the size is precisely that of an English sovereign. The ground for the change is not obvious, but the Venetian Zecca was evidently partial to new experiments, and, besides the productions which were admitted into circulation, Schweitzer and others record numerous trial-pieces or patterns which found their way into private cabinets, but were not adopted by the Executive. Of these *essays* France has, in the same way, the honour of possessing a singularly large assemblage, submitted by her own Mint for approbation and ultimately abandoned.

The silver ducat of 1559–67 exhibited Saint Mark on the obverse, seated and tendering the standard to the Doge; while, on the reverse, occurs the winged lion passant with the book of the Gospel in his fore-claw. This piece remained in vogue down to the end: of the Doge Alvise Mocenigo (1763–79) there is a double ducat. The silver *giustina* (1578–85) presented the patron saint and the Doge on the obverse, but, on the other side, for the first time in the annals of the coinage, we meet with a complete novelty, in the standing figure of Santa Giustina and the lion reposing at her feet, with the legend MEMOR. ERO. TUI. IVSTINA. VIRGO, in grateful reference to the Battle of Lepanto, fought on Saint Justina's Day, the 7th of October, 1571—that holy martyr whose name was so tenderly bound up with one of the most ancient of Venetian traditions. There was a certain unusual originality, again, in the treatment of the two other silver pieces<sup>1</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> *Monnaies du moyen âge*, ii. No. 4484; Copenhagen, 1874.



have just been mentioned as belonging to the same period: the *giustina minore* which was reckoned 40 *soldi* or 2 *lire*, and the *scudo della croce* which passed for 140 *soldi*. The latter, which balances in the scales about 5s. 6d. in modern English silver currency, bears, on one side, an elaborate cross with the name of the Doge in the legend, and, on the opposite side, the winged lion, with the glory enclosed in a shield and encircled by the title of the patron saint. The silver ducat, the two *giustine* and the *scudo* of silver, with their fractions, seem to stand alone in expressing the value in *soldi* at the foot of the reverse, but a ducat of a later type, while it expresses the denomination, omits the value. In the lower left-hand corner, occurs a small view of Saint Mark's, for which space has been made by removing the book of the Gospel from the lion's claw. Of the *giustina maggiore* and the *scudo della croce* examples struck in gold are known; they were probably intended as *pièces de plaisir*. On the other hand, there is the quarter of the *scudo*, also struck in the higher metal, which may have been intended to represent four ducats; probably the *scudo* itself in gold was accepted as equivalent to sixteen.

Thomsen<sup>1</sup> cites a bracteate of base metal or of copper of the mediæval time, with the winged lion as part of the type; he ascribes it to the Abbey of Reichenau in Suabia. When Venice borrowed the notion is slightly uncertain, except that the lion might be taken to have some affinity with St. Mark, but the symbol is absent from the earlier numismatic productions of the Republic. The winged bull of Egyptian mythology and sculpture differed in its significance from the lion of the ancient Greek moneyers.

Subsequently to the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Mint or Zecca of Venice, which was erected in 1536 from the design of Jacopo Sansovino and had its independent staff and administrators, shared the languor and narrowness of her later political life. The currency responded with speed here, as in Poland and everywhere else, to the declension of the State. No new monetary issues of any consequence marked the interval between the date to which we have carried the history of the coinage and the Fall. The administration of Marcantonio Memo (1612-15) made farther sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Monnaies du moyen âge*, ii. No. 4484.

divisions of the silver currency by the issue of the *soldone*, and still more by the introduction of a coin, dated 1614, of an entirely novel type; but it is not unlikely that the coin was a re-issue of the *osella*; Antonio Priuli (1618-23) added the double and the half *soldone*. The *soldone* series was equal to twenty-four, twelve and six soldi respectively; they were alike of pot-metal. Of the Doges Nicolò Contarini and Francesco Erizzo (1630-46), there has been a recent find, in unused state, of copper *bagattini*.

The number of coins of all metals in contemporary circulation at Venice, after a hundred years of unexampled activity at the Zecca, exceeded the number concurrently in circulation in any other country in the world, at that or any other time. Many of the types which answered the wants of the Republic in earlier years had silently vanished, including all the pieces of imperial or foreign origin and of dubious authority. Although, at the severely critical juncture which arose from the European coalition of 1509 against the Republic, a scarcity of specie seems to have necessitated for some time (even so late forward as 1550 or thereabout) the admission of certain foreign money at a stipulated tariff,<sup>1</sup> her rulers had no longer, as a rule, a motive for utilizing the specie of their neighbours and allies, or for issuing money under the countenance of emperors, and, indeed, the Government was incessantly striving to discourage the circulation of foreign currencies, as the practice, in fact, involved a vast amount of labour and inconvenience, on account of the disparity of standards and values. But what is apt to strike the student of Venetian numismatic art is the poverty of invention, and the servile and monotonous republication of the same design, with the slightest possible pretence to variation or novelty. The first school of moneyers had their cross with its pelleted angles; the second, the tutelary Evangelist and the Doge in different positions, and the flag-pole. The *grosso* or *matapan* of the twelfth, and the *ducat* or *zecchino* of the thirteenth century

<sup>1</sup> Papadopoli, *Una tariffa stampata a Venezia nel 1517*, (1899). Facsimiles. The same, *Tarifs Vénitiens*, 8°, 1900. Facsimiles. This practice seems to have been common to other European States. See *Ordonnances, Statutz & Instructions Royaulx*, Paris, 1538, fol. 128, where the acceptance of foreign currencies was notified by cry. There is a tariff of this kind belonging to Lorraine, 1511. In the printed broadsheet displaying the coins to be taken in payment at Venice in 1564, it is stated that the proclamation was published both on the steps of St. Mark's and at the Rialto.

were creditable performances for the time; but, with one or two reservations, the genius of the Mint appears to have been capable of nothing more. Except the *lira*, and the copper *bagattino* and double *bagattino* with the portrait of the Doge, the two *giustine* and a few other productions spread over centuries, all the coins were unfruitful seedlings of the same germ. A laudable feature of the numismatic economy of the most flourishing period was the solicitude of the Decemvirs, to provide a constant and copious supply of small change for the convenience of the poor and of the dealers in cheap commodities; and, throughout all that time, a usage prevailed, to obviate a monopoly of the Banks, by which the Mint received the gold bullion direct from merchants and others, and delivered it back to them in coins of the prescribed weight and fineness, subject to a fixed discount for coinage.

Of the engravers who were employed first at the Ducal Palace itself and subsequently at the Zecca we possess, through the studious preservation of archives, exceptionally considerable and consecutive knowledge,<sup>1</sup> and the names of a long series of moneyers have come down to us, with the terms on which they worked; for instance, Francesco Marchiori, who appears to have presided over the Mint in the time of Arrigo or Enrico Dandolo (1192–1205), and to have coined the first grosso. We cannot be quite sure whether the differential token which, after a certain date, is observable on the pieces is a mint-mark or a moneyer's symbol. Our conversance with the ruder artificers who worked in some of the mediæval European mints arises from the occasional registration of their names on the money—a practice, however, unknown to Venice, beyond the employment of initials. Here and there we casually learn the terms on which those engaged at the Mint worked, and they strike us as extremely moderate; in many cases the employment passed from father to son. In 1484, the salary of the chief moneyer was 50 ducats a year, and that of his assistants 20.

A view of the Venetian coinage is, perhaps, chiefly striking by comparison; and by comparison it is very striking indeed. The Republic was, of course, a commercial country, and, for purposes of trade, the introduction of as ample and complete a medium as possible was imperative, as soon as the world had emancipated itself from the primitive system of barter and

<sup>1</sup> Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, Appendice ii.



exchange. A survey of the numismatic economy of other peoples, even at a later period, will leave an advantage on the side of Venice. The English, prior to the reign of Edward III., had merely the silver penny. Till the time of Louis IX. (1226-70), who added the *gros tournois* and certain gold pieces, France possessed nothing but the Carolingian denier and its half. A similar or greater dearth of coin existed in Germany, the Netherlands, Poland and Italy itself.

A volume <sup>1</sup> has been devoted by an enthusiastic inquirer to the provincial and colonial coinage of Venice alone; and it may be expedient to add a schedule of the Possessions among which it circulated :—

Padua.	Ravenna.
Verona.	Scutari in Albania.
Vicenza.	Trieste.
Treviso.	The Ionian Isles.
Brescia.	Morea.
Bergamo.	Candia.
Rovigo.	Negropont.
Dalmatia (with Zara) and	Cyprus.
Spalato.	Nauplia or Napoli di
Albania.	Romania.
Friuli.	

It appears that no separate currencies for the territories of the Republic, outside the original Dogado, had been attempted prior to the commencement of the fourteenth century. In 1282, considerable dissatisfaction was felt at the systematic imitation of Venetian types, more especially the *grosso*, by the Ban of Rascia, which led Dante in his *Paradiso* to couple him with Philippe le Bel of France (*Le Faux Monnoyeur*) as a sufferer in another world; the inconvenience was aggravated by the wide circulation of these coins throughout the Venetian Dominions, and their acceptance on an equal footing with the legitimate currency. The consequence was that, on the 3rd of May, 1282, the Great Council decreed that all holders of these pieces, and all officials into whose hands they should fall, were to surrender them, that they might be broken up; the

<sup>1</sup> *Le Monete dei possedimenti Veneziani*, da V. Lazari, 8vo, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Count Papadopoli has produced a copiously illustrated monograph on the extensive series of coins, without ruler's or Doge's name, for the most part in billon or copper and in the lowest denominations, struck by Venice for its several possessions in the Peninsula and elsewhere. The volume is entitled: *Le Monete Anonime di Venezia dal 1472 al 1605*. Large 8°, Milano, 1906.

regulation was also made applicable to the provinces.<sup>1</sup> The Government found incessant vigilance requisite to protect the national interests in this direction. In 1476-7, a report was circulated and reached the ears of the Ten, that a Genoese association, with a capital of 50,000 ducats, contemplated the absorption of all the *tornesi* of Venetian origin, with a view to the extraction of the silver, and orders were forthwith given to the governors of all the colonial provinces concerned, to stop the exportation of these coins in large or small numbers, beyond their respective frontiers.

The difficulties attendant on these matters and on the general administration of the Mint doubtless had, in or about 1514, a juncture, when political conditions still remained more or less critical after the capital episode of Cambrai, to the transfer by the Ten to themselves and the Giunta of Fifteen, of the supreme control and management of the whole business, and, six years later, we find them quashing a decree of the Senate relative to an illegal issue of *tornesi* for the Levant. We are induced to conclude that the objection and hostility to foreign specie was its deficient weight and standard, quite as much as its places of origin, for the periodical *Tariffs* comprehend a very large and wide assortment of external coinages which, probably after being officially tested, were receivable at a fixed rate.

A noteworthy feature in the Great Council minute regarding the false *grossi* is the direction, to all holders of stalls or counters (*stationes*) in Rialto and their assistants being over twelve years of age, to discover any which they might find, on pain of losing ten per cent. if they were detected with such in their hands. Half the fine was to go to the informer, and half to the Government; no penal cognizance was taken of young children.

This imitation of models was by no means uncommon, and, to a certain extent, it establishes the fact, that the money of the Republic was viewed as holding an exceptionally high rank among the earlier European currencies. Two of the kings of Servia, Stephen V. and VI., 1275-1336, also copied the *grosso*; a coin of the latter ruler is, with the exception of the legend, a counterpart of the Venetian; the two figures originally designed for St. Mark and the Doge answer

<sup>1</sup> Lazari, p. 45.

equally well for St. Stephen and the King. In 1354, a decree prescribes the suppression of a foreign coin termed a *frisachesa*, illegally introduced into the Republic; and, similarly, on some of the *zecchini* of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the figures do duty for St. John and the Grand Master, while, on the reverse, the Venetian legend remains unaltered. In 1603, the Signori of Frinco in Piedmont issued counterfeits of Venetian types, and were cited to appear at Venice in answer to the charge, or, in default, to be (with their moneyers) condemned to death. As they were beyond jurisdiction, however, a price was set on their heads—10,000 ducats for each of the principals, and 2000 for each of their agents, dead or alive. We find the *fiorino d'oro* of Florence adopted in the same flattering and servile manner by half the States of Europe. In 1618, a case occurred in which false English twenty-shilling pieces found their way to Venetian ships where they might not be detected, and the Venetian ambassador in London puts his Government on its guard against them.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, as late as the eighteenth century, the Venetian copper money (*marchetto* and half *marchetto*) are represented as having unfairly encroached on the German currency on the Austrian side, and we find an order, proceeding from Vienna in 1748, to put into circulation, more regularly, the *soldi* and half *soldi* struck at various mints in the provinces since 1733.

Elsewhere another kind of anomaly had arisen, for the Prince of Achaia and others, who owed their possessions to the operation of the same causes, coined *tornesi*, which not only served as currency within their regular limits, but were as much the ordinary circulating medium of the Venetian dependencies as the money struck by the Republic. In 1305, the Government of the Doge at length tried to find a remedy for this state of affairs, by the proposal to issue at Koron and Modon a new type of money for local use; but of this currency no examples seem to be recognizable; possibly the idea was relinquished.<sup>2</sup> But, although it was the provincial neighbours of Venice who had set the example of intrusion and encroachment by pirating her numismatic models, another century elapsed before a special coinage for the trans-Adriatic districts was undertaken. Between 1410 and 1414, the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), 1617–19, i. p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Papadopoli, *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. 141.



Venetian Government, partly under the advice of the notary Bonisio who enjoyed the advantage of local knowledge, struck money for Dalmatia (including Zara) in the form of billon *soldi* with a shield on one side, supposed to be that of the Surian family. From 1436 to 1442, and perhaps during a longer term, silver *grossetti* were struck for Scutari in Albania which had been at least a feudal dominion from 1395, with the effigy of St. Stephen on the obverse, and, on the reverse, the Lion of St. Mark. These pieces were probably struck at the castle of Scutari by the Venetian governor. There is a disposition to appropriate to Dalmatia under Venetian rule a *doppio scudo d'oro*, a copper follis of Byzantine type, and a *quattrino* of the same metal, all of the more ancient autonomous Rascian type and current between 1420 and 1638.

The arrangements for Friuli, Ravenna and the Lombard provinces appear to have varied; the coins were usually struck at home, and, so relatively late as 1605, there is the signal case of a gentleman, named Carlo Ruiniscalco, of the Tower at Zevio in the Veronese, who was convicted of issuing pieces modelled on the Venetian pattern, and who, on his flight from justice, had all his property sequestered, a price set on his head, and his house razed to the ground with an injunction that it should never be restored. In the case of Treviso which had belonged to Venice since 1339, there was a sort of attempt to reconcile foreign control with financial autonomy, if we may judge from a *bagattino* of 1492, evidently struck for the Trevisano, with S[TATUS] LIBERATUS TARVIXI on one side, and, on the other, S. MARCVS VENETI. This judicious concession to local sentiment was in harmony with the attitude which the Venetians thought it wise to maintain, as a rule, toward their dependencies, and had not they themselves known very well a time when *S. Marcus Veneti* on a chip of metal was welcomed with pride? At a later date, the same pieces and others, such as the *gazzetta*, worth two *soldi* and originally introduced in 1528, were issued for Dalmatia and Albania; and, in course of time, a similar principle was applied to the Morea, Candia and Cyprus. Under the Doges Antonio Priuli and Giovanni Cornaro (1618-23, 1624-30), pieces in copper for 15, 30 and 60 *tornesi* were struck for Candia, and some of the coins of the same metal of the *gazzetta* type bore CANDIA on the face. The Venetian

currency for Candia is classifiable into the normal coinage in gold and copper or billon, and money of necessity struck between 1646 and 1650, during the siege of the capital by the Turks. The former comprised a gold *perpero*, of which there seems to have been only a single issue, a *soldino*, a *gazetta* and *double gazetta*, and a *soldo*. The *soldino* was equal to 4 *tornesi*; the *soldo*, half a *gazetta*. The money of necessity included pieces of 10 and 5 *lire*, dated 1650, 10 *gazette*, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *soldini*: the 10 *gazette* pieces bore the name and arms of Gianbattista Grimani, the Venetian commander. This coinage covered the period from 1618 to 1669, when Candia was abandoned.

Of Cyprus there are, besides countermarked Venetian and Spanish money for local use, small billon coins denominated *carzie*, modelled on those in use under the Lusignan dynasty, and extending from 1515 or thereabout to 1570, although<sup>1</sup> examples of some Dogates have apparently yet to be recovered. This was the ordinary colonial series for the island; but, during the siege of Famagusta in 1570, pieces of the *soldo* type were struck in base metal in more than one variety.

A piece of five *gazette*, struck in base metal for Corfu, bears the winged Lion of St. Mark on the obverse and the blundered date 1081. It appears to be the only coin issued of this denomination and value, and was probably money of necessity. We have examples of such a coinage for both possessions, notably, one piece of 1570 issued during the siege of Famagusta, and one of 1650 struck during the defence of Canea by the Venetian commander. Both of these are of copper, and when in fine preservation are highly desirable. Thus the Signory, in its money, as well as in its principles of government and in its laws, aimed at spreading, wherever the sword or diplomacy had opened the way, its name and its influence.

The employment of Occasional Money by the Republic in early days was extremely rare, and it was limited to three objects: siege-pieces, largess distributed at the investiture or coronation of a Doge, and convention money with certain Swiss cantons. In 1123, the want of some medium for paying the troops engaged in the Syrian war obliged, it is said, the Doge Domenigo Michieli, who commanded there in person, to

<sup>1</sup> N. Papadopoli, *Les plus anciens deniers ou carzie, &c.*, 1515-18, 8°, 1900.

authorize the mintage of leathern money, impressed on one side with the figure of St. Mark, and, on the other, with his own family arms. The incident of the loan to his allies, which had produced the drain on the Venetian finances, and the publication of this leathern siege money, may be corroborated by the circumstance that the Michieli subsequently carried on their escutcheons, as a memorial of the event, a ducat of gold.<sup>1</sup> But the story belongs to a class which the judicious student treats with distrust,<sup>2</sup> although the name *micheletto* has been traditionally handed down as that of the piece.

The fairly intimate commercial relations with Switzerland led at two different intervals to the issue of a special currency: in 1603 under a concordat with Graubünden, and, in 1706, under one with Zürich and Berne. But both measures seem to have been little more than experiments or essays, although of the piece of 1603 two varieties occur. Examples are rare, particularly of those of 1706. In the latter year, a commemorative medal was struck in honour of the renewal of a monetary concordat with the Swiss.

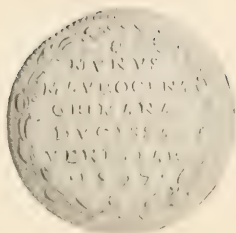
The money struck at Venice on ceremonial occasions, though principally at the investiture of a Doge or Dogaressa, forms the subject of an interesting monograph by Giovanelli. That writer<sup>3</sup> commences his series with a Doge who reigned in the first moiety of the sixteenth century; but Antonio Grimani is so far from having been the earliest who distributed these tokens, denominated *oselle* or *uccelle*, that, in the revision of the coronation-oath before his accession, it is stipulated that, by reason of the difficulty experienced in having a proper supply to present to all the public officials at Christmas, a new piece of money equal to a quarter of a ducat shall henceforth be struck instead. This new regulation, however, did not interfere with the issue of the *oselle* in all metals, and double *oselle* by the Doge and (in two or three instances) by the Dogaressa on their accession, or in memory of some notable incident in their reign. Thenceforward the custom

<sup>1</sup> Dandolo, ix. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Calogiera, *Spiegazione della moneta del Doge Domenico Michieli in Soria* with Lazari, *Le Monete dei possedimenti Veneziani*, 1851, p. 3, and see *suprà*, i. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *Illustrazione delle medaglie denominate Oselle*, folio, 1834. There is a later work on the same subject by Count Leonardo Manin, second edition, 1847.





Osella of Morosina Morosini-Grimani, 1597.

Bagattino of Francesco Erizzo, 1631-1646.



Giustina or Justina of Giovanni Cornaro, 1625-1629.



Osella of Francesco Morosini, 1688-1694.



Osella of Silvestro Valiero, 1694-1700.



was followed at intervals down to the very fall of the Republic; but, in 1543, the Council of Ten limited the presentation to nobles, as it had then become the fashion to give the *osella*, at all events in the lower metals, to minor Government officials. The Venetians had perhaps borrowed the idea from the ancients, who commonly struck money in commemoration of particular events and allowed it to be current, and the practice soon grew familiar throughout the continent of Europe. To this category we ought, perhaps, to refer the 100-ducat piece in gold struck by the last of the Doges; it was what the French designate a *pièce de plaisir*.

But centuries prior to the *oselle* engraved by Giovanelli, a case is known in which a Doge resorted to this practice.<sup>1</sup> In 1173, before his coronation, it is averred that Sebastiano Ziani circulated among the people certain money, stamped with his own name and struck by his order for the express purpose on the preceding day. It is perhaps singular that, among the many resuscitations of mediæval curiosities, this largess has not descended in the form of a unique specimen snatched from the ooze of the lagoons; but the circumstance itself is not unlikely, more especially as money of the ordinary type, bearing the name of Ziani, is extant.

With the fewest possible exceptions, the money of the Republic bears no superficial evidence of the period of issue, but a certain chronological code, intelligible to the contemporary authorities, is discerned in initials placed in the exergues of the coins of the later period.

The peculiar rarity of the earlier currency, especially in all its varied types, arising from its flimsy character or from the practice of constantly calling in light and defaced pieces, renders it something like an impossibility to form a consecutive series. As an example of the enormous destruction of the low denominations, it has been pointed out that the *bagattino* of 1478, found in the ruins of the Campanile in 1902, is the sole surviving representative of an issue of nearly three million pieces.

In Count Papadopoli's Table of Commercial Values, none of the prices rises to any very serious figure, except here and there—perhaps in a dozen instances—in which from 200 to 400 *lire* are computed as the purchasing equivalent. The

<sup>1</sup> Mutinelli, *Annali Urbani*, p. 49.



rarity of the gold ducats is very unequal; that of Marino Faliero takes the lead at 400 *lire* or £16, while many are set down as procurable for 15 *lire*. Next to the Faliero ducat in appreciation is the *grosso* of Michele Morosini, reckoned as worth 200 *lire*.

A piece of criticism which applies to the entire series of currencies is their liability, in chief measure at political and financial crises, to debasement of standard or artificial inflation of value by order of the Executive. The pages of Count Papadopoli vividly reflect this normal feature of monetary economy; and, again, we meet here, as everywhere, with moments or intervals of severe tension, when foreign specie was temporarily suffered to pass at a stipulated tariff.

Another point, worthy of commemoration, is the fairly early resort at Venice to the practice of receiving back at the Mint, at a valuation, coins worn and defaced by use. In 1472, the Council of Ten called in all the false or light money then in official and private hands, and made it good if it was forthcoming within eight days of the date of the decree (the 15th of May). At a later date (1608), we find Coryat, the traveller, earnestly admonishing his readers to beware of the light Venetian gold, and to take by preference what was due to them in silver *lire*. He visited the Mint, and describes it as "A goodly edifice, and so cunningly contrived with free stone, bricke, and yron, that they say there is no timber at all in that whole fabricke, a device most rare." He proceeds to say that all round the court is pointed diamond work, and that there are ten doors, the upper part made of iron, leading out of it. A well was in the centre, and inside there was a gallery along the whole extent of the court with white stone pilasters. The writer saw a large number of chests hooped with iron, some of them with seven locks, and he computes the value of the coins in these, with forty-two more in two chambers at the Rialto, at not less than 40 million ducats, that is, 100 million sterling of the present day.

Every aspect of commercial life was assiduously studied and encouraged. Tables of weights and measures, to facilitate dealings in Venetian and other goods, were doubtless obtainable in some form, long prior to the first publication by Bartholommeo di Pasi or Paxi of Venice of his Tariff of

Weights and Measures in 1503,<sup>1</sup> and the work was one likely to be kept in print for the use of the mercantile world, and many editions may have disappeared. The undertaking was professedly, of course, designed as a boon to buyers, and possibly it appealed to contemporary understandings; but to an untechnical modern eye it is a puzzle.

<sup>1</sup> There are later issues of 1521, 1540, 1553 and 1564, but there was unquestionably a continuous series. The impression of 1553 is in agenda form, so as more readily to be carried in the pocket. There is a woodcut of the Holy Family on the last leaf.

## CHAPTER LVIII

Chamber of Loans—Loan of 1160—The *Monte Vecchio* and *Monte Nuovo*—The Funds—Division of opinion on the movement—Competition of investors abroad for places on the roll—Private banks—Profitable business in loans to foreigners—Bankrupt estates—Prohibition of fictitious partnerships—Bank of Venice—Principle of honouring drafts by owners of current accounts—Rent-rolls, 1365–1425—Value of house-property and land—Large prices paid for mansions—Costly internal embellishments—Resources of Venice after the commencement of its decline.

ON the 4th of June, 1160, the Government borrowed of half a dozen merchants the sum of 150,000 silver marks.<sup>1</sup> From this transaction dated their origin the National Debt and the *Monte Vecchio*, the latter the germ and foundation of the Bank of Venice. It was not till twelve or thirteen years later, that a Chamber of Loans with its staff of functionaries was called into existence, and that the Funding System was made a branch of the political economy of the State. The confidence which was almost universally felt in the stability and good faith of Venice encouraged an extensive resort to the *Monte Vecchio*, and afterward to the *Monte Nuovo*. Foreign princes and capitalists of all nationalities deposited their money in the Funds, as the securest investment which could be made; the right to hold Venetian scrip was a privilege which could not be obtained without legislative sanction, and the sums registered in 1428 represented an aggregate of 9,000,000 ducats of gold,<sup>2</sup> the interest upon which, paid half-yearly at Lady Day and Michaelmas, was 130,000 ducats. The sub-joined table shews the fluctuations in the interest paid upon the debt from 1386 to 1398:—

Year.	Amount.
1386 . . . . .	146,690 ducats.
1387 . . . . .	239,830 „
1388 . . . . .	228,180 „
1389 . . . . .	220,870 „
1390 . . . . .	211,480 „

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Galliccioli, lib. i. c. 13. In twenty years from that time the amount had risen to thirteen millions.



Year.	Amount.
1391 . . . . .	236,230 ducats.
1392 . . . . .	218,000 "
1393 . . . . .	241,190 "
1394 . . . . .	193,589 "
1395 . . . . .	217,660 "
1396 . . . . .	197,310 "
1397 . . . . .	188,950 "
1398 . . . . .	195,500 <sup>1</sup> "

Between 1341 and 1352, as has already been stated, the rate of interest charged on loans fluctuated between 2 and 38 per cent., the lowest rate being found in 1350.

Venice, even in the thirteenth century, was the favourite depository of any sums of money, the payment of which was awaiting the result of some negotiation or contingency. The marketable value of the Funds was liable to rapid variations; at one time (1440) they were as low as 18½. So far as can be ascertained they were never higher than 59, at which figure they stood during a few months in 1409; but before the end of the year they had sunk to 45; in 1425 they were again at 58. It can scarcely be matter of surprise that the fluctuations were so frequent and so violent, when each ship which entered the Lagoons brought tidings of the prospect of a new war with Milan or Hungary, or the report of a fresh revolution at Genoa or Bologna. Our astonishment must be rather that, at such an epoch and in such a cycle of the world, any State should have succeeded, even imperfectly, in establishing a Funding System, and in imparting to it a moderate degree of equilibrium.

The loan of 1160<sup>2</sup> was under a bond, and was redeemable in eleven years; the security was a mortgage of the dues of the Rialto, and among the subscribers were the Doge himself and many of the leading mercantile houses. The rate of interest is apparently not specified; it seems to have been the first debt of the kind that was contracted. But twelve or thirteen years later, new financial difficulties, arising from the lax and imperfect method of collecting the taxes, obliged a second resort to extraordinary expedients, and a bureau was established, entitled *Camera degli Imprestidi*, under the superintendence of three *Camerlenghi del Comune*. This institution charged itself with the duty of raising a forced loan, amounting

<sup>1</sup> Gallicioli, *ubi suprà*.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the document is printed *in extenso* in Sanudo, i. 497-9.

to 1 per cent. on the estimated aggregate property of every individual liable to such a call. The Chamber kept a register of names and addresses, and books of accounts, and engaged to pay 4 per cent. half-yearly on the amount realized, till redemption became feasible.

Among the moderns, these steps taken by Venice were perhaps the earliest recourse to that great and vital system of Funding, which became, at a later period, a recognized branch and feature of the political economy of nations. The circumstances which attended the transaction of 1160 present that system in its most rudimentary and experimental aspect; the whole question of Banking was then in its infancy and on its trial.

Many politicians looked askance at the principle. They were alike ignorant of its value, of its working and of its peculiar function, and nothing, perhaps, was more remote from their intention, than the imposition of a burden upon their posterity by the creation of a National Debt. The earliest subscribers to the Monte Vecchio were not unwilling to receive their half-yearly dividends, but they were far more anxious, in all probability, to recover their advances. The latter were guaranteed to them on substantial security within a limited term, and the Fund was then doomed to extinction, until another emergency arose, and another public credit was taken by the Government. In an age when specie was not abundant, and in a country where the number of capitalists was comparatively small, it was barely likely that this new class of investment would meet with much favour, or, so long as it remained optional, would be largely embraced. Nor was it reasonable to anticipate that a merchant would deposit in the Treasury, at 4 per cent., money which was possibly yielding in the course of business quintuple returns. Hence it may have been that, in 1173, resort was had to compulsory assessment. Yet we are to witness throughout the present history a constant, if not a relatively increasing tendency to lean on private and voluntary subsidies in the presence of critical circumstances, and it may have been the inadequacy of the resources of the Doge and his fellow patricians in 976, when a complication of burdens arose, which led to what seems to be regarded as the earliest levy of a tenth or tithe<sup>1</sup> as a special measure.

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, i. 253.

It gradually acquired the attribute of a concession for any foreigner to be admitted as a stockholder. It was a political question on which the Executive reserved the right of decision, even when the object was philanthropic. In 1376, the Bishop of Cremona, and, in 1383, the Cardinal of Ravenna, solicited and obtained permission to hold 6000 and 12,000 ducats for the endowment of poor girls and the part-maintenance of the Studio of Padua respectively. Other instances occur in 1386-7, when the Duchess of Milan invested by leave 100,000 ducats in the Funds; and in 1389-90, when Don Manfredo di Saluzzo was allowed to invest 3000 ducats for purposes of poor relief. In the next century, we find the great and unfortunate general Carmagnola placing the bulk of his fortune in Venetian securities.

Beside the official Chamber of Loans, there were numerous Banks belonging to private individuals, including Jews, where money could be deposited or borrowed at interest. The rate was fixed by the Government, as well as the amount which might be advanced. In the case of two foreign Jews in 1389, the firm was required to put 4000 ducats into the business and to limit its loans to 30; and persons of the Hebrew nationality were only admitted by special licence, and, as it were, till farther notice. The house just mentioned, that of De Vult, however, was one of modest pretensions and of small capital, and private banks of all classes had ever to contend against the public *Camera degli Imprestidi*, which did business with persons all over the world to any amount, proper security being forthcoming. In 1397, 15,000 ducats were lent to Henri and Jacques de Bourbon, great lords of France, on their undertaking not to quit Venice till the sum was repaid. In 1398, the Commune of Perugia borrowed 5000 ducats. In 1399, the Duke of Norfolk effected with a Venetian merchant or banker a loan of 750 ducats while he stayed in the city on his way to the Holy Land; but the Duke died at Venice, and probably his creditor never saw his money again, although a strong representation was addressed to the English Government on the subject.

Bankruptcy was, of course, a more or less frequent incident of Venetian commercial life, and the arrangement of insolvent estates devolved on the *Consoli de' Mercatanti*. On the 15th of October, 1355, it was resolved by the Pregadi that Ser



Marino Baffo of Santa Maddalena and Ser Marco Trevisano, bankers, having absconded with 20,000 ducats, be cried, and that whoever shall lead to their conviction by delivering them into custody shall have 550 *lire*. In 1390, the private bank of Ser Antonio Contarini failed, and was wound up by order of the Council of Pregadi. It was among the domestic troubles and embarrassments of the Doge Foscari that the bank of Andrea Priuli, his father-in-law, suspended payment about 1440. In 1502, the general inconvenience produced by insolvencies led to the institution of the *Proveditori sopra Banchi*.

There is a provision dated 1535,<sup>1</sup> by which no person engaged in business was at liberty to pose as forming one of a company or firm, or as having a partner, unless he could satisfy the authorities that there was absolute *bona fides*; the names of the parties were to be registered in the proveditorial books, and to be communicated to all likely to be affected by the transactions of the said house. This piece of legislation was professedly aimed at a long-standing abuse.

The Bank of Venice underwent several developments and changes of nomenclature. It was successively known as the *Monte*, the *Monte Nuovo* (1580), the *Monte Novissimo* (1610), and the *Banco del Giro* (1712). At the last-named date, its statutes were revised and additional facilities were afforded, agreeably to the more modern principles then gaining general acceptance, for keeping and paying private and other accounts, side by side with adequate arrangements for the accommodation of customers in need of temporary advances, and for the investment of surplus capital at remunerative interest. The rate customarily paid for the use of money had been in the fourteenth century and later, 20 per cent.; in 1549, it is represented by a contemporary English authority—Thomas in his *History of Italy*—that Venetian nobles could then get 10, 12 and 15 per cent. for their spare resources, but such rates must have been exceptional. Four per cent. for six months, on the security of a house, is mentioned in a document of 1176; probably transactions were regulated on their own merits. There is no doubt that ten per cent. long remained an average claim between private parties. Half that amount was found by the official department—in ordinary circumstances—sufficient to meet with acceptance in

<sup>1</sup> *Statuta Veneta*, 1729, p. 142.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but when the bank was reconstituted on a new and broader footing in 1712, the rate had probably fallen much below the minimum amount.

The practice of depositing liquid securities in private banks for current use had, however, evidently been familiar long before, and we find the written order on the banker already in fashion in the fifteenth century, for, in or about 1433, Cosimo de' Medici is found handing to some one a slip of paper, directing the principal of the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova where he apparently kept an account, to pay the bearer 1100 gold florins.<sup>1</sup> In some places it was called a *polizza*; such a system remained in England down to the nineteenth century before the regular cheque was introduced. It seems to have been about 1715 that the London banks began to deal with private customers and to open current accounts; the house of Child was probably the earliest in the field; the members of the family were originally linen-drappers. The first Earl of Bristol (1665–1751) was one of their earliest customers, and mentions in his *Diary* that he kept his banking-account or one of them there.

The practice of framing Rent-rolls is named in a public document of 1207 as an established institution. In 1365, the Old Rent-roll or *Catastero Vecchio* had been rendered, by the expansion of the national wealth, obsolete and unserviceable, and, in 1367, a fresh survey was authorized.

The *Catastero Nuovo* exhibited the results which follow:—

Ward.	No. of Parishes.	Total Rental in Gold Ducats.
San Marco . . . .	16 . . . .	799,180
Castello . . . .	12 . . . .	456,960
Cannaregio . . . .	12 . . . .	485,230
San Polo . . . .	8 . . . .	490,270
Santa Croce . . . .	9 . . . .	281,280
Dorsoduro . . . .	11 . . . .	368,800

In this tabular statement, a few trifling inaccuracies exist which it is no longer possible to rectify. The correct total for the six Wards is 2,880,818 ducats of gold.<sup>2</sup>

Another, perhaps the next, survey was made in 1425, and the roll of 1367 became in its turn the *Old Roll*. It is said<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, English translation, 1846, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. *Documenti*, No. 5, *Estima delle Case di Venezia nel 1367*, from the *Cronaca Magna*.

<sup>3</sup> Romanin, iv. 500.

that the new survey exhibited a total of 3,253,042 ducats of gold, being in excess of the former by 372,224 ducats; in 1469 the figures are given as 4,558,490 ducats.<sup>1</sup>

These statistics furnished the Government with the basis for an estimate of the rateable property of the city and State, but, unless many intervening records are lost, material changes necessarily occurred, almost from year to year, in the financial position of individuals. Again, at Venice that peculiarly oligarchical spirit, which, with the direction of affairs, accepted many of the burdens of government, rendered a descent to the lower scale of incomes or fortunes less imperative than it was, or was made to be, elsewhere. The reluctance to exact, in the absence of necessity, even the legitimate quota of taxation, or to press payment of dues to the State, formed part of the diplomatic tenderness toward the community at large which distinguished Venice and conciliated the lower classes. But it had not always been so, for the old chronicler Marco tells us, that the tax-gatherer in his time (the thirteenth century) was nicknamed an *orso*, because he cuffed and struck those who would not or could not pay. *Orso* might be either a bear or a paring-tool.

Two circumstances which supplied an indication of the growing prosperity of Venice at the close of the fourteenth and the commencement of the fifteenth century were the increase in the population and the rising value of house-property. It is supposed that, in the last quarter of the twelfth century, the population of the whole Dogado, including persons in holy orders, did not exceed 70,000; but the difficulties necessarily attendant upon the verification of a census, in a city in which the absentees were constantly numerous, warn us against the reception of this class of statistics in too exact or literal a sense. In 1336, the official returns shewed 40,100 males between twenty and sixty, representing, by comparison with other tables, an aggregate of nearly 150,000. In the last decade of that century, the numbers fell little short of 200,000, and, by a census taken in 1367, it is established that the heads of noble Houses in that year were no fewer than 204.

Occasional documentary glimpses are obtainable of earlier valuations, at all events of land, and they offer the same powerful contrast to more modern figures, as is almost uni-

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 551.



versally the case where fundamental changes have occurred in the demand for space. In 1031, the Veniero family sold a plot of ground in Chioggia for four denari. Probably it was a small one, for, in 1088, they and certain coparceners obtained for another property five *libræ* of gold. But there was an antecedent time when areas were allotted to settlers on a feudal basis for a more or less nominal service, and, from 1310, the Rosso family held in perpetuity of the Procurators of St. Mark a house in one of the most central thoroughfares—the Merceria—at a rent of fifteen ducats; but this was professedly a peppercorn rate in merely exceptional circumstances.

The mansions which studded the Grand Canal and other leading thoroughfares ultimately fetched enormous sums. The possessor of a more or less moderate fortune, the Doge Francesco Foscari was not, relatively speaking, a rich man; yet the house at San Pantaleone, in which he lived before his accession to power, and also for a few days in October 1457 after his retirement, cost him 20,000 ducats. A large number of residences on or near the Rialto were estimated at 10,000 and 15,000 ducats, and 5000 or 6000 ducats was quite an ordinary figure. The house which was purchased by the Commune so far back as 1348 for Jacopo da Carrara, grandfather of Francesco Novello, cost 5000 ducats. In 1413, among the rewards of Pandolfo Malatesta, Captain-General of Venice in the Hungarian War, was a dwelling for which the Procurators of St. Mark paid 6000 ducats, and, in 1429, the Palazzo Giustiniani at San Pantaleone was bought for the Lord of Mantua, ex-Captain-General of the Signory, for the sum of 6500 ducats. In the same year, the Government, desirous of doing honour to the Waiwode of Albania, a Venetian citizen, procured for him the house of the patrician Nicolò Morosini, at an outlay of only 3000 ducats. The prices demanded for shops in the choicer and more fashionable localities were, at the same time, exorbitant. The smallest counter on the Rialto itself did not let for less than 100 ducats a year, and, for the *Bell* Hotel at the Pescheria, with a frontage of little shops, the Sanudo family received annually 800 ducats. Tenements which, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, used to let for fifteen or twenty ducats, had become, in the fifteenth, according to their situation and their proximity to

the Ducal Residence, worth six, eight, ten or even twelve times as much. In the more sumptuous of the private edifices in and about the Foscari period (1423-57), there were not infrequently single apartments, upon the decoration of which 800, 1000, or 2000 ducats had been expended by the proprietor, principally in gilding, mosaic or carving, marble and glass.

In the presence of several political and national crises of the most acute and exhaustive character, when Venice was thrown for months on her own internal resources and was left without an ally, it becomes highly necessary to inquire what enabled a city so situated to live, and, again, what is in a sense still more important and remarkable, to feed her people and uphold her independence, during all that prolonged period when her Eastern trade had shrunk to the slenderest proportions, and her grasp of the *terra firma* was immensely relaxed. Even when the Republic was no longer, either what she shewed herself at the epoch of the fifth crusade—a maritime and commercial Power capable of contracting for the equipment of the expedition to the East and of governing its movements, or what she became in two centuries forward—a first-rate European State, with a ruling voice which was audible far beyond the Italian frontier, the Venetian economic system rendered it possible to support a considerable population and a luxurious minority during centuries of political decadence.

Venice was almost to the last severely protectionist, and the city from its happy topographical site was a sort of reservoir for an enormous amount of goods imported from various directions, and also the seat of numerous profitable manufactures. Imports and exports alike paid duty; a stringent excise guarded all points of ingress or egress; and even the members of the Craft-gilds contributed a certain *quota* of their gains in addition to the entrance fees. Mention occurs elsewhere of the thousands of persons who derived a livelihood from the woollen trade, mainly through the large and continual demand of the staff of the Arsenal and of seafarers, and the Salt Office was at all times a source of revenue which the State jealously guarded and on which it could implicitly rely. In 1454, it was estimated that a tenth of the public income came from this

industry, on which the prætorian prefect Cassiodorus, in the fifth century, is already found felicitating the islanders as more precious than mines of gold and silver. The principle of taxing every object of ornament or use and every article of consumption was in harmony with the commercial ideas of the passed centuries; it recommended itself to the later Venetians by the peculiar nature of many of their home products, which yielded a wide margin of emolument and of which they were long enabled to keep the monopoly; and no effort or encouragement was spared to prevent industrial specialities from leaving the lagoons. The glass trade in all its branches was alone a rich field of employment and profit. Altogether the internal resources of Venice, nearly down to the close, were, even if deficient in the old amplitude and elasticity, by no means contemptible, and it was not to the blame of the constitution, but of the natural course of external events, that the volume of trade decreased, and that with it the voice of the country dropped to a lower key. For, as in the naval department, all ships were for the common use, subject to certain necessary restrictions of the Executive and of individuals, of war and commerce, so, while the days of monopoly lasted, and until the opening of the Cape of Good Hope route reduced the Mediterranean to secondary importance and value, the Venetian patricians shared with the *Cittadinanza* the advantages of practical business as merchants and bankers, while they were precluded, by rigorous self-imposed checks and counterchecks, from irregularly or mischievously interfering in a government of which they were constitutionally hereditary members. Thus, the more modern Venice, as it came under the notice of observers in the eighteenth century, had parted with the spirit and genius which, with favouring conditions, enabled it to rise to a height of power and glory almost without a parallel in history, but it still remained a self-supporting community on the old-fashioned commercial lines, and, even in its declining strength and opulence, occasionally, on a great emergency or under some Mocenigo or Morosini, astonished the world by a momentary revival of its pristine vigour and heroism.

The elaborate measures which the Government concerted for the official supervision of the *Arts* or *Gilds* were part of the entire system of paternal control. Those bodies were, as we



have noted, under the jurisdiction of a department of the Executive, which kept registers (*mariegole*) of all names and duplicate copies of the statutes. The ruling aims were to preserve the efficiency of the craft, and to prevent its *arcana* or secret methods of production from being divulged. The administrative committee of each gild was qualified to make provision for the sick and aged, for widows and orphans, and for the admittance of new members, but all these steps were subject to the approval of the State. The latter exacted a *taglione* or poll-tax, and an *ad valorem* commission on working profits.

This was therefore an appreciable element in the fiscal budget, when we consider the costly nature of many of the articles of luxury made by the gilds; and it was, besides, an incidence of revenue to the end, helping to prop up the constitution when certain other contributions began to fail. Taking the latter half of the sixteenth century when we enter on the period of decline, the annual sale of silks alone represented half a million ducats, while, in 1582, it was reckoned that there were not more than 187 beggars in Venice.

It was so in a far less important degree, as time progressed, with the income arising from Government loans to States and individuals, and with the amounts deposited by foreigners in the Funds, for both these sources of revenue were unfavourably affected by the competition of other markets, and by the political decline of Venice itself. The former inducement to invest here was the sense of security and the rate of interest. The Republic, in short, when her wonderful fortune deserted her, fell back on her realized capital, her local industries and her position as a general *entrepôt*.

Moreover, the normal expenditure of the State itself, as distinguished from that incurred by private munificence, was comparatively moderate; the Civil List was kept within fairly frugal limits, and was carefully audited; there was no standing Army, and the Navy was so handled that its cost to the country was minimized. Again, there was ever that prominent factor in all perilous junctures and moments of financial pressure—the devotion of the private citizen, who never failed, so long as the means existed, to bring his money or material of war to the Government as a free patriotic obla-

tion; and, if we must admit that outrageous sums were habitually spent on luxury and ostentation to the very end of the scene, we must also allow that such things tended to occupy and distract general attention, and to conciliate certain classes.

While Coryat is tolerably eloquent in praise of the Venetian patricians, he admits that, in one respect, they did not bear comparison with his own noble countrymen, for he observed that, although they owned and maintained splendid mansions, they not only kept no retinue of servants and displayed no hospitality, but contented themselves with a frugal table. The author of the *Crudities* was informed that this course was necessitated by the sumptuary laws which limited expenditure, and it is not unlikely that the practice and temper were an inheritance from the old feudal times, when the aristocracy could never be sure how much they might be required, in their private capacities, to contribute at any moment to some public object. Yet, down to a period when the ancient purity of manners still more or less survived, there were members of the aristocracy who, in place of voluntary and gratuitous contributions to the national expenditure, lent their surplus income to the Government, at a rate of interest which Shylock might have been prepared to entertain.

## CHAPTER LIX

The Arts and Sciences—Geographical knowledge and discovery—Early Venetian and other travellers—Preparation of charts and maps—Map of Marino Sanudo Torsello (1306)—Planisphere of Andrea Bianco (1436)—The Crusaders—Sir John Mandeville—Marco Polo and his relatives—Marco's chequered career—His return home about 1295—Graphic narrative of Ramusio—His misfortunes—Second return in 1301—Some account of Marino Sanudo—His important and interesting correspondence—His interview with the Pope—Apparent want of friendly relations between Sanudo and Polo—The Zeni—John and Sebastian Cabot—The collection of ancient charts in the Marciano—The Mariner's Compass—Mechanics and medical sciences.

At Venice, the arts and sciences were assiduously and affectionately cultivated. Those to which the Republic directed its attention with the greatest earnestness, perhaps, were astronomy and astrology, mathematics, trigonometry, chemistry, botany, alchemy, history, sacred and profane, physics and metaphysics, painting and sculpture. Some of these studies were of essential service in the mastery of geography and navigation. During the most prosperous times, no labour, no cost was spared to render the standard of knowledge as high and complete as anywhere in the world, and it is remarkable that, in the eighteenth century, when the political rank and weight of the Republic had visibly begun to decline, a distinct, if a tardy and futile, movement arose in the direction, not merely of political and commercial reform, but of science and culture. In other days, the Venetians had found it possible long to deliberate before they acted, but they had failed to gauge the new forces which the French Revolution liberated, and ruin overtook them before they had fully realized the peril.

Venice was one of a group of States which, in the divided condition of the Peninsula, contributed during many ages, amid all kinds of political distractions and anxieties, to foster the liberal arts, while it created its own schools of painting, sculpture and architecture, and was one of the earliest possessors of an important public library. The union of Italy under one government is a modern necessity, but the days of noble and rich performance were those of many centres



regally emulous of each other: societies in which the fiercest passions and the darkest crimes went hand in hand with the most intense appreciation of beauty and the most perfect homage to Nature, in which the god and the devil were so often blended in an individual, that local independence and local fame were at length thought worth bartering for general freedom and tranquillity.

The standard of geographical knowledge was not higher in any part of the world than in Venice. The discoveries of the three Poli in Tartary, China and the East Indies; of their contemporary, Marino Sanudo *detto* Torsello, in Armenia, Palestine and Egypt;<sup>1</sup> of Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, about 1390, on the coasts of Scotland and in the direction of the American Continent toward Labrador and Newfoundland, the latter not reached by the elder Cabot till more than a century later;<sup>2</sup> of Cà da Mosto, on the African Continent; and of many others whose names and narratives have alike perished, were continually swelling the stock of information. In the ordinary course of trade, the subjects of the Republic, men of character and education, naturally contributed to advance the cause, nor was it in commercial life alone that the intercourse with remote regions was maintained and Venetian influence extended. As early as the first half of the eleventh century, we find Gerardo Sagredo, who was martyred in 1046 and eventually canonized, acting as Bishop of Chonad or Csanád in Hungary, and a favourite of the King, himself hereafter to become a saint and the founder of the Holy Roman Empire.

The charts which were published at intervals helped importantly the same object, and the practical experiences of observant and more or less educated travellers tended to create two broad divisions or schools: the one which gave to the world the fruit of hearsay and guesswork, such as the Zeno volume above mentioned, and the other to which we

<sup>1</sup> See also Filiasi, *Ricerche*, 137; Placido Zurla, *Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori Veneziani*, 1818, 2 vols., 4to.; Foscarini, p. 497, edit. 1854; and Morelli, *Operette*, ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Dei Commentarii del Viaggio in Persia di M. Caterino Zeno . . . Et dello Scopprimento dell'Isole . . . fatto sotto il Polo Artico, da due fratelli Zeni*, Venice, 1558. This book is very far from being what it professes to be, but is perhaps not quite so bad or so thoroughly disingenuous as the most recent critics seek to maintain. It seems to have been compiled nearly two centuries after the presumed date of the voyage or voyages, from papers no longer known to exist, and is accompanied by an apocryphal wood-cut map which is reproduced in the edition of Ptolemy, 1561. See the interesting monograph by F. W. Lucas, 1898.

owe the prototypes of our modern system of cartography. Some of the primitive *mappæ mundi*, executed in the cloister or in the study or on the wall of a building, such as the map alleged to have been painted for Henry III. in Westminster Hall, seem to have no claims to authority, and when we have before us a work performed by some scribe, under the immediate dictation of a personage who had newly come from the regions which he sought to describe and delineate, and who, to fortify his memory, had brought in his hand sketches, even of a rough kind, made on the spot, we easily perceive the vital difference.

It is scarcely susceptible of doubt that, on his return from his travels in 1295, Marco Polo brought with him a plan more or less perfect and accurate of the latitudes which he had visited. In 1321,<sup>1</sup> the scarcely less illustrious Sanudo presented to the reigning Pontiff his celebrated book *On the Faithful of the Cross*, with four maps.<sup>2</sup>

In 1351, a traveller, supposed from internal evidence to have been a Genoese, designed a chart of the Black Sea.<sup>3</sup> The production is jejune and meagre enough, but it is valuable and interesting as the most ancient delineation of that region and littoral. The Doge Marino Faliero possessed among many other valuable curiosities, some of which had belonged to Marco Polo himself, a brazen *sphæra mundi*, formerly the property of Antonio, an astrologer. In 1357, a map of the world, perhaps based on that of Sanudo, was made by Francesco and Domenigo Pizzagano of Venice,<sup>4</sup> and other contributions to nautical science appeared in 1368, 1380, 1426, 1436 and 1448.<sup>5</sup> The map of 1436, which proceeded from the pencil of Andrea Bianco of Venice, was the most perfect which had hitherto been seen, but not even the parallels of latitude were marked upon it. About the same time, Bianco produced a Planisphere,<sup>6</sup> which preceded by some years that which the celebrated Fra Mauro prepared by commission for Affonso IV. of Portugal, and which was transmitted to Lisbon in 1459.<sup>7</sup> Some of the details are

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. ; Han., 1611.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Serristori, *Illustrazione di una Carta del Mar Nero del 1351* ; Firenze, 1856, 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> Romanin, iii. 366.

<sup>5</sup> Morelli, *Viaggiatori Veneziani eruditi poco noti* ; *Operette*, i.

<sup>6</sup> Formaleoni, *Saggio sulla Nautica antica de' Veneziani* ; Venice, 1783, p. 16, *et seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana*, 445, n. 2 ; Venice, 1854.

sufficiently grotesque, and the designs of men and places are primitively quaint, but, on the whole, it is executed with an elaborate skill and with a delicacy of manipulation which entitle Bianco to the warmest eulogy. It is easy to conceive that it procured the draughtsman no common applause.

The labours of modern geographical experts and specialists have somewhat contributed to overlay the state of the question as it remained down to comparatively recent times. The spirit of commercial enterprise among the Italian republics, especially Venice, indirectly fostered that of religious enthusiasm, when the reports were brought to Western Europe of the profanation of the holy places by the enemies of Christianity. These accounts, not a little exaggerated, found the feudal system and the principles of chivalry beginning to develop themselves in France and England, and an eager desire to redeem the Sepulchre and Palestine generally from the Mohammedan invaders, not only actuated the soldier at home in offering his services and embarking on the vessels hired from Venice and other maritime Powers, but set numerous persons at work, in different parts of Europe, to construct for information and curiosity charts of the region which the Crusaders proposed to visit and liberate. These draughts were principally executed at second-hand in the closet or the cloister, from report or from rough indications furnished by practical travellers deficient in literary and artistic skill. They range from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, and those which we possess must be regarded as only a salvage. As they emerge from merely speculative empiricism, they become interesting, as shewing the very gradual acquisition of any exact knowledge of localities. Their imperfection and poverty, however, were aggravated and prolonged, by the absence of capable cartographers to commit to paper the discoveries and communications of those who were acquainted with the ground, but were incompetent to delineate what their eyes had seen, as well as by the almost unavoidable want of concert among such few as then employed themselves in these inquiries.

The state of the case may be summed up by saying that the charts, *mappe mundi*, planispheres and *portolani* which survive in public libraries do not represent the full contemporary experience enjoyed by actual navigators and travellers,



but as near an approach as rude draughtsmen could accomplish, from intercourse with direct observers without culture and without due appreciation of the importance of accuracy. We do not even know, whether the Map of Marino Sanudo was made by himself or by some one else better versed in such work, or, again, whether it was prepared prior or posterior to his return home in 1306, but he had personally, in common with his contemporary and countryman Marco Polo, studied the geography of many regions, and was a man of considerable literary ability, and, if he was not an hydrographer, he was far better qualified than most explorers to direct the hand of another.

From the eighth century, at all events, a succession of pioneers, chiefly actuated by religious zeal or the spirit of adventure, but almost without exception illiterate, had contributed to build up a body of traditional and more or less vague information respecting distant localities, their features and products. Even when they left narratives behind them, however, these necessarily survived in unique manuscript copies, usually prepared from the roughest memoranda, or even from memory by third parties gifted with some share of clerical skill, and hidden in private repositories where they were forgotten; each individual started afresh, as it were, with the bare knowledge that certain regions presented objects of interest or advantage.<sup>1</sup> One of the concluding paragraphs in the ordinary editions of Sir John Mandeville's more or less apocryphal *Travels* (1322-56) tends to corroborate the view, that the ancient charts<sup>2</sup> from various sources which we possess were more or less habitually based on a study of the manuscript narratives, brought home by travellers or drawn up by them from their notes on their return, which might leave the way open to many serious divergencies from facts and to empirical

<sup>1</sup> See *Ancient Accounts of India and China, by Two Mohammedan Travellers, who went to those Parts in the ninth century*. Translated from the Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot; 8°, London, 1733.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest English impression of Mandeville with a map and illustrations appears to be that of Wynkyn de Worde, issued in 1503. But editions in French, German and Spanish, with similar cuts, appeared between 1480 and 1531. No early Flemish translation has yet occurred to notice; nor indeed does Delepierre recognize the Liegeois version as such (*Sketch of the History of Flemish Literature*, 1860). The chart and engravings in all the historical issues just referred to were from a German source, and from a hand as imaginative as that of the writer of the text. The pseudo-Mandeville, however, enjoyed at least as great a popularity as the authentic Poló.

or at least secondary records; in fact we know that the fruits of the explorations of Marco Polo were dictated to a French amanuensis, partly perhaps from notes, partly from memory.

The *Mandeville* was, it is to be suspected, the work of a doctor of Liège, Jean de Bourgogne, or, as he is called in one place, Master John *ad Barbam*, who, while he temporarily absented himself from his own country in order to avoid prosecution for homicide, may have visited Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and that, on his return, a traveller and countryman, about 1355, found him again at home, and joined with him in compiling an account of their common experiences and observations with a certain measure of embellishment. Master John, perhaps, found it convenient to pass under an assumed name, and adopted that of Mandeville, the narrative in course of time successively passing as the work of Messire *Jean de Mandeville* and of *Messire Jean de Mandeville Chevalier*. He seems to have permanently renounced his original designation, and a *Lapidary*, of which there were several printed editions, bears the name probably assumed by himself in the supposed circumstances and the rank wrongly bestowed on him by others. The original printer of the *Lapidarium* (about 1500) doubtless accepted without misgiving the personal credentials of the *soi-disant* Mandeville, his claim to spurs inclusive.

Polo, who profited by the previous observations of his father and uncles, had been preceded by others to some extent; and others, again, extended their travels farther than any of the Poli; but the labours and researches of Marco, occurring at a period when the world was beginning to awaken to an appreciation of the arts and industries of the Far East, and enhanced in value by his practical training, cultivated mind and opulent circumstances, did more than those of any antecedent traveller from Europe to advance Western civilization; and some of the mediæval Venetian customs, such as the notation of time by bells, suggest our indebtedness to his Oriental experiences.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, we must not be surprised to find that later travellers, down to quite modern days, have had it in their power to rectify many erroneous or imperfect statements by a writer labouring under all

<sup>1</sup> C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, 8vo, 1895, pays a high tribute to the geographical services of the Poli.

the difficulties attendant on the pioneer. Such has been quite lately the case with the book of Major Sykes on Iran, in which he finds it possible to correct Yule in several particulars.

Polo, after his return home in or about 1295, volunteered to fit out a galley at his own cost for the war against Genoa, and was taken prisoner in the disastrous battle of Curzola in 1298. Among his fellow captives or visitors at Genoa was Rusticien de Pise, translator from Latin or Italian into French of the Arthurian romance of *Meliadus de Léonois*. Rusticien took peculiar pleasure in the society of the Venetian, and at length he even went so far as to propose, as a means of passing the tedious hours, that his friend should dictate to him a methodical account of his travels in Tartary, China and India. This proposition was accepted; the undigested memoranda, which Polo had left at his father's house at San Giovanni Grisostomo, were transmitted from Venice with the concurrence of the Genoese Executive, and the work was henceforth continued from day to day, until it was brought to completion. Polo lingered in captivity, mitigated by these circumstances, till 1301, and there was ample opportunity for making duplicate copies of the narrative; the original text was in French; translations into other languages were successively undertaken; an abridged version in the Venetian dialect appeared in 1496, and in English in 1579, but no authentic Italian edition seems to have been produced prior to 1827. The French narrative is stated to have been circulating shortly after 1298, and we are informed that the author or his amanuensis presented a copy to the King of France;<sup>1</sup> it is said that copies were then already circulating among the curious. *The Travels* of the Great Venetian in the hand of Rusticien would now be cheaply purchased at a hundred times their weight in gold; the author has been acknowledged as the Herodotus of modern times; his book has been rendered into nearly all the languages of Europe. Honoured in his lifetime at the Chinese Court, he was placed after his death among the Five Hundred Gods of Canton, and the name of the contemporary of Dante and Petrarch has become a household word.

<sup>1</sup> Filiiasi, *Ricerche*, 126. A text of the Latin compendium was printed from a fourteenth century MS. in facsimile at Stockholm, 4<sup>o</sup>, 1782.



The influence of his Genoese acquaintance was exerted in the ineffectual attempt to restore him to freedom; a large ransom was offered to no purpose by his family with this object, and an advantageous marriage, which the elder Polo had had in view for his son on the return of the latter from abroad, was in consequence indefinitely postponed. It is supposed that he was liberated in 1301, but it is not known with certainty in what year he died. His will which forms the sole clue was made in 1323, and from this circumstance an inference may be drawn that his decease did not occur much later than 1324 or 1325; he left only two daughters—Moretta and Fantina. In the fifteenth century, by failure of male issue, the family merged in that of Trevisano, but a share of the personality of Polo passed by some means into the hands of the Doge Marino Faliero, and is included in the extant inventory of his estate (1355).

There is a tale that, on his death-bed, he was exhorted by certain persons to expunge from his Travels many passages upon which discredit had been cast in some quarters, and that the dying man treated the insulting proposition with merited scorn, exclaiming that “so far from being fairly chargeable with exaggeration, he had omitted to record countless extraordinary matters, to the truth of which he could have borne ocular testimony.”<sup>1</sup>

It is Ramusio who preserves from the traditional anecdotes handed down by his father and his grandfather to a friend, the distinguished senator Gasparo Malipiero, that graphic and singular account of Marco Polo and his two kinsmen returning home in 1295, dressed like Tartars, and so much altered in their features by exposure and privation, that even their own family and their most intimate friends did not recognize them. The old historian produces the parallel case of Ulysses, and that of the Dutch discoverers of Spitzbergen in 1597 will be remembered. The interest of the little narrative is immensely enhanced by the distance of the period and the celebrity of the central figure; they had even forgotten the Venetian language. On proceeding to the Casa Polo at San Grisostomo, they found the house in the occupation of relatives

<sup>1</sup> The portrait of Polo accompanying Sir Henry Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. 1875, is almost certainly supposititious, but, in a copy of Marsden's book, 1818, was inserted a fine coloured drawing from some early MS. far more likely to have resembled the traveller.

who thought them dead, and it was with great difficulty that they made these understand who they were.<sup>1</sup> They hereupon resolved upon an expedient by which they might make themselves known to their family and connexions, and at the same time to the whole city. A splendid banquet was arranged, and to it were bidden all the members of the House of Polo and their friends. When the guests had assembled and were seated at table, the three travellers entered, attired in robes of crimson satin down to their feet, "as the custom in those days was." Water was brought to them, and, having immersed their hands, they bade the company to be seated. They then divested themselves of their satin garments, and arrayed their persons in similar ones of crimson damask, ordering the satin dresses to be cut up and distributed among the servants.

Then Marco Polo, his father and his uncle joined their friends and kinsfolk in the repast, and when they had partaken of some of the dishes, they rose once more, cast off the damask, and had others of crimson velvet brought which they donned in the presence of all, the servants, as before, receiving the damask as a perquisite. The same lot, at the conclusion of the feast, befell the velvet suits, and finally the Poli appeared in woollen like the rest.<sup>2</sup> This series of incidents naturally created much surprise, and Marco, as the youngest, having ordered all the servants to quit the hall, and the mantles being removed, fetched from one of the apartments the coarse clothes in which they had returned home. Taking a knife, he unripped the linings and pockets, and laid out before the astonished visitors all the precious stones which he had sewn up in this ingenious manner, because it would have been dangerous and difficult to carry so much gold. When those present beheld this extraordinary treasure, they marvelled exceedingly, and no longer doubted that the strangers were

<sup>1</sup> In Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, edited by Cordier in 1903, is a representation of the arrival of the voyagers at the house, the doors of which are closed against them. It is as destitute of authority and value, I apprehend, as the German likeness just referred to, which Cordier unfortunately again reproduces. It probably resembled the Venetian as closely as that at Canton.

<sup>2</sup> This incident reminds us a little of the concluding story in the *Thousand and One Nights*, in which the two heroines change their attire several times. Lady Burton's ed., vi. 201. The period approximately suits the supposed composition of the *Nights*: it is a pure orientalism; but, as Sir Harry Johnston mentions in his *Nile Quest*, the early Venetian explorers and merchants habitually, from motives of security, adopted the costume of the regions which they visited.

indeed what they professed to be. The news spread, and crowds flocked to the Casa Polo to embrace the long-lost travellers, to see the wonders which they had brought with them, and to hear from their own lips of the strange regions which they had visited, and the fabulous wealth of the Great Khan. It was Marco's fashion of reckoning by millions the riches of the princes whom he had seen, that won for him the name *Messer Marco Milioni*, and two centuries and a half later when Ramusio wrote, the Casa Polo or Corte Sabbionera (of which Sir Henry Yule gives an illustration) was still popularly called *La Corte dei Milioni*. Of the residence of Polo only the archway survives, the remainder having been destroyed by fire. It is not known where he was buried, except that it may be conjectured that it was at San Lorenzo among his ancestors and immediate descendants.

Under the administration of seven Doges and contemporary with Polo, a gentleman of ducal and tribunitial family dwelt at Venice in the street of San Severo Confessore, who was ennobled by his contributions to literature and science as well as by his extraction. His name was Marino Sanudo Torsello. He was one of the four sons of Marco Sanudo Torsello by his wife Maria;<sup>1</sup> his brothers were Filippo, Tommaso, and Giovanni, and it seems that he was connected by the ties of consanguinity with Nicolò, son of Guglielmo, son of Marco Sanudo, first duke of Andros<sup>2</sup> and nephew of Arrigo Dandolo. It is surmised that the Sanudi and the Torselli, who were more anciently known as the Basaniti,<sup>3</sup> had intermarried, and that thence arose the hereditary cognomen which was common to all the children of Marco. The precise date of the birth of Marino has not been ascertained, but he was probably the junior of Polo by some years; the event may be assigned, without the chance of serious error, to 1260. From his youth an ardent enthusiasm for the diminution of Turkish preponderance shared with a thirst for geographical discovery his time and attention. The rank, talents and affluent circumstances of the Venetian gradually procured for him the

<sup>1</sup> SEPULTVRA D. MARCI SANUDO TORSELLO ET  
D. MARIE VXORIS EJVS ET HEREDVM DE CON-  
FINIO S SEVERI. IN QVA REQVIESCIT JOAN-  
NES FERATE EORVM FILIVS. CVJVS ANIMA  
REQVIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN. ORATE PRO EO.

The foregoing inscription is reported by Agostini, i. 441.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistolæ M. Sanudi Torselli; Gesta Dei per Francos, passim.*

<sup>3</sup> Andrea Dandolo, lib. vii. p. 156.



acquaintance and esteem of many distinguished personages of the age, and of more than one crowned Head, and of his access to the French Court he unceasingly availed himself to urge the organization of a fresh crusade against the Osmanlis. If his counsel had been followed, the destiny of Europe might have been changed, and neither Nicopolis nor Lepanto would have been fought.

In an undated memorial to the King of France,<sup>1</sup> written in French and assignable to 1321, Sanudo demonstrates that it will only cost his Majesty or Christendom ten galleys, carrying 2500 men, 300 horse and 1000 infantry, to guard Armenia.<sup>2</sup> He recommends him to seek the concurrence of the Pope and the friendship of the Venetians, and to appoint some competent person Captain of the Host; if the King does these things, he makes no doubt that other European Powers will co-operate.<sup>3</sup>

Like the majority of Venetians, Sanudo was a citizen of the world. The greater part of his active and useful life was spent in foreign countries. His travels, which were chiefly prosecuted between 1300 and 1320, extended over the whole coast of the Mediterranean, Egypt, the Holy Land, Armenia and Arabia Felix. In one passage, which it must be premised is not free from the suspicion of being an interpolation,<sup>4</sup> he speaks of the smaller islands lying about England, Scotland and Ireland, "the names of which are unknown to me," and it is clear at least that he is not to be understood to have visited personally the northern latitudes, but simply to be quoting some other traveller, who may have forestalled even the Normans<sup>5</sup> in their discovery of Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland.

In March 1306-7, we find Sanudo at home, in the street of San Severo in Rialto; he had returned from some of his Oriental voyages, and, in that year and month,<sup>6</sup> he began to commit to writing the fruits of his labour and experience. The first book

<sup>1</sup> *Ramembranze a la Royale Maiesté faite humblement et devotement par Marin Sanud, dict Torzel, de Venise, etc.—Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> In another place he says: "If any one were to ask me, how many men, etc., I answer reverently, I, Marinus Sanutus, dictus Torsellus, that with 300 horse, 1000 foot, and 10 galleys, well armed, not only Armenia, but Romania itself could be protected."—*G. D. per F.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "Et si vostre haulte Seigneurie faict ceste chose, je ne doubte pas, avec layde de Dieu, que le Roy Robert, le Roy Frederic de Secille, et l'Empereur de Constantinople, seront obeissants a vous en toutes choses, qui seront razonnables."

<sup>4</sup> *Secreta*, p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> Rafn, *Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands*, 1854.

<sup>6</sup> "Anno a nativitate D. N. J. C. 1306, mense Martii, inceptum est hoc opus, quod per Dei gratiam Marinus Sanudo aliter dictus Torsellus, filius D. Marci Sanudo," etc.—*Secreta*, p. 21.

only of the work so celebrated as *The Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross* was finished at that time and place. In this division<sup>1</sup> which comprises five parts, he exhibits the method by which, in his opinion, it was possible to compass the destruction of the infidels; in fact, it is nothing more than the Memorial subsequently sent to Paris in a more elaborate form. The second book of the Secrets, composed at Chiarenza in 1312 and 1313,<sup>2</sup> enters into statistical and arithmetical detail touching the recovery of Palestine; his estimates for manning and victualling fleets and armies are curious but rather prolix, and he lays peculiar stress on the preparatory conquest of Armenia. Of the third and concluding section, which is devoted to a speculation on the means of preserving the Holy Places when they should have been won back,<sup>3</sup> and is partly occupied by genealogical trees of Noah and other not less extraneous topics, the chronology is obscure; but it was certainly posterior to 1324, and as certainly antecedent to 1326 when, in a letter to the Duke of Lorraine,<sup>4</sup> he expressly says: "Your Highness must be aware that from my infancy I have (neglecting all other business) devoted myself to the advancement of the glory of Christ, to the service of the Faithful, and to the extinction of the Pagans; and in order that my labours might be made known to Kings and Princes, and might not pass into oblivion, I have digested into one volume the work of which the title is *Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, being not only for the preservation of the Faithful, but for the conversion or annihilation of the Misbelievers, and for the safe holding of the Holy Land and many other countries."<sup>5</sup> That book I have presented to our Lord the Pontiff, to the Kings of France, England and Sicily, to the Cardinals and many other Prelates, to the Count of Hanover, and to several of the French Counts (including the Comte de Clermont); and seeing that your progenitors, in whose happy footsteps you are beginning to tread, strenuously bestirred themselves in the affairs of the Holy Land . . . I send you with these presents the Prologue,

<sup>1</sup> "Incipit Liber Primus Operis Terræ Sanctæ, continens dispositionem ac præparationem ad Terram Sanctam recuperandam."

<sup>2</sup> *Secreta*, p. 34. "I began to write it in the month of December 1312 at Chiarenza."

<sup>3</sup> "Incipit Liber Tertius ejusdem Operis, continens infallibilem et veram doctrinam conservandi ac tenendi ac possidendi Sanctam Terram Promissionis."

<sup>4</sup> *Letters*, No. 14. *G. D. per F.* ii. 303.

<sup>5</sup> "Et tenendam Terram Sanctam et alias multas terras."—*Epist. ubi supra*.

Rubrics and Chapters of the aforesaid book, and some other matters. I am ready to transmit to you the whole work, with the maps of the world, should you express a desire to possess it." Of such a performance, exhibiting his skill at once as an hydrographer and geographer, the author had just cause to be proud. It was welcomed with applause, and by competent judges it was warmly approved. Sanudo must be allowed to speak once more for himself:<sup>1</sup>—

"On the 24th of September 1321, I, Marino Sanudo, called Torsello, of Venice, had an audience of the Pope, to whose Holiness I presented two books on the recovery and preservation of the Holy Land, one of which was bound in red, and the other in yellow. I presented to the same four maps, the first being of the Mediterranean, the second of the Sea and the *terra firma*, the third of the Holy Land, and the fourth of Egypt. The Father benignly accepted all these things; and he ordered some of the Prologue, some of the Rubrics, and other portions besides, to be read in my presence. From time to time he put questions to me, which I answered. At length he said, 'I wish to have these books examined'; to which I replied, that I should be very happy, provided that the persons were trustworthy. 'Have no doubt of that,' he rejoined. Then he sent for the undermentioned Frati: Fra Boentio di Asti, of the Order of Preachers, Vicar of Armenia; Fra Jacopo de Cammerino, a Minorite, who wears a beard, and who had come to the See on behalf of his brethren in Persia; Fra Matteo of Cyprus, and Fra Paolino of Venice;<sup>2</sup> and he gave them the volume bound in yellow, and desired them to look into it, and to report to him their opinion. The said Frati hereupon withdrew into the house of Fra Paolino, and diligently and faithfully investigated the Book; and they were unanimous in its favour. On the thirtieth day after the commencement of the examination—it was on a Saturday evening—he (the Pope), who was most affable to me, inquired of the Frati repeatedly, when we were together, whether they were of accord; and they assured him that they were. Other remarks were made on both sides. At last the Pope observed: 'The hour is late; you will be so good as to leave the report in writing with me,

<sup>1</sup> *Secreta*, p. 1 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> This was perhaps the same who wrote the Treatise *De Recto Regimine*, dedicated to the Duke of Candia in 1313 or the following year, and who owned glass works in Rialto as late as 1321.



and I will inspect it, and afterward send for you.' And so," concludes Sanudo, "the book and the report remained in his possession."

The letters of this benevolent and enlightened Venetian, of which all that are known, being two and twenty, were printed as a supplement to the *Secreta* in 1611,<sup>1</sup> abound with interesting matter, and occasionally contain curious scraps of gossip. They purport to have been written at Venice, and range in date from December 1324 to October 1329. It is obvious that they represent only a fragment of his correspondence.

There is no more remarkable fact connected with the life of the author of the *Secreta*, than the circumstance that he does not seem either to have been personally known to Marco Polo who was living in a street adjoining San Severo after 1301, or to have inspected any of the numerous transcripts of the Voyages in Tartary, China and Tibet which appear to have been circulating in Europe prior to 1300, but such absence of contact does not seem to have been very unusual, strange as it may impress us to-day; although, for example, Petrarch and Boccaccio lived side by side, as it were, and were even together at Venice at least once as fellow visitors, it was not till the year prior to his death, that the former saw a MS. of the *Decameron*.

Where, in his own narrative, he has occasion to treat more or less at large of the latitudes visited by Polo, Sanudo, overlooking the more recent authority, falls back on preceding and probably far less accurate observers; nor is Polo among those who are mentioned as recipients of presentation copies of the *Secreta*.<sup>2</sup> It is as curious as it is perhaps regrettable that our early European travellers and geographers worked independently, and left to a distant posterity the sometimes difficult task of collating and reconciling their accounts. The impediments to intercourse

<sup>1</sup> *Secreta*, 289-316. (i.) To the Pope John XXII., Dec. 1324. (ii.) To the Cardinals. (iii.) To the Archbishop of Capua, Chancellor of Sicily. (iv.) To the Bishop of Nismes. (v.) Ad diversos. (vi.) To Leo, King of Armenia. (vii.) To And. Palæologos, Emp. of Constantinople. (viii.) To the Bishop of Caiaphas. (ix.) To And. Palæologos, Emp. of Constantinople. (x.) To Stefanos Simpolos, Turcoman of the same. (xi.) To the Archbishop of Capua. (xii.) To And. Palæologos. (xiii.) To Stefanos Simpolos. (xiv.) To the Duke of Lorraine. (xv.) To the Archbishop of Ravenna. (xvi.) Ad diversos. (xvii.) To the Cardinal Legate. (xviii.) To the Archbishop of Capua. (xix.) To the Cardinal Legate. (xx.) To the Archbishop of Capua and another. (xxi.) To Pietro de la Via, the Pope's nephew. (xxii.) Ad animum.

<sup>2</sup> Pier Angelo Zeno, in his *Memorie de' Veneti Scrittori Patrizi*, 1662, attributes to Torsello, besides his *Secreta* and a *Book of Letters*, a *History of the Morea*.

might often be the source of this phenomenon, and men who wandered thousands of miles from their homes in quest of knowledge grudged the labour of comparing notes with co-operators, residing, not in a neighbouring country, but in a neighbouring street of the same city. The general apathy in respect of such matters down to the nineteenth century is too clearly established by the long want of any complete and authentic Italian version of Polo, and the burial of the excessively important and fascinating narrative of his fellow countryman and contemporary in an illegible Latin folio.

But, just at the precise point of time when Sanudo was compiling and illustrating with charts his *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, a Frenchman, named Pierre Dubois, of whom the Venetian knew far less even than of Polo, was at work on his treatise *De Recuperatione Terræ Sanctæ*. The chronological data are so singularly correspondent, that it becomes a natural question, which borrowed from the other. Dubois does not profess to have been a traveller; Sanudo commits to paper the fruit of his own experiences, and a copy of his narrative, perhaps more than one, was sent to France. The views and recommendations of both are, to a main extent, identical; it is in the sources from which the material was obtained that the vital difference seems to lie. There is the farther point that, if Dubois was not immediately and almost exclusively indebted to his Venetian contemporary, we scarcely know whence he derived his information. There were certainly earlier travellers over the same ground, but their narratives would not have served the purpose. It is fairly clear that Sanudo multiplied copies of his manuscript for distribution in promising quarters, and Philippe le Bel of France, with whom Dubois was in more or less frequent communication down to 1308, was one of the earliest recipients.<sup>1</sup>

A career, not very dissimilar in its earlier stages from that of Marco Polo, was that of a later explorer on a more contracted scale, Fra Francesco Suriano, who was born at Venice in 1450, and accompanied his father in his first Mediterranean voyage as a boy of twelve. Between 1462 and 1475, he pursued his vocation as a merchant in conjunction with his

<sup>1</sup> Other charts, portolani, &c., have come down to us. In 1875-81 Ongania of Venice published five, dated between 1318 and 1554, of which two, those of Visconte of Genoa, 1318, and Laurenziano-Gaddiano, 1351, belong to the fourteenth century and fall within the Sanudo period.

father, but, on the attainment of his twenty-fifth year, he relinquished commerce, and took holy orders in which he attained considerable distinction. But in two instances his old maritime experiences proved signally valuable, for in 1484, on his return home from the Holy Land, the ship was twice overtaken by storms, and was saved only by Suriano who, to the astonishment of all on board, tucked up his sleeves, assumed the command, and brought them safely to port. After his return to Italy, he wrote, at the request of his sister, an account of his travels which passed through many editions. He led a busy and useful life, and attained an advanced age, but we lose sight of him after 1529.

The fortunes of Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, brothers of the greater Carlo, were remarkable. After the War of Chioggia, the former equipped a vessel and embarked on a voyage of discovery round the French and English coasts. But, having been overtaken by a tempest, he was thrown upon one of the Shetland Isles, where he was hospitably received by Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and the Faroe Islands, and Admiral of Scotland under Robert III. (1390–1406).<sup>1</sup> Sinclair invited his guest to remain with him, and the Venetian was subsequently joined by his brother. Antonio, however, did not long outlive his arrival in Shetland. After his death, Nicolò remained in the service of the Earl, and, treading in the footsteps of the Norman pioneers, he (as we are asked to believe) extended his explorations westward so far as Newfoundland. Zeno is said to have seen Iceland and Greenland, and to have touched the eastern point of Labrador. According to the account printed in 1558, it was in the winter season that he reached Newfoundland (*Terra-Nuova*), and he had proposed to pursue his travels in the spring, but his crew mutinied, and he was obliged to abandon his plan. A chart of the route which Nicolò Zeno took was prepared by the two brothers, in all likelihood before their departure, and, so recently as the sixteenth century at least, this relic was in existence. In 1558, it was published by Caterino Zeno as an appendix to his own *Travels in Persia*, and bears the date 1380. Nearly a

<sup>1</sup> There is no adequate ground for questioning that Zeno actually visited the Orkneys and was received by Sinclair, and a Venetian, if he did not commit to writing at the time a name strange to him, may have carried away in his memory a distorted form of it.



century after the era of the Zeni, the Venetian seaman, Cadamosto, who enlisted himself in the service of Prince Henry of Portugal, laid claim to the discovery of the Cape Verde group of islands. This was in 1458, about two years before Prince Henry's death.

The tendency of modern geographical research, however, has been to throw discredit on the posthumous narrative of the achievements of the Zeni, so far as a title to the distinction of having ascertained the existence of land in the direction of the North American continent is concerned.<sup>1</sup> The details purport to have been derived from family papers, and, seeing the uncertainty of much that is even yet advanced on this subject, it may be premature and unjust to characterize and dismiss as fabrications the particulars first published so long after the events. On the contrary, considering that the explorers started from Shetland under the auspices of Sinclair, who figures in the sixteenth century text as *Prince Zimchni*, that they belonged to a particularly adventurous family, and that the volume was brought out presumably under the eye of a descendant, himself a distinguished traveller, it is quite probable that they may have approached the region in question.

The real fact seems to be, that the merit of the Portuguese and Spaniards has been equally misunderstood and overstated. Although the existence of a new continent was not actually ascertained, or the scanty anterior knowledge had been lost, the tradition as to the acquaintance of navigators with such a thing, centuries before Columbus, could hardly have perished, and whatever honour is due to the Zeni is probably due to them, merely in the same kind of suggestive and contributory measure.

With the careers and fortunes of John and Sebastian Cabot, Venice has no more than an indirect concern. The former had settled at Chioggia at least as early as 1461, and, on the 29th of March, 1476, the Senate conferred on him by decree, possibly for the second time, the privilege of citizenship for fifteen years (as usual) at home and abroad (*de intra et extra*).<sup>2</sup> But the elder Cabot, to whom it now seems that we should

<sup>1</sup> C. R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, 1898, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), i. 136. A facsimile of the original entry is given.

ascribe the chief part of the honour due to the geographical services of father and son, was a Genoese by birth, while Sebastian is generally thought to have been a native of Bristol, where his father is indeed found residing in 1499. The elder Cabot had been commissioned by Henry VII. in 1497 to proceed on a voyage of discovery, and after three months' absence he returned with an account of his experiences. Henry VII. promised to furnish him with the means of equipping another expedition, and made him a present of money, with which his wife and himself created a great sensation; he dressed in silk, and, says Sanudo the diarist, "these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases and a number of our own rogues besides. The discoverer of these places planted on his new found land a large cross with one flag of England and another of St. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield."<sup>1</sup> Except, therefore, the political interest and importance attached to the explorations of the Cabots, they hardly enter into the category of Venetian heroes and benefactors, beyond the initial fact that the father was a naturalized subject of the Signory when he first comes under notice; indeed, from a Venetian standpoint, he was immediately instrumental in one of the discoveries which dealt a fatal blow to the commercial welfare and national vitality of the land of his adoption.

It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Republic was imperfectly sensible of the vast and permanent bearings of the labours of such men as the elder Cabot and Columbus, or, at a point of time when money was far more abundant at Venice than in London, Madrid or Lisbon, a monopoly of both at any cost would, as is natural to suppose from the habitual generosity and foresight of the Government, have been secured. Yet, so late as 1521, when Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey applied to the Corporation of London for the means of sending out Sebastian Cabot to America, the proposition was rejected on the ground that the authorities considered Cabot to be a pretender. A protracted correspondence and inquiry indeed took place, and the representatives of the Signory were most assiduous in reporting all that

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian series), i. 262.

came within their knowledge and hearing.<sup>1</sup> In September, 1522, a very elaborate dispatch from Gasparo Contarini, the ambassador in Spain, contained intelligence derived from letters received from the Indies, and more was promised when the master of the expedition arrived, but Magellan was murdered in the Philippines. It was in the same month that a Ragusan introduced himself to the Council of Ten on behalf of *one* Sebastian Cabot who was residing at Seville, and who had been employed by Charles V. as his pilot-major for voyages of discovery. The Ten at once instructed their ambassador in Spain to ascertain all that he could, and intimated a readiness to see Cabot, although they did not entertain great hope of any useful result. In this case, the Venetians permitted themselves to be no more than parties when they should have been principals, and when it was too late to repair the capital error—down to 1551 or thereabout—the matter was yet under discussion. Venice ought to have been foremost in planting stations and depôts; not have wasted precious years in writing letters and considering reports. The efforts of Charles V. of Spain in 1553 to regain the services of the younger Cabot were a tribute to his geographical and nautical value. But there were, of course, serious difficulties and complications, arising from the fact that other foremost Powers began more correctly to appreciate the advantages of trade, and that the opportunity supplied by geographical enterprise of carrying it on with facilities had so vastly increased. For, in the last-mentioned year, England sent out, through the Muscovite Company, an expedition of discovery and conquest under Chancellor and Willoughby, and, in 1555, the Government of Edward VI. granted a charter of incorporation to that body under the control of the younger Cabot. Perhaps it was during this voyage that he executed or ordered the set of maps, mentioned by Sir Humphrey Gilbert as to be seen in 1576 in the Queen's Majesty's Privy Gallery at Whitehall.

Contarini, one of the most capable of Venetian diplomatists, who afterward performed excellent service in the difficult negotiations with Charles V. and other princes during the troubles succeeding the battle of Pavia in 1525, writing home from Valladolid on the 31st of December, 1522, reported progress and furnished particulars of a conversation

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), iii. 276.



which had just then taken place between himself and Sebastian Cabot. The latter professed every sort of devotion to the Republic, and mentioned that he had already told the ambassadors of the most serene Signory in England how anxious he was, for the love which he bore to the country of his birth (Venice), to do what he could for it in regard to the newly-discovered lands. His interviewer had some gentlemen to dine with him, and brought the meeting to a close for the moment, letting Cabot understand that he was in possession of all the facts of the case so far as it had gone. They met again on the same night, and remained closeted together for some time, the navigator supplying Contarini with an outline of his life and career, including his experiences in England, and his conferences, about three years before (he thought), with Wolsey, whose offer of employment, he said, he had declined because he was in the Spanish service. He spoke of a talk which he had had there with Francesco Sebastiano Colonna who said to him: "Messer Sebastiano, you are doing great things to benefit other countries: do you not remember your own? Would it not be possible that it might derive some good from you?" Cabot, according to Contarini, was equally communicative and, so far as words went, patriotic; but nothing came of it, although Cabot declared his readiness to proceed to Venice, wait on the Signory, and, if they could not agree, come back, all at his own expense.

Contarini advised his Government on the 7th of March, 1523, that he had seen Cabot several times, and that he expected to be able to go in three months to Venice to lay his services at the feet of the Signory; but nothing farther is heard of him, till he is reported the commander of a fleet of twenty-eight sail which was to have left Seville in October, 1525, but did not actually do so till April, 1526. It is manifest enough that, when Contarini saw him, he had already been bought by Spain. He merely signified to the envoy that he had recently devised some new method of ascertaining by the compass the distance between two points from east to west.<sup>1</sup>

The Venetians both at home and in London had watched with interest and solicitude the progress of geographical enter-

<sup>1</sup> See Molmenti, *Vita privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii. 232, for a portrait of Sebastian Cabot, derived from Samuel Seyer's *History of Bristol* (1821-3), the original, attributed to Holbein, having perished in a fire in 1845.

prise under John Cabot and his son, on whom they might not unreasonably look as pursuing a course unbecoming naturalized subjects of the Republic, however much they might be gratified by the indirect honour to their country.

The small folio volume in which the planisphere of Andrea Bianco (1436) is preserved belongs to the Marciano. It contains eight other drawings which merit a passing notice. There were originally, in all probability, as many as thirteen charts in the collection, but the first, second and fifth have disappeared, and the last is nothing more than an illustration of the Geography of Ptolemy.<sup>1</sup>

The first chart in the present order, or No. 3, consists merely of a series of mathematical designs, demonstrating the laws of the winds and the phenomena of the tides, with a catalogue of instructions to navigators, and a table for measuring distances at sea.

No. 4 represents with striking precision and accuracy the Euxine, the Crimea, the Sea of Azof and the adjacent parts. No. 6 is devoted to the eastern section of the Mediterranean, and includes the Archipelago. In No. 7 and No. 8 the remaining sections of that sea are given. No. 9 exhibits the shores of France and Germany, and comprehends the Scottish and Irish littorals. In No. 10 we see the Baltic, the Gulf of Bothnia, Norway, Iceland, Friesland and (under the name *Stockfish* conjecturally) Newfoundland. No. 11 is simply the reproduction of some of its predecessors in miniature; and lastly, at No. 12 we find the Planisphere of Bianco,<sup>2</sup> which is presumably indebted to anterior sketches now lost. In the Ambrosian library at Milan is the later planisphere executed by Bianco in 1448.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that all these productions are founded on anterior prototypes no longer known. Considerable interest seems to have been taken in England in the progress of maritime discovery, and the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII., 1491–1505, contain numerous entries of sums paid to persons concerned in the settlement of Newfoundland.

<sup>1</sup> Formaleoni, *Saggio sulla nautica antica de' Veneziani, con una illustrazione d'alcune carte idrografiche antiche* . . . 2 pts., Venice, 1783; Zurla, *Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori Veneziani*, 2 vols., 1818.

<sup>2</sup> Formaleoni, *ubi supra*.

<sup>3</sup> The planispheres of 1436–48 have been reproduced in facsimile at Venice, 1871–81, obl. 4to, and are inserted on a smaller scale in the *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian), vol. i.

It may be worth noting that, in the fire at the Palace in 1479, a *mapa mundi* executed by an ecclesiastic perished, and that, in 1509, there was, for the use of the Government and councils, a map of Italy (doubtless on a large scale) painted on one of the walls of the Senate house.

From the sixteenth century onward, dated the series of collections of maps and plans in book form for general information and guidance. The oldest which we have seen is a volume, apparently issued in separate sheets, some of which bear the date 1571, and comprising nearly ninety charts and views of countries, districts and fortified positions, almost exclusively in the Venetian territories, but including Africa on the one hand and England, Scotland and Ireland on the other. America does not occur.<sup>1</sup>

The first systematic attempt by a Venetian to execute a complete Geography was made by Livio Sanudo or Sanuto, a name honourably associated with learned and scientific researches since the fourteenth century. He not only failed to complete his scheme, but did not live to publish that portion (Africa) which he had succeeded in finishing, and for which he himself designed twelve maps or charts. After his death, the work was published at Venice in 1588<sup>2</sup> under the editorship of Damiano Zenaro, with the maps engraved by the author's brother Giulio, and an engraved title by Giacomo Franco. Such a production must have been received with a warm and admiring welcome, as something novel and distinct from all the contributions to geographical knowledge so far available for study and reference, and one is bound to judge it to-day, independently of its technical value, as a monument of the industry, taste and accomplishments of a noble and ancient Venetian family.

Nor was the desire for geographical exploration restricted to the aristocracy, for we find a Venetian jeweller, Gasparo Balbi, who had doubtless proceeded to the East Indies on some business connected with his calling, and who seems to have been absent from home eight or nine years, signaling his

<sup>1</sup> *Isole Famose, porti, fortezze, e terre maritime sottoposte alla serma sigria di Venetia e ad altri Principi Christiani, e al Sig<sup>or</sup> Turco, nouamete poste in luce.* In Venetia alla libreria del segno di S. Marco, obl. 4to (1571). 86 maps and plans.

<sup>2</sup> "Geografia di M. L. Sanuto distinta in xii. libri. Ne quali oltre l'esplicatione di molti luoghi di Tolomeo . . . si dichiarano le provincie, popoli, . . . dell'Africa." Folio, 1588.



return by the publication of a narrative of his travels between 1579 and 1588.<sup>1</sup>

No school of navigation appears to have been in existence, at least under official patronage and supervision, until 1683. At that time captains of vessels were recommended not to accept as able seamen any who had not undergone an apprenticeship or training; but it was thought a good plan to draft on board, in subordinate capacities at half-pay, any strong young fellows who had no employment at home, and were an incumbrance on their relatives or their parish.

It is indisputable that the mediæval Venetians were conversant with the polarity of the needle, and it is even probable that they were aware of its liability to declination. In a monograph on *Antient Marine*,<sup>2</sup> the author justly ridicules and ably confutes the superficial prejudice respecting the insignificance of the old Venetian Navy, and claims for his countrymen, with some reason, not only the honour of having been the first to apply trigonometry to nautical science, but of having developed the theory of tangents and the decimal division of the radius. Sanudo the Elder confidently speaks of the compass as in use in his day, and it is thought to have been introduced from the East about that time by Flavio Gioia of Amalfi, although Marco Polo might well have seen it in use among the Chinese. Sebastian Cabot claimed it as an original discovery, but Columbus, not many years before, is believed to have been aware of it. Prior to the invention of such an instrument, birds were frequently employed as guides by their flight to the direction of the nearest land, as we perceive in the Noah myth, but this method has been improved down to modern times. It is an ascertained fact that the Venetians, in and before the thirteenth century, employed a chart of navigation, and were acquainted with a fixed system (*Martelojo*) of sailing tactics. It seems to be one of those points which are self-evident, that a people who visited Egypt, the Euxine and even the Sea of Azof, so far back as the ninth century, could not have remained ignorant, till the twelfth or thirteenth, of the properties of the magnet, which seems to be specified by Alexander Nickam in his Treatise *De*

<sup>1</sup> In a small octavo volume published in 1590.

<sup>2</sup> Formaleoni, *Saggio*, 1783. Sir N. H. Nicolas, in his *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. i., cites passages from two poems of the beginning of the fourteenth century, in which the loadstone is mentioned.

*Utensilibus* in the twelfth century, and by more than one writer in the thirteenth.<sup>1</sup> But naturally the apparatus was, at the outset, in its form as a compass, rudimentary and imperfect; mariners were long obliged to content themselves with the most primitive appliances, and by night the steersman largely relied on astronomical observation. The variations of the compass have not, even yet, been exhaustively ascertained, for almost obvious reasons.

So late as 1603, a gentleman of Languedoc, Guillaume de Nautonnier, published at Venice and Toulouse, for the use of seamen, astrologers, geographers and others, a large and elaborate work, entitled *The Mecography of the Loadstone*, with tables of longitudes, French and English editions being separately printed for the convenience of buyers. But such English as occurs savours of a North British parentage, as though this part of the business had been intrusted to one of the numerous Scots who frequented Venice in those days.

The mechanical sciences were directed principally to hydraulic purposes, to the manufacture of clocks, and to the development of the powers of the lever, and the Republic, notoriously liberal toward those who had it in their power to serve her in some important direction, naturally enjoyed the refusal of many valuable improvements in naval and military science. Even Leonardo da Vinci, better known to us to-day as a painter than as a mechanical engineer, tendered his services, and had some of his experiments tried at Venice, and it is far from improbable that he was concerned in the introduction of the floating batteries employed by the Republic on the Po about 1480.<sup>2</sup> Of those who submitted plans for the Rialto bridge about 1525, long before the work was carried out, Michael Angelo was one.

The knowledge of the Lever was introduced by the Lombard Barattiero, who, from 1173 to 1178, superintended various works of drainage and architectural improvement at Venice, and who, at his own suggestion, performed the feat of raising, on the Piazza of Saint Mark, the two monoliths subsequently known as the notorious Red Columns. There can be no hesitation in concluding that the Venetians themselves soon successfully exerted their imitative talents in emulating the

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *Vocabularies*, 1857, xvii.-xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Fournier, *Le Vieux-Neuf*, 1877, i. 301-2.

ingenuity of the stranger, nor is it easy to believe that so great a commercial people remained long in ignorance of the use of cranes. In connexion with the internal improvements under the Doge Soranzo (1312-28), we have referred to the erection of windmills in various parts of the city and its environs.

The studies introductory to a military career as well as to a naval one formed a branch of the education offered and obtained at Padua. For centuries the distinguished men who fought under the Venetian flag in all divisions of the service by land and sea were, as a rule, pupils of this famous seminary, and foreigners availed themselves of its superior advantages. Sir John Reresby tells us that he learned the art of fortification here under a Venetian instructor from November, 1657, to the following spring, and that his master presented him, perhaps as a parting gift, with a manuscript treatise on the subject embellished with original drawings.

What Coryat the traveller terms the "manuary" arts are probably to be referred to the present section. He notes that he saw in a painter's shop in 1608 an absolutely perfect facsimile of a hind quarter of veal and a picture of a gentlewoman, an automaton whose eyes moved up and down.

The science of Medicine, though confined to a limited class, was diligently prosecuted. It was almost an occult science; its professors occupied a high social position, and enjoyed many rare privileges; they were lightly taxed; they carried themselves like lords; they were permitted to dress themselves as they pleased,<sup>1</sup> and to wear as many rings on their fingers as suited their taste. They were at liberty to order of their tailor pantaloons of Alexandrian velvet, to use white silk stockings and shoes of morocco leather with gold buckles and jewelled points, to trim their coat-sleeves with Valenciennes lace and cover the garment itself with rich brocade, and to buy hat and gloves in keeping. If the individual was skilful, he was handsomely remunerated; if he proved himself a quack, he was not allowed to practise. No sumptuary law touched the doctor; no luxuries were denied to him. The best March wine and the maraschino of Zara were to be seen at his table; there was no dainty which he could not command; he was in a position to eat his dinner with a double-pronged fork.

<sup>1</sup> *Legge sul lusso*, May 21, 1360, *Avogaria di Comune*; Romanin, iii. *Documenti*, 6.



The names have been preserved of the physicians who attended Paolo Sarpi, and the Doges Giovanni Bembo and Marco Foscarini. During a visitation of the plague in the sixteenth century, a preference was given to the local practitioners over those of Padua. At the same time the physician was required to comply with the official rules prescribed for his use and control, of which we possess a text compiled in 1258.<sup>1</sup> The seventeenth century saw Venice in possession of such medical and sanitary appliances as hot and vapour baths, some apparently not dissimilar from the Turkish principle, and, what was equally important, of safeguards against the sale of spurious drugs, and the preparation of medicines by apothecaries uncertified by a physician.

The Republic, in 1324, retained in her pay twelve general practitioners and twelve surgeons, at a salary of twelve lire grosse each, or 120 ducats. In 1310, if not earlier, a free residence was assigned to these functionaries at the Office of the Chamberlain of the Commune, and it was shortly after that a College of Physicians was instituted, and followed, in 1368, by an Academy of Medicine. At this important and learned society, monthly meetings were appointed at which all professional persons were invited to be present, and to lay on the table, or deliver orally, reports of all the remarkable cases which had come under their notice since the previous assembly. The examination of medical students was confided to the new Academy, which seems wholly to have superseded the old Hall of Physicians established earlier in the century, and any foreigner who might be desirous of practising at Venice applied to it for his diploma. At San Giacomo dall'Orio was a School of Anatomy; and at San Giovanni in Bragora, the College of the Liberal and Physical Sciences, upon which, in 1470, Pope Paul II., formerly Pietro Barbo, a Venetian and a native of the parish, conferred the privileges of a University.<sup>2</sup> In the Provinces of the *terra firma*, and wherever the Venetians extended their beneficent and humanizing sway, institutions similar to these, and endowed for the most part with similar privileges, were founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

Provision for mental infirmities was probably made, in the

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 541.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv. 500.

<sup>3</sup> At Zara in 1409. See Romanin, iv. 500-1, note 5.

first instance, in the ancient *Hospitium* for Incurables. The available records do not establish the existence, under the old Republic in its more flourishing days, of an institution dedicated to this specific object on its modern humane basis, but, in 1715, a Lunatic Asylum was founded at San Servolo by the Hospital Father of St. John, and gradually acquired the reputation of a model house of the kind.

As comparatively late as 1611, Gasparo Despotini, a Venetian physician who had attracted the notice of Sir Henry Wotton, was sent by him and his chaplain William Bedwell to England, and attended James I. during a serious and alarming illness. He became a naturalized subject, and established a practice at Bury St. Edmunds.

Of the philanthropic surgeon Gualtieri and his parent Physic Garden of 1334 mention has been made elsewhere. In 1499, or perhaps earlier, the *Fasciculo de Medicina*, a folio volume with a profusion of woodcuts, represented the knowledge and experience of the day on subjects connected, not only with medicine itself, but with such cognate subjects as anatomy, parturition, the diagnosis of the urine, phlebotomy and safeguards against the plague. There were editions in 1513 and 1522, all from the Venetian press. These theses went far to constitute the old-world cyclopædia of medical and surgical experience and practice. Wine had probably been recommended and employed when a tonic was deemed judicious, at a date long anterior to any specific record; we find it mentioned in the last illness of Paolo Sarpi in 1622.

Side by side with the explorer, who treated geographical discovery as his principal, if not sole, aim, were the enthusiasts who travelled abroad in the interest of science, and we hear of those who visited distant regions in quest of ancient coins and inscriptions, to view the remains of Carthage, or to measure the Pyramids.<sup>1</sup> The trade of the apothecary comes to the surface in 1379, when Marco Cicogna, a member of that vocation, qualified himself for the Great Council by his patriotic sacrifices during the Chioggian crisis.

It was prescribed to physicians at an early period that, when an illness was deemed serious, the patient should be forewarned, in order that he might take testamentary and spiritual precautions. It is hardly necessary to mention that,

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii. 233.

here also, the universal belief in the diagnosis of the urine existed in full force, and, as early as 1483, we find an elaborate treatise issuing from the Paduan press, in which medical students or professors might acquire an exhaustive knowledge of the subject.



## CHAPTER LX

System of Education—Private Tutors—Arithmetic—Book-keeping—Mercantile education—Hand-writing—Latin grammar—Female education—The Venetian dialect—Great families—Origin of their names—Places whence they came—Their Palaces—Christian names—University of Padua—Its Curriculum—Paduan students—Galileo.

THE system of education, which ascends to the Gothic era when from slight documentary references we augur the institution of schools and schoolmasters, consisted of three divisions: the seminary, the finishing school and the university. There were pedagogues to whom boys were sent when they had learned their alphabet and christ-cross-row at home, to acquire a knowledge of arithmetic, grammar, writing and psalmody, as well as, if the pupil was of a good family, an elementary acquaintance with the classics. Such was the master who taught little Carlo Zeno his first lessons in Latin and Greek, and who put into his hands the Book of David the King, which delighted the child so much. There were other masters, generally barristers or advocates of standing, who undertook to prepare the sons of the nobility for college, and who initiated them in the principles of law and jurisprudence, without which the education of no Venetian gentleman was deemed complete. Such was that Riccardo Malhombra, who directed the studies of Petrarch's friend, the Doge Andrea Dandolo; but that very distinguished man also acquired a proficiency in French. In the following century, Giorgio Alessandrino and Benedetto Brognolo prepared students for the bar, and gave lectures, at the public expense, on forensic eloquence as well as on poetry. There was also the divinity tutor who lived in the house, and who, if a person of sensitive temper, was not apt to relish the treatment which he received from an inconsiderate employer who compelled him to take his meals in the kitchen, and to sleep on a common mattress in the servants' quarters.

Judging from a work printed at Venice in 1484, and perhaps the earliest of its kind <sup>1</sup> in Italy, posterior to the *Abaco*

<sup>1</sup> *Piero borgi da venesia, La nobel opera de arithmethica*, 4°, Venetia 1484—later impressions 1488, 1491, 1501. Piero Borgi may have been related to Luca

of 1478 which appeared at Treviso in the Venetian territories, it was part of the training, at all events in schools intended for the education of the mercantile classes, to qualify pupils to calculate the value of money, and to reduce higher denominations to lower, or *vice versa*. The science of book-keeping among the early Venetians was hampered by the complex character of the currency, and the acceptance of that of nearly every other country, either at par or at a discount. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the Italians seem to have retained the leadership, and to have found disciples of their system in the Netherlands and in England.<sup>1</sup>

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Giovanni Antonio Tagliente or Taiente kept, under official patronage, an academy where reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and probably other branches of learning, including elementary groundwork, were taught and acquired; and he was assisted in some of his scholastic labours by a colleague or usher, Alvise de la Fontana, whom he terms *carissimo compagno*. Of his text-books we have seen four, which deal with calligraphy, spelling and accounts; they bear the dates 1524 and 1525, and the name Fontana occurs on the title-page of the manual of book-keeping. The Primer<sup>2</sup> or Grammar is to some extent of the ordinary type, and ascends from the alphabet to words of two and more syllables, but it rather unusually comprehends models of letters and aids to the art of versification. This apparent incongruity arises from its professedly dual function of instructing, not only adults and children, but ladies; in fact, it is specifically introduced as a miscellany or composite work. The writing-book is on the same plan as those with which we are familiar; its importance is due to its apparent priority to any noticed by bibliographers. In the thin volume on the art of keeping accounts and ledgers,

Pacioli de Borgo, who in 1509 published at Brescia his *Divina Proportione*, in which some of the designs are ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci. His work comprises, in a Venetian edition of 1494, the principles and uses of Algebra. See Filippo Calandri, *De Arithmetica Compendium*, 8°, 1491. The most ancient work on this science is probably the German *Ars Numerandi*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Pathway to Knowledge*, translated from the Dutch by W. P., 1595.

<sup>2</sup> *Libro Mistevole*. Opera nuouamente stampata del M.D.xxliii. in Venetia la quale insegna maistreuolente con nuouo modo & arte a legere a li grādi et piccoli & alle Donne . . . 4°. The works of Tagliente passed through several editions, and enjoyed a fairly long vogue. An impression of the Grammar (*Libro d'Abaco*), printed without date by Lucha Antonio di Uberte at Venice in 8°, is described as probably the third.

which Tagliente designates *Luminario di Arithmetica* and which was printed with the privilege of the Government in 1525, there are incidental notices of names and customs intended as practical illustrations of the subject-matter, and supplying hints indirectly serviceable to the student of ancient manners and opinions.

In 1527, Giovanni Tagliente, probably in co-operation with a relative, perhaps a son, produced his monograph on mercantile education and practice, entitled: *Opera Nova che insegna a fare ogni ragione di Mercantia*, which comprised arithmetic, geometry, money tables and other cognate matters serviceable to traders, and it passed through three or more impressions. It introduces to us Hieronimo Tagliente as a part-compiler of the work, and was illustrated with woodcuts. Great obscurity hangs over the literary history of the two Taglienti, and the circumstances in which they worked, and all their publications, from their popular character, are of signal rarity.

Of the invaluable art of calligraphy, which so greatly affected the preparation and transmission of records of all kinds, the origin, so far as Venice is concerned, is uncertain. It was long confined to the priesthood who equally discharged the duties of scribes and notaries. Even in the fourteenth century, official documents were drawn up by these ecclesiastics, and certified, not by the signature of a ruler or other principal, but by his seal. The earliest writing-books were by Italian professors, but the series does not commence till about 1520. Toward the close of the eleventh century, the Doge Ordelafo Faliero Dodoni, who died in battle in 1117, subscribed a State paper, according to Zanetti, in a sort of rudimentary uncial hand of which he furnishes a facsimile; there are other numerous examples.

The successive styles of writing for official, diplomatic and ordinary purposes were the Gothic with uncials, the *minuscule antico*, the *minuscule regolare*, and the *corsivo* or running hand, but, of course, individuals fell into special mannerisms, and created numerous schools. The surviving specimens of the sixteenth century demonstrate that public men and persons of station, at all events, learned to acquire, not only a legible hand, but what the earlier English masters distinguished as the Italian style.

The diffusion of a knowledge of hand-writing among the



laity raises an inquiry, at what epoch we are to fix the most ancient autograph manuscripts of literary works, and how many masterpieces of genius, produced during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, are necessarily clerical copies, or, at best, manuscripts dictated by authors to professional scribes. Probably there never existed holograph texts of the works of such writers as Marco Polo, the so-called Sir John Mandeville, Dante, Petrarch or Boccaccio; and if some became competent to trace their names and even alter a sentence, it was a more difficult task to commit to paper or parchment a more or less lengthy narrative in prose or verse, in characters available for purposes of reference or of recitation.

The art of Calligraphy was, as we see, part of the curriculum of the Tagliente establishment concurrently with grammar and arithmetic. But there were seminaries, as well as manuals, of instruction for such as desired to acquire a knowledge of special classes of hand-writing for commercial and legal purposes; and we meet with a bipartite work by Lodovico Vicentino, which he defines as an *Operina* for students of chancery letter or character and for initiation in the proper method of mending the quill pen. This appeared about 1523 at Venice, and was claimed as a new invention. It exhibited a series of ornamental alphabets by Eustachio Celebrino. This side or branch of the educational movement, while it was in advance, perhaps, of anything so far produced in France or England, rather tardily arrived to the succour of persons of business and culture, when it is considered that, at that date, the Republic at least had more than attained her highest point of prosperity and grandeur, and that all that she was and all that she owned, had been won and held, mainly by men restricted and accustomed to the most rudimentary principles of learning and the most archaic machinery for transacting business, either from a political or mercantile point of view. Their training had been in large if not exclusive measure monastic.

Contemporary with Tagliente were, of course, many other teachers, and the first half of the sixteenth century shews a large survival or continuance of activity in the system of general education, more especially in those branches which dealt with the requirements of commercial and maritime life. In 1565, Francesco Tomaso da Salò published, in a small

octavo volume, his *Art of Writing*, with the engraved text inclosed within ornamental borders, and with examples of artistically designed initials.<sup>1</sup> These manuals and primers are occasionally illustrated in a style quite superior to anything attempted at the same date in Western Europe, nor did the series limit itself to objects associated with trade and navigation. We meet with the *Casselina*, or word-book for the Holy Scriptures, and, again, with a treatise on Grammatical Rules, containing examples taken from Dante and Boccaccio. Even the more purely technical compilations are found to possess an indirect value and curiosity, where they enter, as several do, into tariffs, prices of common necessities, and details of the Italian domestic costume of the time.

The first principles of instruction in elementary schools were evidently the precursors and models of those which were followed and recognized in England and France during the earlier half of the sixteenth century, and which strike us as so unfavourable to the speedy or satisfactory acquisition of the groundwork of learning. In common with the numerous primers published in London, they inspire us with wonder how pupils of average capacity learned what was set before them. One at least of the earliest text-books for the use of the Venetian youth was the Latin Grammar of Francesco Nigro, a priest, which was repeatedly printed, and of which a revised edition, from the press of Jean Petit of Paris, 1507, lies before us. Nigro was admittedly the source of more or less of the material employed by Robert Whittinton the English grammarian, and there is slight doubt that the latter founded his labours on those of the Venetian, which had appeared and become famous long before his day—as far back, in fact, as 1480. A second work of this class issued in 1508 by Cantalycius, who may be judged from the laudatory notices before his volume to have been a personage of eminence at Venice,<sup>2</sup> expressly purports to be designed “pro rudibus pueris,” and the preface points to an antecedent and incorrect text, as having been published at Florence, without leave, from a manuscript copy obtained at Foligno, for the author had been unwilling to have his book committed to

<sup>1</sup> Two pages are given in facsimile by Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii. 273.

<sup>2</sup> “Summa perutilis in regulas distinctas totius artis grāmatices, & artis metrices, Cantalycij viri doctissimi feliciter incipit.” 4°, Venetia, 1508.

the press, lest his special methods should be pirated or forestalled. The two primers alike contain testimony, on the part of those most nearly concerned, that they were not by any means so obscure and puzzling as we are apt to deem them. Cantalycius was encouraged by the public reception of his labours to recommend the scheme to his fellow teachers. The system of tuition everywhere was long, at all events, identical, and we meet, in the primers of Italy, with the primitive arrangement observable in the engravings which accompany many of the early English and French works; in both cases the preceptor alone holds the book, and the pupils repeat after him, even when the nature of the lesson might seem to render such a process difficult and ineffectual.

The introduction of pictorial school-books is assigned to an epoch which preceded typography, and the earliest examples combine a series of drawings accompanied by explanatory indications and a connecting manuscript text. The *Cronologia Magna* in the Marciano at Venice is, in fact, more than the title conveys, for it comprises delineations of various callings and pursuits from the King and Queen to the tailor, and here occurs probably the oldest suggestion of the aspect of the mediæval notary.

The progress of culture and scholarship among women was as slow and casual as elsewhere, and the few names of learned ladies of Venetian birth which have descended to us are associated with gifts and undertakings of relatively insignificant value. Broadly and generally speaking, the sex was, down to the close of independence in 1797, profoundly illiterate, although a slender minority in the eighteenth century attained a certain proficiency in painting and poetry, and shone in social accomplishments and even as correspondents, while, for the former, teachers of deportment and elegance and of such arts as music, singing and dancing sufficed, and, for the latter, a qualified intimacy with grammar and composition long remained too widely diffused a trait to attract criticism or awaken disrespect. The educational curriculum for men was superior, and in a commercial state they profited by the abundant opportunities of contracting knowledge and information. But, throughout early societies, the employment of professional secretaries and amanuenses, as well as the delegation of all domestic concerns to a special functionary



in the higher class of households, relieved the master of the necessity of writing letters and keeping accounts. The higher mental training of women of family did not enter into the constitutional scheme of the Venetians, who contented themselves, until the New Thought peremptorily interposed, with those superficial and specious qualities which enabled them to fill with propriety and dignity their allotted stations.

We cannot be perfectly satisfied, of course, that we have received all that the early Venetian press yielded in an educational direction, and we may be almost sure that the most ancient productions, especially those of a purely elementary character, have disappeared. But from existing evidences there is sufficient to convince us, that the Republic neglected little in this way calculated to be serviceable in all social and commercial respects. With the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the art of engraving on wood was freely introduced here in educational literature, as a recognized aid to the pupil to comprehend and follow his teacher, and even the latter was furnished with the means of pronouncing correctly the difficult words in liturgical works, when he, as often happened, united the functions of a schoolmaster and a priest.<sup>1</sup>

The Venetian dialect, in which Mr. Theodore Bent in his able paper on the Estradiots finds many proofs of Hellenic influence and descent, was remarkable for its habit of eliding or rejecting the terminal syllable in proper nouns, as well as for other more arbitrary modifications of Italian forms. A name mournfully famous passed through the stages of Faletrus, Faledro, Faliero, Falier. But in another case, as in *tafora*, from the Greek μεταφορά, the first syllable in lieu of the concluding one was sacrificed to the exigencies of pronunciation. Shakespear's *Iago* is Venetian patois for Jacopo, and the form *Arrigo* for *Enrico* is found in Venetian publications and also in early German nomenclature, as in the version of the *Decameron* printed at Ulm in 1473.

During the mediæval time, while the men of culture were developing by selection and adaptation a language which was to become the Italian tongue, and while at Venice this was being adopted among the better classes, subject to local influ-

<sup>1</sup> "Casselina, sive Compendium sacre scripture de brevibus et longis syllabis distinctis cum suis accentibus," 8°, Venetia, 1525. There was also the Ecclesiastical Vocabulary in Latin and Italian, 1522.

ences and colouring, those to whom education was unknown probably expressed themselves in a jargon which would have puzzled even Petrarch and Boccaccio on their occasional visits, and which stood at as great a distance from modern Italian as it did from the idiom which Cicero employed. The spoken language of the Republic, in common with that of the rest of Italy, was strengthened and enriched by her intercourse with the Goths and the Franks. The invader blighted with one hand and fertilized with the other. Of the freedom and property of the Italians he took as much as they had to lose of either, while he communicated to them his speech, his arts, his institutions and his sentiments.

The makers of Italian borrowed from the right and the left, and imported into their work material from all available sources, as the Greeks and Romans had done before, and as the English have done since. Of the composite structure which thus grew up into what the revivers of learning found it, the Venetian was a provincial dialect, more Hellenic in its phraseology, more quaintly attractive, perhaps, to the ear, but more Teutonic in some of its inflections, and, to the grammarian, less acceptable than the purer and softer forms heard on the Arno and the Tiber.

Perhaps sufficient stress has not usually been laid on the historical value of the archaic forms of the names of places and persons, and, in yielding a preference for what is most familiar, we are apt to lose sight of the nomenclature which was employed by the very people themselves whom we have made it our business to describe, and which carries on the surface its origin and its meaning. The locality, which the Italians call Chioggia and the Venetians Chiozza, was known in the Middle Ages as Clugia. Caput Aggeris is lost to us superficially (as it were) in Cavarzere. Nor do we at once recognize in Malipiero the transition from Magister Petrus and Mastropiero. A Venetian boatman called his son his *fiol*, and he would have referred to the Doge Pietro Polani as Ser Pier Boldu. But some uniform standard is essential in a homogeneous narrative; and those forms which are generally intelligible are to be preferred on the whole to such as are less corrupt, yet more obscure. The nomenclature long remained unsettled and capricious, and in certain public documents and on some coins the text is found to be a medley of Latin and the vernacular.

The following lists, taken from Boerio and Mutinelli,<sup>1</sup> will enable the reader to form some idea of the general peculiarities of the Venetian dialect.

## I. PROPER NAMES

	<i>is in Venetian</i>	
Adige		Adice, Adese
Angelico	"	Anzelico
Angelo	"	Anzolo, Anzo, Anso
Angioletta	"	Zanze
Antonietta	"	Tonina
Antonio	"	Toni
Arsenale	"	Arsanal, Arzana'
Aureliaco	"	Oriago
Badoero	"	Baduario
Bartolommeo	"	Bortolo
Basilio	"	Baseggio
Benedetto	"	Beneto
Biagio	"	Biasio
Brenta	"	Brinta
Broglio	"	Bruolo, Brolo, Broio
Caterina	"	Catina, Cate
Chioggia	"	Chiozza
Domenico	"	Menego
Elena	"	Nene
Enrico	"	Arrigo, Rigo
Epifania	"	Empifania
Erasmus	"	Rasemo
Eufemia	"	Fumia
Eustachio	"	Stadi, Stai, Stae
Federico	"	Ferigo
Francesco	"	Checo
Gemello	"	Zemelo
Geminiano	"	Zeminian
Gennaio	"	Zenaro, Zener
SS. Gervasio e Protasio	"	San Trovaso
Giacomo	"	Zacco
Giammaria	"	Zamaria
Giobbe	"	Giopo, Agiopo
Giorgio	"	Zorzi
Giovambatista	"	Zambatista
Giovanni	"	Zuane, Nane
San Giovanni Decollato	"	San Zan Degola
SS. Giovanni e Paolo	"	San Zannipolo
San Giovanni in Oleo	"	San Zani Novo
Giovedì	"	Zioba
Girolamo	"	Momolo
Giudecca (Iudaica)	"	Zuecca
Giudeo	"	Zudio
Giugno	"	Zugno
Giuliano	"	Zulian
Giuseppe	"	Isepo
Guglielmo	"	Vielmo
Iubanico	"	Iubenigo, Zobenigo

<sup>1</sup> Boerio, G., *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, 2nd ed., 1856. Mutinelli, F., *Lessico veneto*, 1851.



Jacopo	<i>is in Venetian</i>	Iago
Leonardo	"	Lunardo
Leone	"	Lio
Lodovico, Luigi	"	Alvise, Lovigi
Luglio	"	Lugio
Maggio	"	Mazo
Marziale	"	Marcilian
Matteo	"	Matio, Mafio
Melchiorre	"	Marchio'
Natale	"	Nadal
Paolo	"	Polo
Puglia	"	Pugia
Rivo Alto	"	Rialto
Sebastiano	"	Bastian
Stefano, Stefanino	"	Stin
Teodoro	"	Todaro
Teresa	"	Gegia
Tommaso	"	Tomado, Tomao, Toma', Tomio
Ubaldo	"	Baldo, Boldo
Venezia	"	Venetia, Venecia, Venesia, Veniesia, Veniexia
Zecca	"	Cecca

## II. COMMON WORDS

Alloggiare	<i>is in Venetian</i>	Alozar, Lozar
Ambasciatore	"	Ambassador, Imbassador, Imbassaor
Argento	"	Arzento
Arringo	"	Arrengo, Rengo
Ascensione, Ascenso	"	Sensa
Avuto	"	Abu'
Avvocato	"	Avogador
Baciare	"	Basar
Beato	"	Beao
Bestemmia	"	Biaстема
Biada	"	Biava
Biglione	"	Viglion
Canapa	"	Canevo
Capitale	"	Cavedal
Capo	"	Cao
Carico	"	Cargo
Casa	"	Ca', Caxa
Castaldo	"	Gastaldo
Chiesa	"	Clesia, Gesia, Giesia
Ci, Ce, Ne	"	Ghe
Ciò	"	Zo
Consigliere	"	Consegier
Consiglio	"	Consegio
Cortigiana	"	Cortesana
Così	"	Cossi, Cussi
Da poi chè	"	Daspuo'
Desinare	"	Disnar, Zirnar
Deve	"	Diè
Doge	"	Dose, Doxe
È, sei, sono	"	Xe

Elleno, Loro	<i>is in Venetian</i>	Ele
Figlio	"	Fiolo, Fio
Fondaco	"	Fontego, Fontico
Fu	"	Fo
Gente	"	Zente
Gentiluomo	"	Zentilomo
Ginocchio	"	Zenochio
Giorno	"	Zorno
Giù	"	Zo
Giudicare	"	Zudegar
Giudice	"	Zudeze
Giungere	"	Zonzer
Giunta, Aggiunta	"	Zonta
Ingegno	"	Inzegno
Insieme	"	Insebre
Invece	"	Impe'
Io so	"	Soi
Li	"	I
Maestro	"	Mestro, Mistro
Maggiore	"	Mazor
Matricola	"	Mariegola, Marigola
Medesimo	"	Medemo
Metaphora	"	Tafora
Miglio	"	Megio, Mio
Modo	"	Muo'
Moglie	"	Mugier
Moneta	"	Moneda, Monea, Munea
Monsignore	"	Bonsior
Nè il	"	Nil
Nè meno	"	Nianca
Niente affatto	"	Neché
Nipote	"	Neodo, Nievo, Nezzo
Notaio	"	Nodaro
Orafo	"	Orese
Portico	"	Portego
Pregati	"	Pregadi, Pregai
Purchè	"	Previo
Quegli, Colui	"	Lu
Ragione	"	Rason
Selciata	"	Salizada
Se tu	"	Sti
Sii tu	"	Siestu
Sopra	"	Sora
Sorella	"	Suor
Suo	"	So, Soo
Talvolta	"	Talfiè
Traffico	"	Trafego
Trinità	"	Ternita
Tuo	"	To
Uccello	"	Oselo
Vergine	"	Verzene
Vigilia	"	Vegia
Voglio	"	Voi
Voi	"	Vu
Zecchino	"	Cecchino

SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Stefano, S. Eustachio and Ascensione almost disappear in Zannipolo, S. Stin, S. Stae, and

Sensa, but certainly the great printer Theobaldo Manutio can scarcely be traced in Aldo. The familiar British *ditto* is nothing more than the *detto* of Venetian invoices and bills of exchange, and *el peron* stood for *il padrone*, which seems to have been an eighteenth century colloquialism for "the governor." One of the local forms of *ambasciatore* is precisely the English *ambassador*, and *mistro* (for *maestro*) draws close to our *Mister*, the modern pronunciation of Mr. which is really an abbreviation of *Master*.

In the comparatively early decree by which it was ordered that all legal and legislative proceedings should be conducted in the *Venetian tongue*, the solicitude of the Republic was apparent, not only to remove the inconvenience of a Low Latin vocabulary, but to give dignity to her peculiar patois. The latter was not merely the language of ballads and pasquinades, of street-cries and popular songs, but it was, after a certain period, the language which was spoken from the Bench and in the Senate. Nevertheless, by the better historical writers it was largely if not altogether eschewed. The more ancient historians, like the pseudo-Sagorninus and Dandolo, composed their works in Latin, or, like Da Canale, in Norman-French. Sanudo wrote his voluminous Diaries for the most part in Venetian, but of some of his other works he left versions both in that and in Latin.

It is not surprising that, at the outset and long subsequently, different dialects should have existed among the inhabitants of the capital and those of the more distant insular townships, but we should not be prepared to suppose or believe without proof, that such variations have been observed by modern visitors and are familiar to local students. They seem to be attributable partly to physical causes, and to the conservatism which has retained in these places the descendants of early colonists from more or less distant points. The more popular compositions in the vernacular are very numerous, and of no mean value as illustrations of manners and tastes. They are chiefly of a poetical or metrical cast, and have been collected by Gamba.<sup>1</sup>

The Venetian families, apart from political distinctions, were of two classes:—(1) Those which merely migrated into

<sup>1</sup> In fourteen volumes, 12mo, 1817.



the islands; and (2) those which were of a purely insular origin, and were founded subsequently to the rise of the Republic. The population, in common with the language, was a blend or fusion which, as had been the case at Rome, and as was subsequently the case in England, proved eminently beneficial to the national calibre and genius.

Infinitely numerous were the localities from which the immigrants came. The Orseoli, Quirini,<sup>1</sup> Cornari (Cornelii), Marcelli, Valieri (Valerii) and Michieli, pointed to the Eternal City as the cradle of their race. Vicenza gave the Grimani, Capua the Cappelli, Candia the Calergi and the Gezi, Pavia the Badoeri, Altino the Dandoli and the Orie, Fano the Falieri, formerly known as Anastasi, Forlì the Ordelafo with whom a Faliero intermarried in the eleventh century, Ravenna the Caloprini, Aquileia the Gradenigi, Trieste the Barbari whose original name was Magadesi, Messina the Foscari, Loredò the Loredani, and Friuli the Vezzi and the Manin family. The Gritti, the Zeni, the Tiepoli, the Venieri sprang from Greek stocks; in the veins of the Giustiniani flowed the blood of the Heraclian dynasty. The Pisani were furriers in the city to which they owed their name, but settled in Venice in the earlier years of the tenth century. The ancestors of the Contarini, whose original name may have been Contadini,<sup>2</sup> are said to have been Lombard peasants, but a member of the house is traditionally said to have been one of the conclave of twelve who elected the first Doge in 697. The Memi, who survived down to a late period and retained their social standing, gave a Doge to the Republic in the tenth century in the person of Tribuno Memo, a case in which the name of an office developed into a patronymic.

The families entitled by birthright to a seat in the Great Council comprised, especially those with branches, so many individuals of the same name, that it often became requisite for identification, to distinguish them by their place of residence or the precise line to which they belonged. We therefore meet with the expressions Dandolo of San Moisè or Contarini della Casa Maggiore (or Cà Mazor), and here and there even a personal peculiarity was brought into service, such as *Nasone*,

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Symonds, *Days Spent on a Doge's Farm*, 1893, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> In the first half of the thirteenth century, a member of this family, a naval commander, bore the name *Romeo*.

*Collo torto* or even *Guercio*, or an agnomen such as Marino Sanudo *Torsello*. The father-in-law of the celebrated Doge Foscari was known as Andrea Priuli del Banco. A different principle is apparent in such an appellation as *Cune*, which occurs as an honourable distinction in two successive generations of the ducal house of Dandolo in the fourteenth century, and has the air of having been borrowed from Verona where the form is found side by side with *Mastino*, both ostensibly signifying a tenacious and loyal courage typical of the mastiff. But we miss the Italian *Maria* as the name of a man usually found as an adjunct to another, as in *Filippo-Maria*; the fashion was even adopted by English Romanists as in the case of Anthony Maria Browne, Viscount Montague, in the time of Charles I.

The families which belonged to the second category, and which may be described as indigenous, were those of Da Canale, Da Ponte, Da Riva, Spazza-Canale, Tintoretto, Dalle Fornaci, Dalle Contrade, Molino, Tagliapietra, Monetario, Tribuno, Ducato, Veneto, Malipiero (Mastropiero), Engengniere, Marini, Premarino and others; the origin of these is mainly traceable to employments and places of abode. The painter Tintoretto was the son of a dyer called Robusti.

If we watch with attention the occurrence of names from age to age, old ones disappear, new ones rise up. Many, however, remain to the end, and almost form a link between the last days of the Roman Empire and the French Revolution. There is a curious parallel between the English saying which ascribes special qualities to certain great houses, and the Venetian adage "*Nè Mocenigo povero, nè Erizzo pietoso, nè Balbo ricco.*"

The pride of descent among all nations or societies of men appears to arise from antiquity of blood, rather than magnitude of achievement. The Venetian houses were pleased to point to ancestry which had occupied the same estate or patrimony from time immemorial, and strove to refrain from behaviour derogatory to men and women before them who carried back their traditions to the laying of the first stones in the dark past, as the citizen of the United States who can prove his consanguinity with the Pilgrim Fathers is a greater man than he who owns millions in oil or in steel. But neither here nor elsewhere has intellectual

genius ever served as a passport to the recognition which military, naval or political distinction commands. Wealth and titles have everywhere been freely lavished on the heroes of the hour, and their successors have treasured the remembrance of their great deeds by sea and land, in politics and in diplomacy, but no parallel solicitude has been evinced to establish a connexion with men who have glorified the arts. In Italy a statue, a pension or a small gratuity suffices for Dante, Michael Angelo or Ariosto, as it does in England for Milton or Defoe—nay, for Shakespear.

The population of Venice long remained incontestably scanty, and never attained such proportions as might have been expected. The periodical ravages of epidemics, coupled with the roving propensities of the people, were opposed to its increase. It is true that, in the course of time, natives of all countries from Brittany to Bohemia settled in the city, and acquired by the prescribed term of residence, varying from ten to fifteen years, the enjoyment of civic rights, but it is unlikely that any of these distant emigrations were accomplished till the twelfth century. It was not till after the events of 1204 that a Calergi of Crete and a Lippomano of Negropont made the Republic their adopted country. It was only about one hundred years before, that the family of Polo quitted Dalmatia and sought a new home on the opposite coast. The influx of Greeks from Constantinople is commonly assigned to the reign of Vitale Michiele II. (1170), nor can the establishment of the Bricci of Saint Jean d'Acre and other Orientals be referred with much probability to an epoch anterior to the first Crusade (1096).

From Brescia came the Bontempelli; from the Bergamasque the Cuccine, Persici, Albrizzi, Muti, Tasca, Gozzi, Castelli, Maccarelli; from Lucca the Angelieri; from Piacenza the Fontane. Among members of the plebeian order who attained wealth and won social aggrandizement were the Bonomi, the Cuccine and the Labie. The Bresciano and Bergamasque yielded the most valuable accessions to the industrial strength and moral tone of the community. Many or most of them came to the city very poor, and by almost penurious frugality accumulated large fortunes. Bartolommeo Bontempelli of Brescia was originally a mercer; he subsequently established a bank, associated with him his relative



Graziano Bontempelli, and was able to negotiate loans to crowned heads. At the same time he spent, when he had grown rich, considerable sums on the erection or restoration of churches and hospitals, leaving ample legacies to charitable objects. Giuseppe Persico, a Bergamasque, was, at the outset, an assistant at a silk-merchant's in the street of San Lio, and was employed in drawing water for his master's kitchen and in other menial offices. He, in course of time, opened a *dépôt* on his own account, and eventually entered the Great Council on payment of 100,000 ducats. Even in comparatively early days, the sumptuous residences of these successful adventurers changed hands. The palace of the Angelieri passed to the Marcelli, and that of the Muti to the Baglioni. The stately Papodopoli mansion on the Grand Canal has successively belonged to the Cuccine of Brescia and to the Tiepoli.

Fontana of Piacenza settled here in 1577 as a trader, and was able to erect a palace at San Felice on the Grand Canal; one of his sons was appointed Governor of Caserta Vecchia by the Duke of Guise in the following century. In 1646, the house of Labia bought its nobility for 10,000 ducats, and acquired a splendid palace at San Geremia<sup>1</sup> where its guests were served on gold plate. The diamonds of the ladies of the family are described by the *Président de Brosses*, who was here in 1737 and 1740, as one of the sights of Italy.

In 1716, the brothers Giuseppe and Francesco Vezzi, who had done much to advance industrial and commercial interests, especially in the manufacture of porcelain, were similarly admitted by a large majority on payment of the same sum, and we learn that, on election, two nobles officiated as their sureties or guarantees in respect of identity, and presented them to the Advocates of the Commune with a view to the registration of their names in the Golden Book.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian names were borrowed principally from the Scriptures and the Martyrology. The passion of the Venetians

<sup>1</sup> See Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, iii. 116, where the building is shewn. The *Président de Brosses* was unfavourably impressed by the Ducal Palace and the Basilica. The former he characterized as "vilain, massif, sombre et gothique du plus méchant goût," and the latter as "sombre, impénétrable à la lumière, d'un goût misérable."

<sup>2</sup> Drake, *Notes on Venetian Ceramics*, 1868, p. 20.

for this class of appellation occasioned the speedy transfer to their baptismal nomenclature of such names as Zaccaria, Giovanni, Paolo and so on. A love of Roman prototypes gradually naturalized Amulius, Ascanius, Priam, Hector, Troilus, Cornelius, Lucretius, Camillus, Fabius, Octavian, Justinian, Æmilius, Valerius, Fabricius, and Livius. Among women, Felicia, Buona, Clara, Agnes, Joan, Lucretia, Margaret, Mary, Anne, Catherine, Justina, Benedicta, Julia, Constance, Romana were favourites. After the Lombard Conquest of 568, Froiba, Archielda, Marchesina and many names, found neither in the Pentateuch nor in Eusebius nor in Dion Cassius, were of more or less frequent occurrence. Subsequently to the rise of the Norman power, it was not unusual to meet with Robert, Bohemond and Godfried. A not uncommon name in the earlier centuries was Diodato, or *Given of God*, the equivalent of the Greek Theodoros; the second Doge of the family of Orso, who reigned from 742 to 755, was thus christened. It was perhaps merely given in the peculiar circumstances of an unexpected blessing. We recognize the identical principle and notion in the French form Dieudonné.

At a later date, at all events, it became customary for women of high family to retain their patronymic on marriage, and thus, when a Morosini, a Dandolo or a Quirini espoused a Grimani, a Priuli or a Valier, the bride was thenceforth known as Morosini-Grimani, Dandolo-Priuli, or Quirini-Valier. There was a reluctance on the part of an historical house to lose the recollection of its origin; it was a usage which became general throughout Europe. When, in 1579, Bianca Cappello espoused the Grand Duke of Tuscany, she obtained or assumed the right to style herself *Bianca Cappello de' Medici*; and, at a much anterior date (1339-49), a member of the Fieschi family, on becoming the wife of the Duke of Milan, became known as Isabella de' Fieschi Visconti.

The *Fasti* of the *Studio* or University of Padua under Venetian auspices display to our view an imposing and brilliant array of names, in every department of human learning and science, not only of Venetians but of foreigners. It was toward the middle of the sixteenth century that this institution attained the height of its prosperity and importance, and the Senate, acting in the strictly conservative spirit of those

days, decreed that no degrees other than those of Padua should be recognizable. Upward of a hundred professors were engaged at this period in giving instruction and lectures on the entire range of educational knowledge, and their salaries were such as might tempt the most capable and distinguished scholars to offer their services. In 1498, a Sienese, Giovanni Cambezo, was appointed Reader in Civil Law at a net salary of 1100 ducats.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, many of the names are those of wealthy patricians or disinterested enthusiasts to whom the pecuniary consideration was indifferent.

The subjects taught embraced nearly all branches of human learning then studied and recognized, and the Venetian Senate was ever ready to remunerate on the most generous scale its professors, of whom the one who gave instruction in medicine was the recipient of the highest pay. In 1629, the earliest year for which the prospectus seems to be extant, the courses were:—

<i>Theology.</i>					the <i>Epistola ad Pisones</i>
<i>Holy Scriptures.</i>					(the <i>Ars Poetica</i> ).
<i>Metaphysics,</i> in which Aristotle, of		<i>Anatomy.</i>			
course, occupied a prominent rank.		<i>Medicine, Theory of.</i>			
<i>Philosophy.</i> Aristotle again.		” <i>Practical.</i>			
<i>Philosophy extraordinary. De celo et</i>		<i>Medicine, Theory of (special or extra-</i>			
<i>de mundo.</i>		ordinary). Aphorisms of			
<i>Mathematics.</i> The Elements of Geo-		Hippocrates.			
metry and of the		” <i>Practical, extraordinary.</i>			
Globe.		Fevers.			
<i>Belles lettres, (Greek and Latin). Ho-</i>		<i>Simples in physic.</i>			
<i>ratii Opera,</i> particularly		<i>Surgery, ordinary. Tumours.</i>			
		<i>Lectures on the Third Book of Avicenna.</i>			

In addition to these studies, were those connected with law, jurisprudence and the long most prominent and lucrative vocation of the notary public, who, in ages of general illiteracy, was required to discharge a multifarious variety of functions at once important and confidential.

From the period of the revival of learning in Italy, it seems to have been usual for students to attend lectures and to read books with their special tutors when they were able to engage them. The Doge Andrea Dandolo had, as a youth, enjoyed the benefit of the services of Riccardo Malhombra about 1330, in acquiring a knowledge of jurisprudence. Others, when Padua became more widely celebrated

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 965.



under Venetian management, came there to study divinity, philosophy, poetry and the rest of the *curriculum*. Some took up special lines; some went through the whole regular course. In the last decade of the fifteenth century (1491-92), we trace the Nürnberger Wilibald Pirkheimer, subsequently so distinguished as a scholar and *bibliophile*, reading Horace and Cicero with Calphurnius of Brescia, one of the professors or tutors at Padua. The copies which he employed are still extant; they are all Venetian editions then current.

The University of Padua directed the course of public instruction throughout the entire Venetian dominion in Italy, and the head of it, termed the *Reformer*, was invariably a patrician of approved accomplishments, both in an administrative and an intellectual sense. The whole establishment was under his supreme sway, subject to the approval of the Senate.

The system of granting diplomas was not restricted to Padua, but was shared by the College of Physicians and the Pharmaceutical College at Venice, and numerous documents are extant illustrating the old practice, and recording the names of successful candidates, Englishmen included. In the ceremony of admitting a Doctor of Medicine, the ring, the cap and the kiss of peace formed the staple features. One of the diplomas (the earlier have probably disappeared) was in favour of Robert Ley of London, son of the "præclarissimus Dominus" Robert Ley of London, Englishman, 1696. Nearly seventy years ago, the library of the University is described<sup>1</sup> as containing more than 70,000 volumes.

Padua was not exempt from the consequences of being, like Oxford and Cambridge, the centre to which converged a great number of young men in the enjoyment of high animal spirits, and we hear of the town-and-gown rows and fights, nocturnal frolics, and even sanguinary conflicts, which have everywhere signalized such phases of life. In 1560, the Reformers of the University were clothed with judicial powers of a limited and weak character, and were required to submit grave cases to the ordinary tribunals. One fruitful source of discord and tumult was the friction between the members of the Jesuits' College (subsequently suppressed) and those of the University; but the usual butt and victim of academical

<sup>1</sup> Galibert, *Histoire de Venise*, 1847, p. 324.

licence was the peaceable citizen whom those hot-headed roisterers delighted to annoy.

The authorities on the spot and at home might be fairly indulgent to these delinquents, unless the offence was of a nature requiring exemplary punishment, but the strictest discipline was maintained within bounds, and the Rector or Reformer himself was liable to dismissal and degradation if a breach of duty or gross misconduct was proved.

The students at Padua are represented by Evelyn the diarist as being very unruly and dissolute when he was there in 1645. He says: "The students themselves take a barbarous liberty in the evenings when they go to their strumpets, to stop all that pass by the house where any of their companions in folly are with them. This custom they call the *chi vali*, so as the streets are very dangerous, when the evenings grow dark." Before Evelyn's time, about 1580, Montaigne speaks of a member of the University as having accustomed himself to the noisy situation of the College square, and says that the continual tumult helped his studies.

Among others who were attracted hither by the reputation of the place and the excellence of its methods, was John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, translator of Cæsar and Cicero, and one of the earliest benefactors of the Bodleian library at Oxford, who occupied a professorial chair in the fifteenth century. He was a nobleman of liberal feeling, whom we find paying a visit to Florence, and accepting the guidance of the famous bookseller Vespasiano de' Bisticci. Here also Columbus came in due time from Genoa, his native city, to complete his education. In 1622, the two sons of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England, were members of the University.<sup>1</sup>

The most signal and most honourable trait in the relations of Venice with the University of Padua was its attitude toward the illustrious and unhappy Galileo, who, in 1594, under the Rectorship of Marcantonio Barbaro, was invited to occupy the mathematical chair at a yearly stipend of 1000 ducats, a sum, as Galileo informs a friend, twice as much as he had previously received at Pisa from the Medici. Galileo quitted Venetian patronage and protection to visit the Holy City, where he narrowly escaped the resentment of the In-

<sup>1</sup> See *suprà*, ii. 191.

quisition on account of his heretical opinions. He must have looked back with fond regret on the days which he had spent at Padua, among a people warmly and flatteringly appreciative of his genius and valuable scientific services. What other European Power would, in 1609, have invited a man of such advanced ideas in astronomy, to deliver at Venice itself, before the Doge and the Signory, a lecture on his discoveries, so momentous, not merely for astronomy but for navigation? The text of his discourse is preserved, and the medal exists, struck by order of his entertainers to commemorate the occasion.

English scholars and artists resorted in the sixteenth century to models and material outside the *Studio* itself. In 1535, an anonymous translator (probably William Marshall) rendered from the Latin, with a Prayer for Queen Anne Boleyn, the *Defence of Peace* by Marsilio Menandrini of this city, and, in 1591, the designs executed by Girolamo Porro of Padua for the *Orlando Furioso* were copied by William Rogers for the Elizabethan version of Sir John Harington.

At a later period, when a long series of continental wars and the decline of trade had impoverished the Republic, one of the unfavourable symptoms and results was the inability of parents, through reduced incomes, to send their sons to Padua, and, as we see elsewhere, a second academical centre was established for the convenience of the Istrian population at Lesina.



## CHAPTER LXI

Literature—Account written in the eighteenth century by the Doge Foscarini—Venetian historical literature—Its secular complexion—Official historiographers—Independent annalists—The two schools of writers to be consulted—Minuteness of many of the older historians—Theology—Natural Philosophy—Alchemy—The Trevisano family—Botany—The Barbaro family—Logic—Free Thought—Petrarch's curious experiences—Ethics—Geometry—Public Lecturers—Hebrew—Poetry—A friend of Dante—Introduction of Tuscan melodies by the fugitive Silk-weavers of Lucca in the fourteenth century—Provençal poetry naturalized by a noble Venetian—Sacred poetry—Fugitive verses on current events—The battle of Lepanto—The Giustiniani—Marino Sanudo the Diarist and Historian—Some account of his career—His remarkable library—Marcantonio Barbaro—Paolo Sarpi—Sketch of his life—The so-called Admirable Crichton—Antiquities—Folk-rhymes.

THE earliest and long the sole historian of the literature of the Republic was Marco Foscarini who filled the ducal throne in 1762-3. The book amounts to little more than notice of the principal writers in chronological order; but it is one of those efforts at which we are prompted to look with indulgence, when we consider the circumstances of production, and the laudable interest manifested by the noble author in such a subject. The Doge lived only to publish the first part.

With one or two exceptions which occur in the earlier stages, the historical literature of the Republic is in its origin secular. To the monkish chroniclers of Western Europe we meet with few counterparts; there is nothing correspondent with the Scandinavian saga, the Saxon minstrel or the Norman trouvère. No country perhaps can shew such a long series of historians or writers of an historical cast as England. It is traceable back to the commencement of the era of the Heptarchy, but the names which constitute it are the names of ecclesiastics.

Venice cannot be said to have produced any narrative, pretending to elucidate or describe the sources of her existence and her power, till the second half of the tenth century. The earliest native essayist upon her *Fasti* was John the Deacon, who fortunately contented himself, for the most part, with telling us what he knew and saw, rather than what he

had heard or what he thought.<sup>1</sup> His account comes to a close in 1008, but he was the pioneer of other writers of whom some, such as Martino da Canale and Lorenzo de Monacis, followed the same narrow yet valuable lines as himself. A third whose surname has not reached us we know only as Marco; others, like Andrea Dandolo, Marino Sanudo and Bernardo Giustiniani, not content to put into writing their own impressions of contemporary events, planned their labours on a broader and more ambitious scale, and not only resorted to records and evidences of antecedent times, that indispensable helpmate Tradition included, but even brought to their work a certain share of critical discrimination. Giustiniani founded his work on a chronicle written by Abbot Zeno in the eleventh century.

But the Venetians had no Beowulf or Wace, no William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon, no Domesday Book or Great Charter. That the Republic possessed chronicles of a date anterior to any now known is exceedingly probable, nor is it much less so that those chroniclers were churchmen, of whose productions their immediate successors in the same literary field might have had the use. The frequent fires which desolated the city, and the fragile material of which its public buildings were long composed keep us here within the limits of conjecture, for the citations which occur in the pages of such civilians as Dandolo, Sanudo and Navagero from historical manuscripts preserved in the monasteries do not refer, as a rule, to compilations long anterior to their own epochs, and are not explicitly described as of local origin. But, if the admission is made that the most ancient writers belonged to holy orders, it does not rob of much of its force the view just now propounded that, in her historical literature, Venice enjoyed a singular and wholesome exemption from clerical influence. Whatever the piece of guesswork about primeval annalists of whom no vestige seems to survive may be worth, it does not in the least degree militate against the fact that the Venetian temper and taste, from the moment when the Republic might be said to have had a definite constitution and a distinct national life, were in this, as in all other things, emphatically lay. In forming an estimate of other countries, the

<sup>1</sup> The chronicle is commonly known as that of the ironmaster Johannes Sagorninus.

student is referred to compositions which emanated from the cloister, but he finds to his satisfaction that here, from the very commencement of any sort of culture in the ranks of the laity, men of the world, often personages of the highest position, undertook to communicate to the ages to come what they thought to be important in passed or current transactions. Where, as at the outset, local authorities fail him, there come to his succour layfolk beyond the verge of the Islands: the Prefect Cassiodorus (523), the Exarch Longinus (568), Eginhard, one or two Lombards and certain Byzantines, with whom he may lay out his hours more profitably than with the harvest of the monastic *scriptorium*. Moreover, whether or not the Republic once possessed certain annals from the pens of ecclesiastics, there is no doubt that the earlier secular authors had recourse to a large assortment of original papers which have since partly perished, and that they have (like the English martyrologist Fox) transmitted their substance and frequently their very text to us with a fidelity far from commensurate, perhaps, with modern literary canons, but much more satisfactorily and veraciously than analogous monuments elsewhere produced under the eye of the Church.

The official historiographers of Venice whose performances are sufficiently well known date from 1505. They wrote in Latin, and their consecutive narratives, which are, for the most part, dry and jejune to excess, were formed into a uniform series in the last century. Independently of them, the Council of Ten in 1551 resolved that, in order to put and keep men in possession of the events of passed ages as a method of avoiding error, the annals should be recorded, not in Latin, but in the vernacular, by persons selected from time to time from the Order of Secretaries. To what extent this direction was pursued we do not know; it was possibly abandoned as superfluous. But, even before the wider diffusion of historical records through the medium of the press, manuscript copies were multiplied for the use of public men and for libraries, and it is not unusual to meet with cases in which speakers refer to incidents belonging to antecedent centuries, and display a sense of their bearing and value as lessons and precedents, when the printed book was still unknown.

The importance and interest of the official school of writers are mainly limited to a faithful registration of facts which



came within their personal knowledge, and their style is usually academic and dry. They do not possess, on the one hand, the picturesqueness and naïveté which render a few early annalists, even in the Venetian series, so attractive and valuable, or, on the other, the philosophical temper which might have led them to enter into a comparative investigation of original archives, and to draw their own conclusions. But their pens were naturally hampered by their official engagement, and although Nani, one of them, affirms that he deemed it his duty to place on record a full account of all transactions within the dates assigned to him (1613-71),<sup>1</sup> it is absolutely certain that, if the world had depended on these narratives, its knowledge of Venetian history and institutions would have remained singularly imperfect.

Apart from the official historiographers and the critical productions of later times, no nation has done more toward writing its own history, or has written it with less bias and more ability. As a sufficient warrant, we have but to mention John the Deacon,<sup>2</sup> Martino da Canale,<sup>3</sup> Marco,<sup>4</sup> the author of the *Cronaca Altinate*,<sup>5</sup> Andrea Dandolo<sup>6</sup> and his three contemporaries, the Grand Chancellor Raffaello Caresino,<sup>7</sup> Nicolò Trevisano, one of the chiefs of the Council of Ten,<sup>8</sup> and Lorenzo de Monacis, Grand Chancellor of Candia (1428), historian, ambassador and poet;<sup>9</sup> Pietro Bembo,<sup>10</sup> Donato and Gasparo<sup>11</sup> Contarini; Bernardo,<sup>12</sup> Pancrazio, and Pietro Giustiniani;<sup>13</sup> Giovanni Tiepolo; Paolo<sup>14</sup> and Antonio Morosini, Nicolò Zeno,<sup>15</sup> Giorgio and Pietro Dolfino, Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, Secretary of the Ten, Marino Sanudo the younger, historian and diarist,<sup>16</sup> of whom an ac-

<sup>1</sup> *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Ven. 1662-1679.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon Venetum vetustissimum, ad annum 1008*. Ven. 1765.

<sup>3</sup> *Cronaca Veneta, ad annum 1275* (begun in 1267); *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii., and *juxta codicem Dresdensensem*, *ibid.* v.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii. This work was written about 1292.

<sup>6</sup> *Apud Murat.* xii. The proemium is: "Ego Andreas Dandolo proposui sub brevi compendio provinciae Venetiarum initium et ipsius incrementum, et prout sub ducibus constitutis notabilia facta fuerunt, summam enarrare."

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Cronaca Trevisana MS.*

<sup>9</sup> Laurentii de Monachis civis Veneti et Magni Cretae cancellarii, qui floruit anno 1428, *Chronicon de rebus gestis Venetis*, Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 8574, or 4to, 1758.

<sup>10</sup> *Dell' Istoria Veneziana*, Ven. 1552.

<sup>11</sup> *Dei Magistrati e della Rep. Veneta*, Ven. 1563.

<sup>12</sup> *Dell' Origine della Città di Venezia*, Ven. 1545.

<sup>13</sup> *Storia de' fatti de' Veneziani*, Ven. 1676.

<sup>14</sup> *Storia della Città e Rep. di Venezia*, Ven. 1637.

<sup>15</sup> *Origine di Venezia*, Ven. 1558.

<sup>16</sup> *Vite Ducum Venetorum*, ap. *Muratori*, xxii; and *Diarii*.

count will elsewhere occur, Andrea Navagero; Pietro, son of Antonio Marcello, Domenigo Malipiero, Nicolò Contarini, subsequently (1630-1) Doge, who compiled an elaborate history of his own times from 1597,<sup>1</sup> and numerous anonymous chroniclers whose contributions to the literary annals of their country remain unprinted and even unidentified. The value of many of these compositions may be said to be due, to some extent, to the circumstance that they were not written with a view to the press, and that their tone and matter were consequently more likely to be impartial.

The two classes of writers on Venice, principally to be regarded and followed, are the coeval or, at least, early chroniclers, and the modern critical and documentary essayists or compilers, if indeed both do not practically belong to one family and category. There is hardly any great people whose history has so gravely suffered from inadvertent and wilful misrepresentation, nor is there any which has found, in modern days, a larger number of enthusiastic and enlightened contributors to the task of undoing the mischief produced by spurious material and imperfect research.

Certain among the historical writers, official or otherwise, have shown an almost excessive tendency toward minuteness, even in treating events of remote date and secondary consequence. There has been no attempt to conceal or extenuate the long series of crimes and errors perpetuated by a succession of despotic rulers of various types, and even if we owe such candour to an inability or disinclination to view those transactions with our eyes and feelings, our gain and our gratitude remain undiminished, as we are thereby often admitted to disclosures and confidences<sup>2</sup> which we would have missed, at the hands of authors more critical in the selection of their material, and less disposed to leave posterity to form its own opinion.

A collateral aspect of the earlier schools of historical research and belief is furnished, by the meagre and exceptional opportunities enjoyed by ordinary Venetian readers and students of forming an accurate judgment of passed events, since the works of reference at their disposal were either uncritical compilations or narratives produced under official sanction. No use seems

<sup>1</sup> *Delle Historie Venetiane et Altri a Loro annessa cominciando dal' Anno 1597 et successivamente, di Nicolo Contarini Doge.* Folio, 4 vols. Phillips MSS. 386-9, with the bookplate of Lorenzo Antonio da Ponte.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iv. 500.

to have been made of the national archives, down to comparatively modern days, and still less was there any attempt to analyse and discriminate. Those who desired to acquire some knowledge of the anterior history of their country, to learn the causes which had operated in raising it to so marvellous a prosperity and power, and to become acquainted with all the great personalities who had contributed to make it and keep it what it was, could be referred only to meagre sketches and outlines, to casual records covering particular periods among private MSS., or to traditional report. Any one, therefore, who addressed a public assembly and appealed to the patriotism of those present, citing the great and glorious actions of their ancestors, appealed, as a rule, to hearers incapable of supporting or contradicting him; and, in the libraries of the wealthier families, as time elapsed, sumptuous bindings were bestowed on historical volumes which have long been discarded as waste paper.

It was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that we met with an effort to place the Venetian student, traveller or inquirer in a position to ascertain the condition and character of the rest of the known world, after three centuries had elapsed since maps and globes were introduced for the use of the professional navigator. In 1740, Signor Salmors commenced at Venice the issue of a series of volumes, embellished with engravings, and furnishing, in a sectional form, a view of the current state of all countries so far as they had been explored or discovered, and the result was a sort of library of instructive knowledge, rudimentary enough from a more modern standpoint, yet a welcome addition to many a scholar's stores.<sup>1</sup> The cyclopædic spirit and movement manifested itself about the same time in a different manner, when the patrician Francesco Foscari defrayed the cost of the publication, extending to fifty-four folio volumes, of the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum* and the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. This was a new and modern departure.

In Theology, the Venetians were quite on a level with their contemporaries. Already, in the eleventh century, San Gerardo Sagredo, a bishop and subsequently a martyr, had produced *A Commentary on the Song of the Three Children*,

<sup>1</sup> *Lo Stato Presente di tutti i Paesi e Popoli del Mondo, Naturale, Politico e Morale*; Venetia, 1740-62, 12°, 24 vols.



the *Praises of the Blessed Virgin, Quadregesimal Sermons, and Homilies*.<sup>1</sup> The first, which is divided into eight books, is a folio MS. on parchment, said to be preserved in the Library of Frisingen.<sup>2</sup> During the reign of Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311) flourished Bartolomeo Faliero, Patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote on the *Merits of the Holy and Immaculate Virgin*, on the *Celebration of Saints'-days*, and several orations. About 1321, Teodoro Memo, a Franciscan, compiled biographies of Saint Francis and of Saint Clara d'Assisi. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, Domenigo Leoni was a voluminous writer of glosses on the Scriptures and on profane authors, and, about the same time, Ricardus de Mediavillâ, an English Franciscan, compiled his *Comment* on the *Fourth of the Sentences*, a work existing in MS. and printed by Valdafer in folio without date, but about 1475. Both the latter and a fine MS. before the writer present us with what purport to be portraits of the author—the one a small full-length, the other a figure seated at a table. But this writer also produced a *Commentum super librum secundum Sententiarum*, of which a folio MS. has descended to us with the probably apocryphal tradition of once having belonged to Petrarch. In 1372, Nicolò Muzio, of the Order of Preachers, dedicated an edition of the Works of Saint Gregory to the reigning Pontiff, Gregory XI.; and (it is alleged) the MS. is still to be seen in the Public Collection at Toledo. Angelo Corraro or Correr, afterward Gregory XII.<sup>3</sup> (1406), and Gabriele Condolmiero, afterward Eugenius IV. (1431),<sup>4</sup> the latter of whom penned a philippic against the Hussites,<sup>5</sup> were both persons of admirable erudition in Sacred Writ. It was to Eugenius<sup>6</sup> that Blondus of Forlì dedicated, about 1450, his *Italia Illustrata*. Contemporaneous with these distinguished Churchmen were Marco Giorgio, the author of two tracts, one upon Ecclesiastical Liberty, the other against Simoniacs; Alberto Alberti (1381) who left to posterity a volume of *Divers Orations*; Tommaso Strozzi who gave to the world an *Exposition of the Apocalypse, the Psalms, and the Gospel of*

<sup>1</sup> Pier Angelo Zeno, *Memorie degli scrittori Veneti Patrizi*, 1662, in voce *Sagredo*.

<sup>2</sup> Agostini, *Notizie degli scrittori Viniziani*, vol. i., Prefazione.

<sup>3</sup> Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Pier Ang. Zeno, *Memorie*, 1662.

<sup>6</sup> Blondus, *Italia illustrata*, edit. 1481. The same writer inscribed his *Origo et gesta Venetorum* to the Doge Foscari.

Saint Mark; Domenigo Bollani who composed a disquisition on the Purity of the Virgin; Luigi Bollani who annotated the Epistles of Saint Paul; and Andrea Trevisano, a metaphysician, who commented upon Genesis.<sup>1</sup> Somewhat later, Fantino Dandolo, a grandson of the Doge Andrea and Archbishop of Candia, compiled for the use of the Clergy a Manual of Sacerdotal Discipline and Instruction;<sup>2</sup> and in 1509 there is from the Venetian press a *Vocabulista Ecclesiastica* or Word-Book of Ecclesiastical Terms. Dandolo died in 1459 in his eightieth year; his performance has been printed. In 1472, the well-known writer, Antonio Cornazano of Piacenza, addressed to the Doge and the Venetians a treatise on the faith and life of Christ, and in the ensuing year Paolo Morosini published at Padua *De æterna Christi Generatione*. In or about 1510, while the Republic was still only gradually rallying from the troubles of the League of Cambrai, Hieronimo Donato, who had been nominated Venetian ambassador to the Vatican, compiled a monograph on the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches, which he had intended to present to the Pontiff Julius II. Owing to the troubles throughout Italy, he thought fit to withhold it, and it was subsequently dedicated to Leo X. by Filippo Donato, son of the writer, who in 1525 committed to the press, and inscribed to Clement VII., his father's *Apology for the Papacy*. The elder Donato was regarded as an eminent Hellenist.<sup>3</sup> A collection of 129 sermons, various letters, a pamphlet on benefices, and other pieces of current interest are also ascribed to this learned divine who became Bishop of Padua.<sup>4</sup> A Manual for the use of the confessor, entitled *Modo generale di confessarsi*, by Fra Marino Baldo, exists in an impression of the sixteenth century, but is construably of much earlier origin. It provides for all contingencies; even if the confessor has to challenge tailors and shoemakers on their commercial doings. About the same period (1400), Nicolò Condolmiero,

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Zeno, *Memorie*, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> "Incipit Compendium Reverendissimi in Christo patris Domini Fantini Dandoli Archiepiscopi Cretensis pro Catholice fidei instructione"; sine ullâ notâ, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> The identical MS. offered to Leo X is thought to have been abstracted from the Vatican, and to be No. 234 described in Phillips' Catalogue, 1908.

<sup>4</sup> 1. *Sermones Fantini Danduli Protonotarii Apostolici, postea Archiepiscopi Cretensis*; 2. *Constitutiones Sanctae Synodi celebratae Apr. 27, 1457, editae, etc.*; 3. *Fant. Danduli Epistolae (sex)*; 4. *F. D. de beneficiis*; 5. *Ejusdem responsio quaedam Juridico*.—Agostini, i. 34, et seqq.

not improbably a relative of the Pontiff Eugenius IV., contributed to Philology *Observations on the Meaning of Words*, and to Miscellaneous Literature a volume entitled *Consilia*.<sup>1</sup> A very early essay on Economics, ascribed to 1304, was the discourse by Fra Paolino on the Government of the Family, in which he enters into the details of domestic management and expenditure, and exhorts husbands to exercise a proper control over their wives, who are always jealous of the acquisition by other women of dress and jewellery superior to their own. He declares that, when the good man has done his best, his partner wrings her hands and deplores her ill-luck, finishing up with "What have you brought me from the Rialto?"

In Natural Science, the most eminent name was Bernardo d'Iseo, who, in his seclusion at San Francesco della Vigna, consumed the better part of his life and his entire patrimony in chemical and alchemical experiments. Fortune, however, was kind to him at last. He made money by his researches, and, having quitted his country when his purse became low and friends were lukewarm, he spent his declining days abroad and died a German Count. His book on alchemy is still extant, and it concludes with the words: "Here ends the book and treatise composed by Master Bernard, Count of Tervisia, who acquired the Countship and jurisdiction of Neige, in Germany, by this precious and noble art."<sup>2</sup> Iseo was followed by Bernardo Trevisano who flourished about 1366,<sup>3</sup> and who was accounted one of the leading chemists of the age. He composed a treatise on the Transmutation of Metals, which has been printed more than once.<sup>4</sup> About the same time, Paolo Veneto of the Augustinian Order of Hermits wrote a Summary of Physics, which still exists in a contemporary MS., dated 1373. It is a folio of 171 leaves, and the writing is in small cursive Gothic characters.<sup>5</sup> Paolo Veneto also produced a work *Super Posteriora Analytica Aristotelis*, which was printed at Venice in 1491.

Three other members of the Trevisano family attained celebrity in other walks of literature and learning. Marco of

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Zeno, *Memorie*, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> "Hic finit liber et tractatus compositus per Magistrum Bernardum comitem Tervisianum, qui aquisivit comitatum et ditionem de Neige in Germaniâ per hanc artem pretiosam et nobilem."—Romanin, iii. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Apostolo Zeno, *Lettere*, i. 183-5.

<sup>4</sup> Romanin, iii. 367-68.

<sup>5</sup> Sold at Sotheby's auction rooms, 28th July, 1904, No. 34.



the Parish of San Marziale wrote, for the edification of his son Luigi, an elaborate dissertation called by him *Macrocosmos, seu de Majore Mundo*. It appears that this gentleman was engaged<sup>1</sup> in this labour during the last ten years of his life, yet, at his death in 1378, he left it unfinished. Andrea Trevisano, of the Order of Servi, occupied for three years the Chair of Metaphysics at Tübingen. Zaccaria, the fourth Trevisano, who was born in 1370 and died in 1413 in the flower of manhood,<sup>2</sup> was one of the most accomplished men of his time, as an orator, a scholar, a politician and a soldier; of his orations only three are extant.<sup>3</sup>

In Botany, Venice boasts the eminent physician and philosopher Benedetto Rinio. In the Marciano may be seen at the present day the original MS. of his Book of Simples (*Libro di Semplici*), illustrated with 443 drawings of plants, with their names beneath in several languages. Those drawings were probably made from specimens furnished by the author to the painter Andrea Amadio, and they bear the date of 1415. But, long prior to that date, a Physic Garden had been established on the Rio di Castello by the surgeon Gualtieri, and in the eighteenth century the Farsetti, of whom there were three who attained eminence, founded, at their villa at Sala, a new Botanic Garden which long enjoyed the reputation of being the richest in Europe.

To the fourteenth and two following centuries belong many other names—the unfortunate Jacopo Foscari, a distinguished Hellenist and a collector of Greek and Latin MSS.; and of Francesco Barbaro,<sup>4</sup> the defender of Brescia, illustrious alike in letters and in war, and six later representatives of this great family, so remarkable for the versatility of its intellectual gifts and political services; Pietro Loredano, hero of Motta and Gallipoli, the Venetian Marcellus, a gentleman not less renowned for his cultivated taste and his literary acquirements than for his feats of arms; and

<sup>1</sup> A. Zeno, *ubi supra*

<sup>2</sup> Blondus of Forlì, *Italia Illustrata*, sign. H 1; Agostini, i. 310, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> 1. *Zacchariae Trevisani de Venetiis, Oratoris illustrissimi Ducalis Domini Venetiarum ad Gregorium XII. Pontif. pro unione Ecclesiae Oratio*, 1407; 2. *Ejusdem ad Dominum Ariminensem pro integratione Ecclesiae*, 1409; 3. *Ejusdem in refutatione officii Capitane almas civitatis Paduae*, 1406.

<sup>4</sup> A treatise by Barbaro, *De Re Uxorâ*, is well known, and obtained at the period of its first appearance a wide reputation. An English version by "a person of quality" appeared in 1677; there are French translations by Martin du Pin (1557) and François Joly (1679).

the immortal Zeno, soldier, sailor, scholar, orator, diplomatist, the Scipio and Camillus of a second Eternal City.

It was about this date that Domenigo de' Domenichi expounded the principles of Logic at Padua, where the patricians Lauro Quirini, Ermolao Barbaro,<sup>1</sup> Francesco Contarini and Antonio Cornaro, as well as Nicolò Leonico, successively taught Ethics. The *Morals* and *Analytica* of Aristotle were favourite text-books, and Leonico is said to have been the first to redeem the writings of the Stagyrte from the interpolations of Averroes and others. The testimony of Petrarch may warrant the deduction that, in his time, scepticism and free thought had made considerable ground in the Republic, and the famous adventure of the poet with an alleged atheist shews that, among a certain class probably not very numerous, that deplorable affectation was in vogue. The Aristotelian theories, seen through a false and misleading medium, were the great delight of the young Venetian collegians down to the age of the erudite Leonico. It was impossible, Petrarch tells us, to listen to these silly wranglers without a sensation of nausea. His feelings may be imagined when a knot of these exquisite coxcombs constituted themselves a jury upon his literary merits, and concluded by pronouncing him a gentleman of upright purpose enough, but of manifestly neglected education.

A work upon Ethics, entitled *Rettor, seu de recto regimine*,<sup>2</sup> was dedicated about 1314 by Fra Paolino the Minorite to Marino Badoer, Duke of Candia.<sup>3</sup> It was written in the Venetian dialect, and its purpose was to demonstrate the four cardinal virtues which help to form the perfect Ruler.

Among the earlier teachers of geometry were two contemporaries, Marco Sanudo and Fra Luca Paciolo, a Minorite. The latter was the author of *A Summary of Geometrical Arithmetic*, which he edited, perhaps, merely for the use of his own pupils. In 1449, Paolo della Pergola kept a school of philosophy, geometry and arithmetic, and at his death his chair was assumed by Domenigo Bragadino, a Venetian patrician.<sup>4</sup>

Near the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Rialto

<sup>1</sup> Barbaro is specifically named in the prolegomena to the *Geniales Dies* of Alexander ab Alexandro of Naples; folio, Parisiis, 1532.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Cornaro, *Creta Sacra*, ii. 307.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter lx.

stood, about the same period, a house where, every morning and afternoon, public lecturers, salaried by the Government, delivered readings in philosophy and theology. One of the most distinguished lecturers was the noble Antonio Corraro, whose love of literature and intellectual attainments gave him the highest reputation in his own time. At Saint Mark's, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Campanile, there was a school or academy where Humanity was taught without any fees; among the earliest professors at that establishment were Giorgio Valla and the historiographer Sabellico.

From the twelfth century, the more highly educated Venetians were usually masters of Latin and Greek. In 1170, Pasquale, Bishop of Equilo, was appointed by Vitale Michiele II. as one of his ambassadors to the Byzantine Court, on account of his peculiar conversance with Greek, and this circumstance, while it may indicate the rarity of the accomplishment, establishes its existence. The Romans themselves had been very imperfectly acquainted with the literature of their predecessors in power and in culture, until they extended their conquests and rule into Eastern Europe. The unhappy son of the unhappy Doge Foscari was a zealous philhellénist and a collector of Greek and Latin MSS. The language generally employed at Venice was Latin, and, among the lower orders, a dialect or patois of which some account has been given. The general ignorance of Hebrew necessitated the perusal of the Scriptures in the Vulgate, and it was this necessity, more than any other cause, perhaps, which led to the acquisition of the former. In the first half of the fifteenth century, there were several scholars, among whom were Marco Lippomano<sup>1</sup> and Daniele Reniero, who were competent to read the Bible in the original.

Not only were the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues studied, understood and spoken at an early date, but even Arabic, of which the most ancient printed examples, however, appeared, not here, but at Fano, from the press of Gregorio de Gregoriis, a Venetian subject, and one of two brothers who subsequently established themselves at Venice.

In the first moiety of the sixteenth century, Sebastiano Erizzo, a member of the Council of Ten, an antiquary and numismatist, delivered readings at Padua University on the

<sup>1</sup> Blondus, *Italia Illustrata*, sig. H 2.



fruitfulness of the study of ancient coins. Erizzo was born in 1522 and died in 1585. About the same time we hear of Giorgio Colonna as a miniaturist, just before the period when Titian and Veronese arose to execute on a larger scale likenesses of some of their countrymen and countrywomen, so many of which must have perished or remain unidentified.

A department in which the Venetians publicly shone was Poetry.<sup>1</sup> An ancient poem entitled *Leandreis*, on the mythological loves of Hero and Leander by an anonymous Venetian coeval with Petrarch,<sup>2</sup> introduces Dante speaking of the Venetian bards of his day:

Dirove alquante nobele persone,  
E primo e Zuan Querin, *che mi fo amicho*  
In vita; e l' altro, che appo lui si pone,  
Zuan Foscharen——<sup>3</sup>

Quirini, whom Dante here claims as his friend, addressed a madrigal to an acquaintance, Matteo Mattivilla of Bologna,<sup>4</sup> in which he begs the latter to transmit to him a copy of the *Acerba* of Cecco d'Ascoli, containing strictures on the *Divina Commedia*, and declares himself prepared to vindicate Dante.

A production, belonging (if genuine) to an earlier epoch than the *Leandreis*, and equally anonymous, is called *A Lament for the Absence of a Husband at the Crusade in the East*. The author who was perhaps a lady may be no other than "Dona Frisa" herself:—

Responder voi a Dona Frisa,  
Che me conseia en la soa guisa.  
E dis ch' eo lasse ogni grameza,  
Vezando me senza alegrezza;  
Che me mario se n' e andao,  
Ch' el me cor cum lui a portao;  
Et eo cum ti me Deo comfortare,  
Fin ch' el stara de la da mare——<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Morelli, *Dissertazione sulla cultura della poesia presso li Veneziani*; Ven. 1796. In the *Poeti del primo secolo*, Firenze, 1816, 8vo, 2 vols., there is not a single Venetian Poem. The Editor has not even included the Sonnet of Antonio Cocco to Sacchetti, which is found in Allacci, *Antichi Poeti*, and of which the first stanza is here given:—

"Ame e gran gratia, Franchio, aver udito  
La fama, che di voi nel mondo corre;  
E questa e stata fondamento e dorre  
A durmi qui sanz' aver altro invito."—(Allacci, *op. cit.*)

<sup>2</sup> Morelli, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Agostini, *Prefaz.* xv.

<sup>4</sup> Morelli, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Gamba, *Raccolta di poesie in dialetto Veneziano*, 1845, pp. 1-2.

Besides Giovanni Quirini<sup>1</sup> and Giovanni Foscarini, the *Leandreis* mentions Bernardo Foscarini and a second Quirini, Nicolò, Rector of San Basso and a participator in the Quirini-Tiepolo Conspiracy of 1310,<sup>2</sup> some of whose effusions are in the Biblioteca Barberina at Rome.

So far back as 1268, the Merchant Tailors had recited in the streets of the Capital, in honour of the accession of the new Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo, ballads and scraps of roundelays, either extemporized or committed to memory. It is not hazardous to conclude that these melodies belonged to the rudest school of composition. There is some reason to suppose<sup>3</sup> that the silk-weavers of Lucca, when they forsook their native looms and fled from the hand of persecution to Venice between 1315 and 1320, introduced to their adopted countrymen the ditties which they had so dearly loved in happier days, and that this event, while it was fraught with utility to the Republic in a commercial respect, was also instrumental in imparting to Venetian poetry a certain Tuscan element. But it is certain that, long before the Lucchese migration, a great reform was wrought in poetry by Bartolomeo Giorgio, a patrician, and almost a contemporary of Tiepolo. By profession, Giorgio was a merchant, and his taste for the lyric muse was acquired during his residence at the Court of the Count of Provence,<sup>4</sup> where he tells us that many other Italians had congregated for the purpose of studying the literature of the jongleurs and troubadours. Giorgio or Zorzi, no doubt in his commercial capacity, visited other countries, and he is stated to have composed a funeral dirge or anthem on the death of Conrad II. of Sicily, in or about 1268. On his return home, the Venetian composed certain songs or *canzoni*, similar to those which he had heard in Provence, and a revolution was gradually operated in this branch of the liberal arts. The bard had subsequently, in every probability during the arduous struggle between his own country and Genoa, the misfortune to be taken prisoner by

<sup>1</sup> This poet must not be confounded with another of the same name who wrote in the sixteenth century, some of whose pieces are preserved by Gamba.

<sup>2</sup> Allacci, *Antichi Poeti*, Indice.

<sup>3</sup> *Canti del popolo Veneziano raccolti (per la prima volta) da N. Tommaseo*, 1848, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Foscarini, *Letteratura*, 50, N. 2. Edgar Taylor (*Lays of the Minnesingers*, 1825, p. 101) mentions him as a gentleman of the city of Venice, evidently quoting from a description of Giorgio or Zorzi elsewhere.

the enemy, and it seems that he remained in their hands seven years, during which space he possibly wrote many pieces now lost. At all events, of his *Canzoni* or *Serventesi*, seventeen<sup>1</sup> only survive in the Vatican; of these five were rendered into prose by the Abbé Millot.

For the use of church-choirs a Musical Compendium entitled *Cantorinus* was printed in 1513, and purported to embrace within its covers all necessary and available information for learners and students.

The custom of lightening toil by some sort of rude vocal melody had been very familiar to the Greeks, and was widely diffused over mediæval Europe. Each trade had its own peculiar compositions handed down from father to son, from mother to daughter. The Venetian craftsman beguiled the monotony of a sedentary employment, like the Huguenot weavers of Spitalfields, by singing to traditional airs words the author of which he, perhaps, could not have named; and the gondolier in the good old days of autonomy made the canals echo with their favourite fragments of popular effusions, caught by ear or inherited from generation to generation. Looking back through the vista of years and of ages, we already in the thirteenth century discern at Venice a school of national music and song among the operative classes, which naturally found freer scope and a fuller throat amid the exuberant gaiety of the independent holiday life.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century, flourished Marino Dandolo, Gabriele Bernardo, Maffeo Pesaro, Antonio Cocco, whose sonnet to Franco Sacchetti has been mentioned as having been printed by Allacci, Marco Piacentino some of whose metrical trifles are in existence, and Filippo Barbarigo, an imitator of Petrarch. During the reign of Andrea Contarini, Pietro da Natali, Bishop of Equilo, composed in terza rima *The Visit of Alexander III. to Venice* (in 1177),<sup>2</sup> which has escaped the ravages of time, and, about 1381, Marco Giorgio the theologian finished a *Life of the Blessed Felix Benci of Florence* in heroic verse.<sup>3</sup> In the succeeding reign, Lorenzo de Monacis, Grand Chancellor of Candia but better known as an historian, dedicated to Mary, Queen of Hungary, consort of Sigismund,<sup>4</sup> *A Poem of Charles*

<sup>1</sup> Foscari, *Letteratura*, 50, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Morelli, *Dissert.*

<sup>3</sup> P. A. Zeno, *Memorie*, 1662.

<sup>4</sup> Mary died in 1392, according to Bonfinius, *Res Ungaricæ*, 383.



*II. of Hungary, called the Little, with a pious description of the miserable haps of the Illustrious Queens of Hungary.* This performance<sup>1</sup> is supposed to have seen the light about 1385. Toward the end of the century, it is said that an Olivetan monk, Matteo Routo, was engaged in turning the *Divine Comedy* into heroic verse, but it seems to be doubtful whether the work was ever completed.<sup>2</sup> A few decades posterior to Routo, Maffeo Pisani, a priest, produced (1453) a *Lament for Constantinople* in verse, still preserved in print.<sup>3</sup>

Nor was it long before Sacred Poetry grew into fashion. The famous Minorite, Fra Jacopino da Todi, author of the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, found zealous disciples in Jacopo Valaresso and Leonardo Pisani,<sup>4</sup> both of whom, under the Contarini and Veniero administrations (1368–1400), occupied their leisure with spiritual offerings to the Muse. In or about 1399, the Cavaliere Jacopo Gradenigo, Podestà of Padua, whose family had intermarried with the House of Carrara,<sup>5</sup> put a finishing hand to *A Concordance of the Four Gospels*, in terza rima, of which a transcript was among the manuscript treasures of an eminent antiquary and scholar of the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> A little later, the two sons of Bernardo Giustiniani<sup>7</sup> trod worthily in the footsteps of Valaresso and Pisani, the pupils of Da Todi. The elder, Lorenzo, successively Prior of San Giorgio in Alga, Bishop of Castello and Patriarch of Venice, comprised, among the thirty-six works on various subjects which proceeded from his prolific pen,<sup>8</sup> a small garland of *Spiritual Rhymes*.<sup>9</sup> The future Metropolitan, who was subsequently canonized, was born in 1380;<sup>10</sup> the composition of these rhymes may therefore be assigned, without particular hazard, to some period between 1400 and 1410.

Leonardo, who was the junior of San Lorenzo by about eight years, and pronounced in 1418 the funeral oration

<sup>1</sup> It will be found at the end of Flaminio Cornaro's edition of the Chronicle of De Monacis, 1758.

<sup>2</sup> Morelli, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See Cigogna, *Bibliografia Veneziana*, 1847.

<sup>4</sup> Agostini, *Prefazione*.

<sup>5</sup> Morelli, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Apostolo Zeno, *Lettere*, edit. 1785.

<sup>7</sup> Agostini, i. 135.

<sup>8</sup> P. A. Zeno, *Memorie*, 1662, *in voce*.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. In 1494 his *Doctrina della Veta Monastica* was published at Venice, and it was accompanied by an engraved portrait of Giustiniani copied from an original painting by Gentile Bellini.

<sup>10</sup> Agostini, i. 136.

on his friend <sup>1</sup> Carlo Zeno,<sup>2</sup> had written in his younger days a volume of *Poesie Volgari* of a profane cast ;<sup>3</sup> but at the persuasion of his brother he eventually abandoned this school of poetry, and became the author of *Laudi Spirituali*, which were received with applause, and were printed at Venice in 1474.<sup>4</sup> In the following year, they were reproduced at Vicenza, and such was their reputation, that the printer, Leonard of Basle, ventured to take off 1000 copies.<sup>5</sup>

The family of Giustiniani was rarely gifted, and boasted the heraldry of genius as well as of birth. The celebrated Ciriaco de Pizzecolli of Ancona, addressing Leonardo in a sonnet which was printed for the first time by Agostini, says :—

Se stende fino al Ciel con care piume  
La fama del valor Justiniano,<sup>6</sup>

According to the testimony of a contemporary,<sup>7</sup> this gentleman was not only one of the most conspicuous orators of the age, but a passionate musician. After filling several responsible posts under the Government and attaining the Procuratorial dignity, he died in 1446 in his 58th or 59th year. His *Poesie Volgari* were still in MS. when the *Laudi* were given to the press in 1474, but the former also appeared in 1482, and were republished a few years later, with additions.<sup>8</sup> The metre of the *Canzonette* is irregular, and occasionally rugged and inharmonious.

To miscellaneous literature, Leonardo Giustiniani contributed from Plutarch translations <sup>9</sup> of the biographies of Cimon, Lucullus and Phocion, a life of Saint Nicholas the Confessor,

<sup>1</sup> Bernardo Giustiniani, writing to Giacomo Zeno, the nephew of Carlo, says : “ Vetus illa necessitudo et amicitia, quae inter praeclarum virum Carolum avum tuum Leonardumque patrem meum fuit.”

<sup>2</sup> “ Viri Patricii Leonardi Justiniani Veneti oratio habita in funere Caroli Zeni concivis sui,” presso *Epistole di Bernardo Giustiniano (suo figlio)*, Ven. 1492, folio ; frequently reprinted.

<sup>3</sup> Blondus, *Italia Illustrata*, sig. H 1.

<sup>4</sup> “ Incominciano le devotissime et sanctissime Laudi le quali compose el Nobile e Magnifico Messer Leonardo Giustiniano.”

<sup>5</sup> Agostini, i. 165.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. i. 154.

<sup>7</sup> Blondus, *Ital. Illustr.* sig. H 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Comincio il Fiore delle elegantissime Cancionete del nobile Messere Leonardo Justiniano*. The colophon is : *Il fine delle elegantissime cancionete di Messere Leonardo Justiniano quivi in Venetia con ogni diligentia impresse per Antonio di Strata a di nove Marzo MCCCCLXXXII. in 4to.*

<sup>9</sup> *Canzonette e Strambotti d'amore composte per el Magnifico Miser Leonardo Zustiniano di Venetia*.—Impressum Venetiis per Johannem Baptistam Sessa, anno Domini MCCC(c). die vero xiiii. Aprilis, in 4to.

Bishop of Myra,<sup>1</sup> containing a prefatory dedication to his brother Lorenzo, then Bishop of Castello, at whose suggestion he had undertaken the labour; numerous letters, printed in 1492; some elegiac verses on the death of Victorino of Feltre; and a book, entitled *Liber Philologicus*, of which little seems to be known, except that it was seen by Montfaucon in the choice library of Bernardo Trevisano.<sup>2</sup> Æsop seems to have acquired popularity among some of the educated class. A whimsical case is cited, in which the shops were ransacked for forty-one copies of the *Fables*, because a member of the Quarantia had, during a suspended sitting, called for the book to beguile the time, and it was thought necessary to observe impartiality by placing a copy in the hands of each of the councillors.

In 1409, the wife of Leonardo, reputed to have been Maria Quirini,<sup>3</sup> bore her husband a son, who was christened Bernardo after his grandfather. This Bernardo was destined to attain the highest distinction as an orator and historian. He was thirty-seven when his illustrious parent died, and was inconsolable for the loss. He immediately called on his uncle Lorenzo the Bishop, who told him to be of good cheer: "for," said he, "your father is in the path of salvation." "How can you tell that?" responded the young man. "Never mind," persisted the other; "be assured that he is on the way to heaven, and for the rest do not concern yourself!"<sup>4</sup> After the death of San Lorenzo, his nephew became his biographer, and the *Life of the Patriarch* was among the earliest productions of the Venetian press. It appeared in 1475,<sup>5</sup> and was prefixed to the Works of the Saint published at Brescia in 1505. The other performances of the same writer are a funeral oration on the Doge Foscari,<sup>6</sup> which he delivered in 1457, and a *History of the Origin of Venice*, bringing down the annals to the year 809—both in Latin. In the latter, which was translated into the vernacular by Lodovico Domenichi and printed in 1545, Giustiniani has introduced a variety of particulars not seen elsewhere. The genuineness of the narrative is largely established by the circumstance, that it is expressly stated to have been partially

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Aldus, with other opusculi, in 1502.

<sup>2</sup> Agostini, i. 174-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. i. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. i. 162.

<sup>5</sup> Foscari, *Lett. Venez.* 324, n 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 316.



founded on the Chronicle of Zeno, Abbot of San Nicolò del Lido<sup>1</sup> from 1070 to 1100. Bernardo, whose life has been written by Antonio Stella, a Venetian priest, and published in 1553, left a son Pancrazio who in his turn won literary renown.

The universal practice of commemorating notable and glorious events in verse or prose was by no means unknown. It seems to have commenced in the fifteenth century, and, when facilities for printing effusions of this kind were given by the multiplication of presses, an historical landmark like the battle of Lepanto in 1571 was bound to evoke an abundance of patriotic *ephemerides*. We have before us a list of between sixty and seventy poems written on that occasion, principally anonymous.

In a sphere of usefulness totally different from that of his predecessor and namesake, a second Marino Sanudo, son of Leonardo Sanudo, a distinguished public servant, by his wife Letizia Venier, was born on the 22nd of May, 1466, in the street of San Giacomo dall'Orto. He lost his father when a boy of ten, and was taken by his mother to the Castello di Sanguinetto in the Veronese, where he was placed under competent tutors. Amid other calls both of a public and private character, he, at the age of thirty, conceived and began to execute the design of commemorating the transactions of his country on a principle entirely new. From day to day or at brief intervals, Sanudo registered in a folio volume every incident which came under his observation, as he attended the meetings of the Great Council, or sauntered on the Broglio or the Exchange, or met with the recipients of news from outlying districts and abroad. He even prevailed on the Council of Ten to permit him to examine public documents under their charge or control, and he lived to see his notes and collections fill fifty-eight volumes, and include certain papers nowhere else preserved.

The work was compiled on a scale which renders their use and quotation, even to a moderate extent, in a general work, a sheer impossibility, inasmuch as they represent a daily record of the transactions, not of Venice or even Italy, but of Europe, as they progressively unfolded themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 502-3.

The *Diaries* or *Ephemerides* are written throughout in the Venetian *patois*, except here and there where the author diverges into normal Italian or Latin. They concern external affairs almost to a larger extent than those of Venice itself, but they very preciously illustrate the foreign interests and policy of the Republic during the thirty-three years which they cover. The Diarist appears to have gained the earliest and exactest knowledge of the meetings and compositions of the several Councils and their agenda, and to have been permitted to take notes<sup>1</sup> of their proceedings and decisions. The diction of Sanudo occasionally strikes one as careless rather than idiomatic as where he uses such a form as *Elemagna* for Germany, and uses indifferently the forms *Puglia* and *Puja*, *ozi* and *hogi*.

He omits nothing, forgets nothing; even when he is arrested for a small debt, owing to his absorption in his employment and neglect of his affairs, he mentions where the tipstaff met him, and how long he was detained in the sponging-house. He speaks of it as "l'orribil casa." But, on the whole, the autobiographical element is by no means conspicuous, and he does not register, as a rule, petty, local or current incidents. In one place, however, he cited a case in which a man was hanged for a theft of jewellery, and a suspected accomplice failed to confess under the cord, which he characterizes as a notable matter, whereas assuredly it must have been a by no means unusual occurrence. In another way, under the date, the 18th of December, 1531, he lets us understand that a mob of women (he puts it as 7000 or 8000!) had a few weeks before sallied from London with the intention of killing Anne Boleyn, "l'amata del Re d'Inghilterra," who was supping in a summer-house on the Thames, and that she was forewarned of the danger and escaped in a wherry.

This monumental work not only survives in its integrity, but a careful transcript of it was actually made for the historiographer Francesco Donato, with a view to a work on the subject in the eighteenth century; and now the Italian Government has generously presented us with the whole in type (1879—

<sup>1</sup> The original MSS. were removed to Vienna at the dissolution of the Republic, but were restored by the Austrian Government in 1868 with other papers.

1903). The series is as unique as Venice itself, yet the two cyclopædias, printed at the cost of a private individual during the period of independence and extending to fifty-four large volumes, almost eclipse it in magnitude, if not in permanent importance.

During the life of Sanudo, little or nothing was known of his incessant application to what he made his career, and after his death the whole work and its author were equally forgotten. It is fortunate that the manuscript volumes escaped all accidents, and can be added to the grand trophy which the Republic has erected to its own memory and honour.

Besides his *Diaries*, Sanudo left *Lives of the Doges*, incorrectly printed by Muratori, a description of the *Magistrates of Venice*, a treatise *de Bello Gallico*, which may be what he describes in the commencement of his *Diary* as "*La Guerra francese in Italia*," a *Commentary on the War of Ferrara*, privately issued in 1829, and an *Itinerary of the Venetian Terra Firma* in 1483, with original sketches of places visited and inspected by him; this was printed in 1847, accompanied by facsimiles of the illustrations. Thus justice has been done, only in our days, to a man whose exertions and sacrifices in the cause of learning were so exceptionally great, and whose sole personal reward was the affectionate ardour with which he followed his favourite and self-chosen path.

Sanudo seems to have been brought into the world for the express purpose of accumulating records of the proceedings and careers of others, for the benefit of an unknown posterity which too tardily awards him recognition and thanks. From his boyhood, he evinced an enthusiasm for antiquities and historical inquiry, and, at a period of life when many have not yet quitted school, he was an author. When he was a child of about eight, he started on his mission by transcribing the inscriptions, then beginning to fade, beneath the portraits of the Doges in the Council Chamber. This must, from collateral evidence, have been in 1474, and the realization of the small figure at work is not a little interesting. At seventeen he produced his *Itinerary*, and entered into every variety of technical and financial detail. But the central and crowning labour was the stupendous and invaluable *Diary*, extending over seven and thirty years (1496-1533). That it is an arid register of events and a repository



of dull archives is true enough; it is equally the case that it preserves to us, at the hands of a man of rank and culture, the history, not of Venice alone, but of Italy and Europe during many momentous and eventful years, interspersed with occasional glimpses of the personal history and experiences of Sanudo as a youthful lover of the peerless Gemma, as a statesman whose views generally found him in opposition, as an indifferent economist who was sometimes reduced to financial straits, and as a book-collector.

The social position of the Diarist afforded him immense opportunities for obtaining information, and facilitated intercourse with the best Venetian and Lombard families. He fell in love with a maiden at Rovigo, probably during his tour in 1483, visited the family, and composed songs in honour and praise of Gemma;<sup>1</sup> but he remained single, and devoted himself to his writings and his library which included many charts and topographical drawings, and amounted in the aggregate to 6500 volumes, printed and in manuscript, of which he drew up a catalogue with his own hand. This was a larger assemblage of literary monuments than the combined public libraries at that time in London, Oxford and Cambridge.

Sanudo had completed some of his works, and had by him versions both in Latin and Venetian for the benefit of learned and unlearned, when Aldus inscribed to him one of his publications in 1498; the *Itinerary* and *Commentary on the Ferrarese War* were also probably in existence, and the *Diary* in progress. In 1498 he was two and thirty, and he pursued all these literary occupations and his public duties, amid continual interruptions from visitors desirous of seeing him and his treasures. Sometimes he consented to receive them; sometimes he declined, even when it was a prince. But he lived to witness the day when great personages presented themselves at Venice, and were told that there were three things worth seeing—the Arsenal, the Treasury of St. Mark, and the Sanudo Library. Sanudo was treasurer of Verona when Anne de Candalles, accompanied by the Marchioness of Saluzzo and a French retinue, passed through that city on her way to Venice, where she was to meet the delegates of her future husband the King of Hungary, and proceed

<sup>1</sup> It is slightly uncertain whether this is a real or a poetical name. It was the name of the lady whom Dante married about two centuries before.

thence to Alba Reale. He informs us that he tendered his services to the two ladies, and made their stay at Verona agreeable; it was for him almost a unique experience.

The Diarist died poor on the 4th of April, 1536. He had been repeatedly disappointed in his wish to obtain the post of Historiographer, but the Council of Ten, in consideration of his literary labours, allowed him for many years an annuity of 150 ducats, which, as he truly observes, was a mere nothing; the sale of his books and other effects must have realized an appreciable amount. Yet it is not unnatural that he should have been angry at the preferment of others to an office so peculiarly congenial and appropriate, and that even the Council of Ten should have found some difficulty in prevailing on him to allow Cardinal Bembo to make use of his material. The *Diaries*, however, were appropriated by the Council of Ten, and had been kept in a private apartment where they were lost to sight; they were regarded as having perished, until casually recovered in 1784 by Francesco Donato.

He was evidently a many-sided man, to whom study and knowledge were the greatest charms of life. He was a genuine collector who could not refrain from dwelling over a bargain, even if it resulted from the pressure of bad times, for, in his will, dated the 4th of December, 1533, he expressly tells us that many of his acquisitions had been made at seasons of great public distress; we should, however, recollect that it was long his intention to make the Republic his heir.

Besides Sanudo, there were two other patricians about the same stirring and critical period who compiled similar records of their observations and impressions—Girolamo Priuli and Marcantonio Michiel. Priuli carried on his notes from 1494 to 1512, and Michiel from 1512 to 1545. The Diary of Priuli extended to eight volumes, and two MSS. of it exist, both unfortunately incomplete, but the two form a perfect set, save in the third volume; it seems to be questionable whether either is the original copy.

The distinguished statesman Marcantonio Barbaro, to whom Yriarte has dedicated a monograph, was, among his multifarious public functions, employed by his Government to delimit the Friulan frontier in conjunction with the representative of the Emperor, in order to preclude any farther

disputes. Barbaro received from the Senate on the 15th of December, 1583, the fullest and clearest instructions. He was to have an exact chart drawn up of the territory, shewing not only every town, river, mountain, but the number of inhabitants, the character of the soil and a variety of other minutiae. He was to have two hundred golden ducats a month as pay, and not to be accountable for his disbursements to any one. But it is to be concluded, that this eminent and trusty public servant had a confidential charge to report on the question of points in Friuli toward the imperial or Austrian lines which it might be expedient to strengthen, for we find, sixteen years before, a fortnight's debate in the Senate, in which Barbaro held his ground against a heavy majority and won the day, arguing that it was of no use to establish fortresses in the interior of a province, unless the frontier was protected, since an enemy could pass the former.

The discussion had lasted at least since 1544, and did not terminate till 1593, when the Senate allowed Barbaro to follow his own ideas and furnished him with the means. The fortification of Friuli proved of importance, both against the Germans and the Turks in course of time, but unhappily the vitality of the Republic was ebbing, and a few strong heads could accomplish less and less against the inevitable issue.

At the very period when Barbaro was distinguishing himself by his versatile abilities, another Venetian, Fra Paolo Sarpi, discovered an even higher genius for learning, and an even wider diversity of accomplishments.<sup>1</sup> The mother of Paolo was a tall, fair, gentle lady, but his father is described as a little man with a touch of the bravo. There was also a daughter of the marriage, who, with her mother, withdrew into a convent after the death of Francesco Sarpi. Young Paolo was brought up by his maternal uncle, who seems to have educated many other distinguished Venetians. At the age of twenty, he had begun to acquire a knowledge of the classics and the sciences, and he gradually became proficient in Greek, Latin, mathematics, theology and canon law, as well as in astronomy, chemistry, anatomy and every other branch of human learning which his retentive memory enabled

<sup>1</sup> Farther particulars of this eminent personage may be found in antecedent chapters (ii. 150 *et seqq.*).



him to store up and utilize on occasion. At twenty-six he was elected Provincial Master of his Order. In person he was small, but he is described as having had plenty of pluck or fight in him; he seldom bought books, and relied on those lent to him by his friends, particularly by his worthy acquaintance Bernardo Secchini to whose shop he was a constant visitor.

In 1574, when Sarpi had reached his twenty-second year, his enemies, of whom he had already so early the honour of possessing many, raised a cry that he did not believe the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that he was in correspondence and league with Jews, the latter charge arising from the fact that Sarpi jocularly quoted, in reference to a very estimable French Jew whom he met in a shop, the sentence: "*Ecce vere Israelita in quo dolus non est.*"<sup>1</sup> The Inquisitors dismissed the whole accusation as absurd and malicious.

It was his intimacy with Camillo Olivo, secretary to Cardinal Gonzaga, which probably gave Fra Paolo his earliest insight into the policy of the Roman Curia, and led him to qualify himself for the task of championing his native country against the pretensions of the Holy See. He was essentially, more or less in common with many Italians of that age, a man of the most varied acquirements, and endeavoured to render himself familiar with all branches of human knowledge; but in canon and civil law he was a specialist, and there he was best able to serve the Republic which learned to entertain for him the highest respect and affection, when the rupture with Paul V. occurred in 1605. Although so formidable an antagonist, Sarpi had inherited from his mother a nature which won him friends wherever he went. He was welcome alike at home, at Mantua, at Milan and in the Eternal City, and, previously to the schism with Venice in which he played so prominent a part, he remained on the most friendly terms with successive pontiffs. When the day arrived for him to put on his armour and stand forward to fight the cause of the Republic, he had acquired, no less in public life than in the closet, all that ripe culture which made him so excellent and so unanswerable an advocate, and which prompted the most jealous of governments to confide to his hands a task beyond the reach and compass even of Venetian diplomatists.

It was while Sarpi was side by side, as it were, with

<sup>1</sup> John i. 47.

Barbaro, yet in a different way, completing himself in his studies (1572-1600), that he was, perhaps unconsciously, making ready to stand forth as the advocate of the Republic in the struggle with the Spanish faction at Rome, which used as its tool the reigning pontiff, and betrayed him into the issue of the famous interdict of 1605. This admirable personage, this earlier and greater Magliabecchi, whom it is out of the question to rank with Paul V. in the controversy, and who could see behind his Holiness the real authors of the movement—the wire-pullers inspired from Naples and Milan, this genuine Master of Arts, would have attained distinction in any calling; but to us he is realized as the daring polemical opponent of the Holy See, who relied, and safely relied, on the unflinching support of his own Government in resisting the pontifical claims, at the very moment when a knot of Romanists was nearly successful in England in destroying king and parliament.

The writings of this illustrious Venetian remain standard. His *History of the Council of Trent* is his most esteemed production. But in no instance, perhaps, is it more true than in this, that the Man overshadows the Author; and therefore it is especially fortunate that we possess a biography which bears evidence of having been composed by some one who was well acquainted with Sarpi, and has handed down interesting personal traits of a man so well meriting immortality on all accounts. His heart to the last was in his work, and devoted to a country which so honoured and trusted him.

In 1580, James Crichton of Clunie, in Perthshire, who had arrived at Venice from Genoa in a destitute state, managed to introduce himself to the distinguished scholar and printer Aldus Manutius, and presented him with the MS. of a Latin poem, which Manutius printed. To an edition of Cicero *De Officiis* &c. which was then in preparation,<sup>1</sup> Crichton contributed two Latin odes and the printer a panegyric on his visitor. Aldus did his best to make the young Scot known, and the latter was at length commissioned to deliver a Latin oration before the Senate. On the 19th of August, the College, seeing that Crichton was in straitened circumstances, decided to give him 100 gold crowns, and he left the city where he had

<sup>1</sup> Venetiis, 1581, folio. In a copy before me there is a note on the fly-leaf, said to be in the hand of Bishop Butler, in which Crichton's Latinity is censured.

experienced such hospitality and munificence, to proceed with a good introduction to Padua. The Admirable had seldom had such good days as these; he was killed at Mantua in 1582 by the young Prince of Mantua in a nocturnal brawl, and Aldus published an obituary and memoir. But an earlier visitor, the Neapolitan poet Sannazzaro, had had a yet more striking experience of lavish Venetian bounty, when, for a hexastich on the Republic, he was requited with six hundred ducats, or more probably than he had gained for his literary works during his whole life.<sup>1</sup>

The Scots appear to have found their way to Venice as well as other Italian centres. Crichton printed some of his *opusculi* here and others at Milan. The Keeper of the Library of St. Mark's in the sixteenth century was for some time John Dempster who died in 1571, and who may have been related to George Dempster, Professor of Philosophy at Pavia in 1495. A less favourable illustration of the tendency of the North Britons to foregather abroad was the information supplied to the Doge Donato by Sir Henry Wotton, that the assailant of Fra Paolo Sarpi was a Scot who passed under a factitious name. In 1618, a rumour was current that a Scottish engineer was, or had been, in Venice, purporting to have a scheme for undermining St. Mark's under pretence of erecting a fountain in the Piazza. The poverty of the country under the Stuarts, and its intimate relations with the Continent, explain the occurrence of Scottish names in the Italian transactions of that epoch as adventurers even of the most equivocal type. The assassin of Wallenstein, some years later, was Gordon the Scot who appears to have been known as the Marquis de Gourdon.

Very few branches of research were neglected by those who lived under the old government; even in the colonies, we have from the pen of Onorio Belli an account of the theatres and other remains in Candia, drawn up in 1586 but not printed till 1854, when an English version by Edward Falkener appeared as a supplement to his *Museum of Classical Antiquities*. Belli was a native of Bergamo who had settled at Vicenza. He acted as medical officer under the Venetian

<sup>1</sup> Lovelace inserted a translation of this eulogy in his *Lucasta*, 1659, and a very poor one it is; but it is not worse than his satire on the gift, which is dull and prolix beyond measure.



Governor-general of Candia. He was a well-known antiquary, physician and botanist, and a correspondent of Pignafetta and other learned contemporaries, and, in the course of his stay in Candia, made notes and sketches of many buildings long since destroyed.

Besides the accumulation during ages of literary productions in manuscript form, of which not a few at last found their way into type, there was, from a remote date, the same body of traditional and oral learning common to all other regions, more or less varied by local circumstances and experience. More than one collection of early popular rhymes peculiar to districts in Lombardy, Venice inclusive, have been published; some of these yet current within the limits of the old Republic partake of the nature of charms and invocations. We perceive that different classes of superstitions, not dissimilar from those recorded in the folk-lore of more westerly countries, prevailed among the lower orders of Venetians, and that there was the same credulous faith in the efficacy of prayer to cure diseases, to heal wounds, to staunch blood, to secure a passage to heaven, and even to redeem souls from purgatory.

It has been incidentally noted that a belief in the virtues of the magical art was part of the popular faith here from the Middle Ages, and that, among other forms which it assumed, it led serfs to ingratiate themselves with their employers and proprietors by means of philtres and charms. A MS. of the fourteenth century, elsewhere quoted, furnishes actual texts, not of these incantations, which were never probably committed to writing, but of some of those to which reference has just been made, and which were fortuitously preserved by some well-meriting antiquary of the fourteenth century. Others have been more recently recovered from the lips of the people, a more or less treacherous source, which becomes after protracted neglect the sole one at our command. It has been affirmed that these remains of ancient folk-lore are still remembered and repeated.<sup>1</sup> Here is a short formula of a particular type:—

Chi la leze, chi la sa,  
In Paradiso i ghe andarà;  
Chi no la leze, e chi no la sa,  
A casa del diavolo i andarà.

*He who reads it, he who knows it,  
To Paradise shall go;  
Who reads it not, who knows it not,  
To the devil's house must go.*

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquary*, vol. xxxviii. 266–7.

Others were more elaborate and difficult of execution, scarcely surprising, when it is considered what momentous fruits they in some cases bore. Subjoined is the spell for rescuing three souls from purgatory, which has to be repeated three consecutive times without a mistake in order to be effectual. It is one of those which is declared, rightly or wrongly, still to hold its ground.

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|---|---|
| 1. E una . . . e una :<br>E una la luna.<br>Chi à creà sto mondo,<br>L' è stà 'l Nostro Signore.  | 1. <i>And one . . . and one :<br/>The moon is one.<br/>He who created this world<br/>Was our Master and Lord.</i>   |
| 2. E dò . . . e dò<br>L' aseno e 'l bò,<br>El Bambin e la cuna,<br>El sol e la luna.<br>Chi à creà sto mondo<br>L' è stà 'l Nostro Signore. | 2. <i>And two . . . and two :<br/>The ass and the ox,<br/>The Child and the cradle,<br/>The sun and the moon.<br/>He who created the world<br/>Was our Master and Lord.</i> |
| 3. E tre . . . e tre :<br>I santi tre Re Magi,<br>L' asino e 'l bò, etc.  | 3. <i>And three . . . and three :<br/>The holy three Kings,<br/>The ass and the ox, etc.</i>  |
| 4. E quatro . . . e quatro :<br>I quatro Evangelista,<br>I santi tre Magi, etc.   | 4. <i>And four . . . and four :<br/>The four Evangelists,<br/>The holy three Kings, etc.</i>  |
| 5. E cinque . . . e cinque :<br>Le cinque piaghe del Nostro<br>Signor,<br>I quatro Evangelista, etc.  | 5. <i>And five . . . and five :<br/>The five wounds of our Lord,<br/><br/>The four Evangelists, etc.</i>  |
| 6. E sie . . . e sie :<br>I sie gali di Galilea,<br>Le cinque piaghe del Nostro<br>Signor, etc.   | 6. <i>And six . . . and six :<br/>The six cocks of Galilee,<br/>The five wounds of our Lord, etc.</i>   |
| 7. E sete . . . e sete :<br>Le sete alegrezze della Madonna,<br>I sie gali di Galilea, etc.   | 7. <i>And seven . . . and seven :<br/>The seven joys of our Lady,<br/>The six cocks of Galilee, etc.</i>  |
| 8. E oto . . . e oto :<br>Li oto portoni di Roma,<br>Le sete alegrezze della Madonna,<br>etc.   | 8. <i>And eight . . . and eight :<br/>The eight gates of Rome,<br/>The seven joys of our Lady, etc.</i>   |
| 9. E nove . . . e nove :<br>I nove cori de Anzoli,<br>Li oto portoni di Roma, etc.  | 9. <i>And nine . . . and nine :<br/>The nine choirs of angels,<br/>The eight gates of Rome, etc.</i>  |
| 10. E diese . . . e diese :<br>I diese commandamenti de la Lege<br>di Dio,<br>I nove cori de Anzoli, etc.                                   | 10. <i>And ten . . . and ten :<br/>The ten commandments of the Law<br/>of God,<br/>The nine choirs of angels, etc.</i>  |

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|---|---|
| <p>11. E undese . . . e undese :<br/>         Maria Vergine,<br/>         I diese commandamenti de la Lege<br/>         di Dio, etc.</p>  | <p>11. <i>And eleven . . . and eleven :<br/>         Mary Virgin,<br/>         The ten commandments of the Law<br/>         of God, etc.</i></p>  |
| <p>12. E dodese . . . e dodese :<br/>         I dodese Apostoli del Nostro<br/>         Signore,<br/>         Maria Vergine, etc.</p>   | <p>12. <i>And twelve . . . and twelve :<br/>         The twelve Apostles of our Lord,<br/>         Mary Virgin, etc.</i></p>  |
| <p>13. E tredese . . . e tredese :<br/>         Le tredese grazie di Sant Antonio,<br/>         I dodese Apostoli del Nostro<br/>         Signore, etc.</p>   | <p>13. <i>And thirteen . . . and thirteen :<br/>         The thirteen graces of St. Anthony,<br/>         The twelve Apostles of our Lord, etc.</i></p>   |
| <p>14. E quatornese . . . e quatornese :<br/>         Le quatornese stazioni, etc.</p>  | <p>14. <i>And fourteen . . . and fourteen :<br/>         The fourteen stations of the cross, etc.</i></p>   |
| <p>15. E quindese . . . e quindese :<br/>         I quindese misteri del Nostro<br/>         Signore,<br/>         Le quatornese stazioni,<br/>         Le tredese grazie di Sant Antonio,<br/>         I dodese Apostoli del Nostro<br/>         Signore,<br/>         Maria Vergine,<br/>         I diese commandamenti de la Lege<br/>         di Dio,<br/>         I nove cori de Anzoli,<br/>         Li oto portoni di Roma,<br/>         Le sete alegrzze della Madonna,<br/>         I sie gali nì Galilea,<br/>         Le cinque piaghe del Nostro<br/>         Signore,<br/>         I quatro Evangelista,<br/>         I santi tre Re Magi,<br/>         L' asino e 'l bò,<br/>         El Bambin e la cuna,<br/>         E sol e la luna,<br/>         Chi à creà sto mondo,<br/>         L' è stà 'l Nostro Signor.</p> | <p>15. <i>And fifteen . . . and fifteen :<br/>         The fifteen mysteries of our Lord,<br/>         The fourteen stations of the cross,<br/>         The thirteen graces of St. Anthony,<br/>         The twelve Apostles of our Lord,<br/>         Mary Virgin.<br/>         The ten commandments of the Law<br/>         of God,<br/>         The nine choirs of angels,<br/>         The eight gates of Rome,<br/>         The seven joys of our Lady,<br/>         The six cocks of Galilee,<br/>         The five wounds of our Lord,<br/>         The four Evangelists,<br/>         The three holy Kings,<br/>         The ass and the ox,<br/>         The Child and the cradle,<br/>         The sun and the moon :<br/>         He who created the world<br/>         Was our Master and Lord.</i></p> |

These and similar superstitions yet linger in their early homes ; but they will suffer the common incidence of such primitive ideas throughout the world. It is in the outlying districts, where they more than equally prevail, that they will survive the longest.



## CHAPTER LXII

The Venetian Drama—Gregorio Corrarò and his *Progne*—Private Theatricals—Japanese envoys in 1585—The first Theatre—Coryat's comparison of Venetian and English Theatres—Theatre of San Cassiano—Evelyn visits the Opera—Private Theatres of the nobility—Popular representations—Female writers: Christine de Pisan, Cassandra Fedeli, Veronica Franco, Gaspara Stampa, Elena Cornaro—The Marcian Library—Depredations of Napoleon—Bibliographers—Origin of Printing: the Spiras, Jenson, Valdarfer, the Aldi—Provincial presses—Literary academies—Press censorship—Collectors—Marino Faliero—The Vendramin Museum—An old bookseller—The Correr Museum—Bookbinding.

THE Venetian Drama, in its origin and character, closely resembled the same class of institution throughout Europe. In the capital itself there is no trace, however, of the mediæval mysteries and miracle plays, although it is difficult to suppose that so conspicuous an element in the religious and social life of the remainder of Western Europe can have been actually deficient here, more particularly as at Padua in 1243 we meet with representations of the Passion and the Resurrection, and in Friuli in 1304 with one of the Creation. It is certain that at Venice the *Compagnia della Calza*, which originated in the early years of the fourteenth century, was influential in promoting and refining, as well as in secularizing, the theatrical shew, and in rendering it, instead of the rude popular spectacle elsewhere placed on the boards down to the fifteenth century, an entertainment at once more elegant, more costly, and less partaking of primitive superstition. In the beginning of that century, it was, about fifty years posterior to the actual occurrence when there might well have been many who recollected the facts and the man, that a Latin tragedy was produced at Padua by Albertino Mussato of that city on the story of Eccelino da Romano. Petrarch, in describing certain festivities at Venice in 1361, mentions Tommaso Babasio of Ferrara in a way which suggests that he was a theatrical performer of some kind, for he compares him with Roscius, while he speaks of him as a private and esteemed acquaintance. As Babasio came to the city to bear a part in a tournament, he

was perhaps an amateur actor or histrionic reciter—a fellow of some Ferrarese dramatic society. At the same time, some of the historians insist, and perhaps with reason, on the exhibition in the public squares of the city during a long course of years—during centuries, maybe—of those ingenuous dramatizations of scriptural subjects which delighted other capitals and nationalities, and when we perceive that the earliest official reference to the matter appears to be of the 29th of December 1509, we have to conclude that that contemplated the normal theatrical performance in some kind of building appropriated to the purpose, although very possibly *al fresco*.

It is singular that the Father of the regular Venetian Drama was a boy of eighteen.<sup>1</sup> In his college days, Gregorio, son of Giovanni Corrarò by Cecilia Contarini his wife, and grand-nephew of the Cardinal Angelo, founded on the Ovidian tale of Tereus and Philomela a tragedy which he called *Progne*. Corrarò was born in 1411 or thereabout; *Progne* appeared in 1429 or 1430. In a letter written to a noble lady of his acquaintance, he says that he shewed his achievement to his schoolmaster Messer Victorino da Feltre who kept a seminary at Mantua, and that Messer Victorino, when he saw it, did not quite despair of him; he adds, that he (Corrarò) was so strongly affected by the pathos of the story, that hot tears rolled down his cheeks while he was reciting it.<sup>2</sup>

*Progne* was first printed anonymously in 1558 by the *Accademia della Fama*, and again at Rome in 1638. A manuscript copy, bearing the title *Tereus* and belonging to the fifteenth century, was discovered at a later period in Germany, and was put into type in 1790. The merit of the treatment rendered the subject popular. In 1561, three years only after the appearance of the original Venetian edition, Lodovico Domenichi published at Florence a drama entitled *Progne* and purporting to be of his own conception, but it was chiefly borrowed from Corrarò. The subjoined extracts may not be unacceptable:—

<sup>1</sup> At Oppenheim, in 1516, appeared a Latin comedy entitled *Epirota* by Thomas Medius Venetus. It purports on the title to be of a very festive and humorous character, and was edited by Johann Kneller, but it was doubtless for the closet only.

<sup>2</sup> Morelli, *Dissert. stor. sulla cultura della poesia presso li Veneziani*, 1796.

CORRARO.—(*Diomedes is speaking*).

Lucos et amnes desero inferni Jovis :  
Ad astra mittor supera convexi poli.  
Neque enim inter umbras noxius visus furor  
Est ullus æque ; Thracia, heu ! solus potest  
Explere furiis corda Diomedes : nefas  
Odisse liceat : crimini datum est satis,  
Satisque sceleri : deprecor fontis plagas :  
Amare liceat : Addite ad pœnas meas,  
Si quid potestis, dira Furiarum agmina :  
Titana pubes exuat vinculis manus  
Cœlo rebelles : æneis nodis prematur.

DOMENICHI.

Io me ne vengo da l'oscure grotte  
De l'empio Re de le perdute genti,  
*Et son mandato a riveder le stelle,*  
Et l'aer vostro luminoso : poi  
Che fra l'ombra infernai non s'è veduto  
Altro così maligno empio furore :  
*E i Thracii cuor può Diomede solo*  
*Empiere, oime, di furie, e di veleno.*  
Lecito sia quel che non lice odiare :  
Che sì son viste assai colpe, e delitti :  
Et come reo mi prego ogni gastigo.  
*Lecito sia, che s'ami ogni peccato.*  
*Et voi di Furie abominosa schiera,*  
*S'alcuna è in voi possanza, a le mie pene*  
*Aggiugnetemi pur pena, e tormento.*  
*Sriolga le mani loro al ciel rubelle*  
*L'empio stuol de' Giganti——*<sup>1</sup>

But *Progne* was only one of the numerous works which are ascribed on good authority to Gregorio Corraro. The dramatist dedicated to his grand-uncle, Filippo the Procurator, a translation of fifty-three of the Fables of Æsop and others from Greek into Latin : to his brother Andrea, in 1466,<sup>2</sup> a didactic poem on the Education of Youth,<sup>3</sup> and to his schoolmaster a volume of satires.<sup>4</sup> Sundry odes, epigrams, miscellaneous

<sup>1</sup> Eds. 1558, sign. B, and 1561, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Agostini, i. 149–52.

<sup>3</sup> *Quomodo educari debeant pueri et erudiri, Liber didascalicus.*

<sup>4</sup> The contents of this collection are :—(i.) Satire shewing why the Author adopted this class of writing to the exclusion of every other. (ii.) Satire against avarice. (iii.) Satire shewing that men are led by venial faults to great vices. (iv.) Satire to his friend on the fear of death. (v.) Satire shewing that a virtuous life alone can stop the tongues of the vulgar. (vi.) Satire upon himself and his servant David.



lyrics and letters,<sup>1</sup> an Oration delivered before the Emperor Sigismund at the Council of Basle in 1433,<sup>2</sup> and a Letter to Saint Cecilia<sup>3</sup> are also known, but all remain in MS. In 1565, a free version of the *Œdipus* of Sophocles by Giovanni Andrea dell' Anguillara was published at Venice, and has been described as one of the best tragedies in the Italian language.

About this time, it had been not unusual at private entertainments to present a sort of dramatic interlude or a poetical recitation, as in 1517, when Gasparo della Vedova, secretary of the Council of Ten, gave a *fête* and supper, at which game, stewed fruits and other delicacies were served. In 1522, at an entertainment at the Ducal Palace, a comedy, the subject unnamed, was performed after dinner, and it casually transpires that, behind San Cassiano, there was a house in 1527 where comedies were recited, whatever that may mean, for, in that year, the premises were taken for a Convalescent Home. The date was not at all too early for Titian and his friends. But a more widely appreciated form of spectacular amusement were the *Momaria* or mummeries, otherwise known as *Bombaria* from the Venetian word *Bomba*, in which a good deal of licence was permitted, and which were in the first instance confined to marriage feasts, subsequently found their way into the houses of the great, and in the end were mainly relegated to the streets. Dramatic pieces of simple construction, but of a more serious and conventional type, now began, however, to contribute to the diversion of the nobility and gentry. In 1514, the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus (a loan from a Greek source) was exhibited at the Casa Pesaro at San Benedetto by the Compagnia della Calza;<sup>4</sup> and, what is especially curious, we hear a few years later (1532) of the holy brethren of SS.

<sup>1</sup> These are as follow :—(i.) A book of Epigrams, dedicated to Martin V., the reigning Pontiff (who died in 1431). (ii.) A Pastoral, entitled *Lycidas*, and commencing :—

Pastoris Liciæ dum (nos ?) referamus amores.

(iii.) An Ode in imitation of Horace, called *Dicolos tetrastychos*. (iv.) A Hymn to Boys and Virgins. (v.) A Sapphic Ode against the Turks. (vi.) An Epigram on the Tomb of Gregory XII. (vii.) An Epigram to a Friend. (viii.) Two Epigrams and a Distich to Antonio Ricchi, Sculptor. (ix.) A Letter to a Carthusian Novice on the advantages of a regular life. (x.) Letters. (xi.) A Soliloquy on the Life and Death of Antonio, Bishop of Ostia, of blessed memory.

<sup>2</sup> *Oratio Gregorii Corrarîi Veneti Romanæ Ecclesiæ Protonotharii ad Sigismundum Imperatorem pro Concilio Basiliensi.*

<sup>3</sup> *Epistola ejusdem ad Cæciliam Virginem de fugiendi sæculo.*

<sup>4</sup> Ariosto adapted the *Rudens* of the same author, and bestowed on it the name *Ruffiano* or *The Pimp*.

Giovanni e Paolo organizing theatricals, termed comedies, at which no lay folk were allowed to be present. It may incidentally be noted that in 1517 a tragedy on the story of Alboin, King of the Lombards, by Giovanni Rucellai was performed at Florence in the Rucellai Gardens before Leo X.<sup>1</sup>

The existence of more than one theatrical company in 1574 seems to be conclusively established, by the engagement of a troop by Henry III. of France in that year to play before the States of Blois, in consequence of the satisfaction which his Majesty had derived from seeing them during his stay at Venice.

There were presumably very few known types of dramatic exhibition of which the knowledge and practice did not promptly reach the city, and more particularly in the earlier and purer period, performances of a religious cast were doubtless in favour and vogue. It seems somewhat extraordinary, however, to find, so late as 1585, when the Japanese embassy to Rome, which had disembarked at Lisbon, took the city on its way, a series of spectacles presented by the Schools, in which the treatment was almost mediæval, and the mechanical part ostensibly of a very rudimentary character. The bodies which had prepared these shews were the six principal confraternities of la Carità, Misericordia, San Giovanni, San Marco, San Rocco and San Teodoro, and they went round certain parts of the capital in procession, supporting scaffolds on which were arranged scenes in the lives or histories of the saints with mottoes, while others carried symbolical representations of the various portions of the Venetian Dominion. The author of the account of this shew assures us, after entering into rather copious details, that he has not told us the thousandth part of the story, and declares that the jewels and gold and silver were worth millions of ducats. The stage or platform dedicated to the patron evangelist was the receptacle of a richly attired maiden personifying Venice, in front of whom were six children belonging to the schools, in the supposed act of demanding what they ought to do, to which she replies, through the medium of a label inscribed with large characters: *Servate præcepta*. It was an interesting spectacle, and must have enormously edified the Oriental beholders, who saw all the leading incidents

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's *Warton*, 1871, i. 254.

of the Hebrew Scriptures delineated by means of lath and pasteboard.

But the distinguished and unusual visitors were, no doubt, highly impressed by the eight demons with tridents in their hands, who danced and leapt about to the general surprise and gratification. What report the Japanese carried home of their Venetian experiences might have been worth hearing. They had come from Ferrara to Chioggia by the Po, in the Duke's own barge which was built on the model of the Venetian *Bucentaur*. It was a journey which Sanudo the diarist reckoned in 1498 as occupying sixteen hours. The Duchess gave them several handsome presents to take back, as her Highness put it, to their mothers.<sup>1</sup> From Venice the strangers proceeded to Mantua.<sup>2</sup> It seems difficult to understand how the School of San Rocco brought within manageable compass its manifold display ranging from the Creation to the Last Judgment, but it must have had more than one scaffold. The wide range of subjects comprised in the programme denotes an amount of scriptural scholarship which was hardly to be surpassed.

The first theatre at Venice was erected from the designs of Palladio who executed the work in 1565 for the *Accesi*, a branch of the *Compagnia della Calza*. It was of wood, and was almost contemporary with the house built at Verona by Sebastiano Serlio. Palladio subsequently adopted twenty years later some of the details for the *Olympic* at Vicenza, the place of his birth; the work was completed by his pupil Scamozzi. Thomas Coryat deemed the Italian playhouses in 1608 "very beggarly and base in comparison of our stately Play-houses in England: neyther can their Actors compare with us for apparell, shewes, and musicke." But he saw women performers there, and he observes that the Venetian actresses shewed "as good a grace, action, gesture, and whatsoever convenient for a Player as ever I saw any masculine Actor."<sup>3</sup> The writer was under the impression that women had then sometimes

<sup>1</sup> The term may have been intended in a sense not usual among us at present, to indicate friends or protectors, as the term appears to have been formerly understood in East Africa among the native chiefs.

<sup>2</sup> See ii. 707-8. The visit of the Japanese to Venice forms part of a volume entitled: *Relationi della Venuta de gli Ambasciatori Giaponesi a Roma, fino alla partita di Lisbona. Con vna descriptione del lor paese, e costumi, e con le accoglienze fatte loro da tutti i principi Christiani, per doue sono passati.* Raccolte di Gvido Gvaltieri, 1586.

<sup>3</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 247.



appeared on the London stage, but such had only been the case at private theatricals or on special occasions. On the other hand, John Florio, Coryat's contemporary and almost a naturalized Englishman, criticizes very adversely the treatment in England of Italian subjects or stories, instancing the *Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*. In point of fact the English playwrights made sad havoc of these foreign themes, and Shakespear was by no means an isolated sinner in historical and local particulars, even while he wealthily atoned by methods exclusively his own. But whatever the English traveller might have thought of the Venetian stage, a contemporary Venetian spectator at the performance of the *Merchant of Venice* or *Othello* in London would have wondered whence the dramatist obtained his models and his history, even while, in the case of the Moor, he might have appreciated the passion and have forgiven the violence. Nor would the *Blurt Master Constable* of Middleton, 1602, or the *Venice Preserved* of Otway, 1682, have been regarded as truer to historical facts or local colouring.

John Florio characterizes this class of English theatrical exhibition indeed as "perverted histories without decorum." In those days women were apparently unknown on the regular stage, but Coryat observed them on the platforms in the mountebanks' exhibitions, and some years later they qualified themselves as operatic singers. He probably signifies the former category, when he speaks of their grace, action, gesture and all other properties becoming players, and when the first theatre was built there was probably no deficiency of material for the formation of a company.

At the theatre of San Cassiano, where in the time of Titian dramatic recitations seem to have been already given, we hear of the performance in 1637 of the musical play *Andromeda* by Benedetto Ferrari, which was placed on the stage with the most sumptuous appointments and dresses, and in which frigid dances, devised by Giovanni Balbi, a Venetian, formed *intermezzi*.

Evelyn, accompanied by his friend Lord Bruce, took tickets <sup>1</sup> for the Opera in 1645 beforehand, and saw *Hercules in Lydia*, the scenes being changed thirteen times. The famous treble,

<sup>1</sup> These orders of admission became in the eighteenth century absolute works of art. See Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed. 1905-8, iii. 221.

Anna Rencia, whom the diarist subsequently invited to a fish-dinner, sang; also a eunuch whom the Englishman almost preferred, and a Genoese, an incomparable bass. The performance lasted till two in the morning. Evelyn subsequently visited Vicenza, and in his pages describes the Olympic, but he does not seem to have attended any performance there. More than half a century later, in writing to his old friend and travelling companion Henshaw, in 1698, Evelyn recalled one of the songs which they had heard.<sup>1</sup>

In the later years of the century, the patrician Marco Contarini built for himself a theatre contiguous to his country house at Piazzola, near Padua, and connected with it by a long corridor. The same class of performance seems to have been in favour here. In 1679, a piece entitled *Amazzoni alle Isole Fortunate*, by Piccioli, the music by Carlo Pallavicino, was presented; the arrangements are described as of the most princely and expensive character, although not so many years had elapsed since the ruinous Candiot war. The members of the aristocracy themselves composed some of these lyrical entertainments, and the Compagnia della Calza promoted such methods of diverting their female friends and displaying their own talent and profusion. But at the ordinary theatres, of which there were, it appears, at least twelve, the scenery and costumes were far more modest and frugal, and the programmes embraced a wide range of subjects, from the ancient comedies of Plautus and the contemporary productions of Ariosto or Machiavelli to the broadest and coarsest type of low domestic comedy. The *Cassetta de' Burattini* of Rome and Naples had its counterpart here in the puppet-shew, which embraced a popular survival of the old morality and mystery; the story of Judas Iscariot was a favourite performance on the scaffold erected for the purpose, and a collateral attraction of the streets was the itinerant magic lantern. All these popular entertainments owed much to the artists engaged, and alike here and in the street-song we miss in a mere narration the auxiliary virtue of gesture and grimace, where the intrinsic quality or merit is apt to be so slender. The Venetian of the later and latest eras at all events, especially among the junior members of the lower class, was a tuneful character, and when

<sup>1</sup> At a later date, other singers attained celebrity, and have had their portraits transmitted to us. Molmenti, *op. cit.*, iii. 229.

he frequented the places at the theatre or opera let at the minimum tariff, was fond of humming in the thoroughfares the next day the airs which had struck his fancy overnight.

From this time down to the age of Gozzi and Goldoni, a succession of dramatists kept the stage supplied with pieces adapted to the local taste, and more capable of appreciation by Venetian than other audiences from their language and allusions.<sup>1</sup>

Independently of the acted dramatic literature, scarcely a public incident occurred which did not, at some later date, become the theme for treatment by national writers whose productions did not leave the closet. In the course of these pages, numerous plays of which the plots dealt with exploits performed by Venetian characters so far back as almost prehistoric days have been cited; some of them were of a lyrical cast, and others were unsuitable for representation. At Venice, except before select academic audiences, the genius of the stage soon acquired a spectacular or operatic character when it did not descend to low comedy and farce, and the classic Muse was obliged to content herself with the smiles of scholars and patriots. But, within a measurable distance of time, compositions professing to depict the scenes and manners of the remote past appealed for sympathy and approval to Venetian readers, in whose minds the original *dramatis personæ* were as mythical and dim, as Romulus and Remus or Hengist and Horsa to the average Roman or the average Englishman.

About 1440, Antonio Nogarola of Verona and his two sisters Bartolommea and Isotta, resided at Venice. Isotta<sup>2</sup> developed literary tastes, and corresponded with many of the distinguished men of the day, who were unanimous in their encomiums on her accomplishments, but the brother and his sisters were charged by an anonymous contemporary with leading immoral lives.<sup>3</sup>

The Republic produced at least six female writers of celebrity, or women at least who enjoyed a reputation for

<sup>1</sup> The Memoirs of Gozzi afford a curious insight into the chequered personal and professional career of the writer, and the elaborate prolegomena of Mr. John Addington Symonds will be read with pleasure, for the view which they supply of the Venetian low comedy of the eighteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Her works were collected by Count Apponyi in 1866, and her portrait, that of a very prepossessing woman, accompanies the volume.

Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 300-1.



culture, not all of whom, however, were strictly Venetians. One, Cristina Pisani, better known by her French name, Christine de Pisan, was born at Venice in 1363 of Bolognese parents. Her father, Tommaso Pisani, a renowned astrologer, left the city in 1368, and settled in France with his wife and daughter, and the latter never revisited the spot of her nativity. All her productions are in French. The principal are:—1. *The Life of Charles the Wise, King of France*, her father's patron, written on commission for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; 2. *The Feats of Arms and Chivalry*, a compilation from Vegetius *De Re Militari*, printed in an English version in 1489; 3. *The Book of the City of Ladies*, translated by Bryan Ansley or Annesley, and printed in English in 1521; 4. *The Moral Proverbs of Cristine*, translated by Anthony Widville, Earl Rivers, and printed in 1478, which incidentally shews the familiarity of the more cultured Englishman of that day with her name; 5. A volume of amatory poems, printed at Paris in 1529; 6. *The Hundred Histories of Troy*. Many of her compositions remain in MS., and are scattered over the public libraries of England and the Continent; she is said to have died very poor in or about 1420. The story runs that the Earl of Salisbury, when he visited France to arrange a marriage between Richard II. and Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., saw her, and being a man who delighted in ballads and light literature, offered to take Christine back with him; but she had become too warmly attached to her adopted country, and the reason which she gave the Earl, was "Je ne puis croire que fin de desloyal viengne à bon terme."<sup>1</sup>

A third lady, who belongs to the end of the fifteenth century, was Cassandra Fedeli, a Venetian subject, but a native of the *terra firma*. Fedeli enjoyed the esteem of many of her learned contemporaries: Angelo Politiano terms her *Decus Italiae*. In 1488, on graduating as doctor at Padua, she delivered before the university a Latin speech of her own composition which was warmly admired. About the same time, at a banquet in the Ducal Palace during the reign of Agostino Barbarigo (1486–1501), the same fair per-

<sup>1</sup> The most complete account of her life and writings is that furnished in the second volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, and in a monograph published in 1838. See Agostini, *Notizie degli scrittori Viniziani*, ii. 477–8, 485, 601.

sonage improvised certain Latin verses which she accompanied by the lyre. A widow at fifty-six, Cassandra determined to embrace a religious life, and died lady superior of the Hospital of San Dominico at Vicenza in 1567, at the more venerable than romantic age of one hundred and two. Coryat saw a picture of her in 1608 in a shop in Venice, and it pleased him, because he had heard so much of this *Fidelis Veneta Puella*.

Then there was the beautiful and famous Veronica Franco called the Venetian Aspasia. Born in 1553, probably in the street of Sant' Agnese, she published at the age of twenty a volume of *terze rime* of an amatory cast, and had the honour of being painted by Tintoretto. Veronica who was left a widow at a very early age became the central attraction of an intellectual and musical circle, and was distinguished by the brilliance of her conversation and the charm of her voice. It was just when she was in the rich bloom of early womanhood that Henry III. visited the city; he was at once taken captive, and would not quit Venice before he had personally visited her house to solicit her portrait. She subsequently sent it to his Majesty, with two sonnets in her own handwriting which are printed by Gamba. She was courted in her prime by the great, the learned and the gay, and unhappily succumbed to the powerful temptations by which she was surrounded. But, in 1578, when she had nearly completed her twenty-fifth year, she sought to make amends for the errors of her short life, by the institution at her own expense of a *Soccorso* or Magdalen. The portrait of Veronica which has come down to us does much to exculpate both her and her admirers.

A few years later—in 1580—Veronica committed to the press her *Familiar Letters*, with a dedication to the Cardinal d'Este, and Montaigne came just in time to receive from her a copy fresh from the hands of the printer; he was extravagant enough to give the messenger who brought the dainty present two gold *scudi*.

Contemporary with Veronica Franco, but a person of totally different character and fortune, was Gaspara Stampa, member of a family distinguished by its accomplishments; for, besides herself, her sister Cassandra and her brother Baldassare achieved considerable distinction in the

sixteenth century as writers of verse. Gaspara Stampa is believed to have been born at Padua about 1523, originally of Milanese stock, at an early age to have lost her father who was devotedly attached to her, to have spent the greater part of a very short life at Venice, and to have died there, not without suspicion of poison, in 1554. Her closing years were saddened by a disappointment in love. The Count of Collalto, heir to an illustrious name, descendant of that Collalto who had served the Signory in the wars of the fourteenth century, and himself captain-general of the armies of the Emperor Charles V. and of Henry II. of France, had inspired Gaspara with a flame which for some time wore the aspect of being reciprocal. But Collalto was frequently absent in the performance of his duties in the field, and eventually met with a mistress who supplanted the former in his affections and whom he married. This blow probably hastened the end of Gaspara who died in 1554 at the age of thirty or thereabout. Her poems and letters, with those of Cassandra, Baldassare and others, were printed in 1554 under the care of her sister, and dedicated to the Archbishop of Benevento; a second impression, mainly founded on the first, appeared at Venice in 1738. Both editions are accompanied by a series of panegyrics on Gaspara Stampa by some of the most eminent writers of the age, and the metrical effusions of Collalto himself, who is described as a man of culture and a patron of letters—qualities which had, no doubt, contributed to enlist the sympathy of the authoress. There is a likeness of Collalto in the edition of 1738, forming part of a beautiful double print engraved by Sastori, after Bartoli and Sedelmeyer respectively, of Gaspara and her faithless admirer. They are half-lengths; she has the head laureated, and in her right hand holds a roll of music, her left leaning on books, while a harp lies at her side. Collalto is in armour, bareheaded, his left hand resting on his casque, and below each is an inscription commemorative of their virtues.<sup>1</sup>

Then Elena Cornaro Piscopia is cited as a prodigy of her

<sup>1</sup> "Rime di Madonna Gaspara Stampa; con alcune altre di Collaltino, e di Vinciguerra Conti di Collalto; e di Baldassare Stampa. Giuntovi diversi componimenti di varj Autori in lode della medesima." In Venezia, MDCCXXXVIII., 8°.



sex, and Evelyn<sup>1</sup> says of her that she received the doctor's degree at Padua "for her universal knowledge and erudition, upon the importunity of that famous University prevailing on her modesty." She was the daughter of a Procurator of St. Mark, and had been sought in marriage by many great persons, but she preserved her celibacy, and when she died at Rome, shortly before the date of Evelyn's letter, her obsequies were performed with every mark of honour and appreciation. In the last days of the Republic lived Giustina Renier Michiel, authoress of a well-known book on the Venetian Festivals; this high-born lady, the descendant of doges, survived to witness the closing scene, and to look back sorrowfully on the past.

The Public Library, which is most familiarly known under the designation of the Marciana, was originally a very small collection, and boasted, perhaps, little more than the few volumes presented by Petrarch in 1362, with some later additions.<sup>2</sup> Of this parent nucleus of the public or national library, which was stated in 1882 to contain 120,000 books, it is questioned whether any vestiges whatever be extant. It is stated to have comprised some interesting MSS. and a few Books of Hours. The Latin poem on the Marian Games by Pace del Friuli, written about 1300 and dedicated to the Doge Gradenigo: a Latin version of the *Therapeutica* of Galen: and a French missal of the twelfth century, which there is an inclination to identify among a few others as memorials of the liberality and goodwill of Petrarch, are not of undoubted authenticity. The same must be said, it is to be feared, of the treatise by Riccardus de Mediavillâ *In Secundum Librum Sententiarum*, a folio MS. on vellum with an engraved inscription at the foot of the first leaf, which apparently does not belong to the book, "Fragmentum Bibliothecae Petrarchae," although the MSS. notes are said to resemble his handwriting. Neither the Dante which Boccaccio presented to his friend, nor the copy of Quintilian *De Institutione Oratoria* which the poet himself discovered at his birthplace in the winter of 1350, is known to exist. But the Republic was literary heir to the poet only in a limited sense, and between 1362 and the date of his death Petrarch had opportunities

<sup>1</sup> In his well-known letter to Pepys, 12th August, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iv. 501.

of making additions to his shelves. Such books as remained at Arqua or elsewhere, when he died ten years later, were publicly dispersed at Padua.

Morelli<sup>1</sup> seems to establish that, in point of fact, the number of books which actually came to Venice was exceedingly small, and that many volumes, after passing through various hands, at length found their way into the public collections of Rome and Paris. Yet we are bound to credit the Republic, at this tolerably early date, with the spirit and feeling for letters and culture which received such a powerful stimulus in the succeeding centuries.

During the temporary ascendancy of the Albizzi party at Florence, that illustrious patriot and statesman, Cosimo de' Medici, sought an asylum at Venice in 1434, and appears to have taken up his quarters at San Giorgio Maggiore, while members of his family resided in other parts of the Venetian territories. It occurred to the exile to requite this hospitality in a manner characteristic and worthy of his tastes, and he engaged his personal friend and fellow exile, the architect Michelozzo, to enlarge and partly rebuild the old Abbey library, to which he presented books and works of art.<sup>2</sup> This seems to have been intact in 1713 when the Elector of Saxony visited it and admired the bindings of some of the volumes. Again, thirty-four years later, in 1468, the Greek MSS. and other valuable books of Cardinal Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa, which had cost the owner 30,000 ducats, came as a donation to the Republic. The piece of good fortune, which was cordially accepted by the Doge in a letter of the 10th of August, was attributable to the intimacy which the Cardinal had contracted with several of the more cultivated patricians, especially Paolo Morosini. In his communication announcing the gift, his Eminence had observed: "I should regard all my care as inadequate, if I did not take measures to provide that the books collected by myself with such great pains should be placed where, after my death, they will be secure from loss or dispersion, in order that they may be at the service of Greek and Latin scholars. Of all the towns of Italy, your illustrious and flourishing city appeared to me to answer most completely my views. What country could offer a safer asylum than

<sup>1</sup> Morelli, i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Romanin, iv. 501.

yours? Actuated by equity, submissive to the laws, and governed by integrity and wisdom." The donor concluded with a hope that Venice would wax greater day by day in power and fame, and in the time to come be recognized as a second Byzantium.

In 1526, in order to gratify Cardinal Wolsey, then a valuable ally of the Signory, some of the Greek manuscripts appear to have been presented to him for the College which he had founded at Oxford, as well as some of those of Cardinal Grimani.<sup>1</sup> By various gifts and purchases, the national institution gradually assumed an importance and extent which encouraged the Government to employ the architect Sansovino to erect a building for the reception of these accumulated stores—too late, however, to save the precious Sanudo library of 6500 volumes,<sup>2</sup> which the owner had dearly wished in 1536 to leave to his country, and for which there was then no adequate accommodation.

A list of the librarians of the Marciana is an impressive record, because it establishes the solicitude of the Signory to select individuals who had rendered themselves conspicuous by their attainments and public services. It at the same time illustrates the catholicity of the Venetian functionary:—

1485. Marco Barbarigo, afterward Doge.	1588. Benedetto Giorgio.
1486. Agostino Barbarigo (his brother), afterward Doge.	1601. Nicolò Morosini.
Marcantonio Sabellico, the historian.	Girolamo Soranzo.
Andrea Navagero, the historian.	1635. Giovanni Nani.
(c. 1530). Pietro Bembo, afterward Cardinal.	1650. Angelo Contarini.
Gio. Battista Ramusio (assistant librarian).	1659. Battista Nani, the historian.
1543. Benedetto Ramberto.	1678. Silvestro Valiero, afterward Doge.
1547. Andrea de' Franceschi, Grand Chancellor.	1693. Francesco Cornaro.
John Dempster (a Scot).	1716. Girolamo Veniero.
Bernardino Loredano.	1736. Lorenzo Tiepolo.
1575. Luigi Gradenigo.	1742. Marco Foscarini, afterward Doge.
1584. Luigi Pesaro, Lecturer on Philosophy.	1762. Alvigi Mocenigo, afterward Doge.
	1763. Girolamo Grimani.
	Alvigi Contarini.
	Girolamo Ascanio Giustiniani.
	Zaccaria Valaresso.
	Francesco Pesaro. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), iii. 515. It appears that there had been a greater number, but some were sold in the lifetime of Grimani to meet incumbrances.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vi. 281.

<sup>3</sup> The last was in office in 1797.



The French, the Italians, the Spaniards, and even the Germans, soon learned to look toward Venice for the means of obtaining for their own institutions transcripts from valuable or even unique codices, particularly after the installation of the Bessarion bequest in 1468. Sansovino relates how the Duke of Ferrara and Henry III. of France, in 1574, spent an entire day in inspecting the literary and bibliographical stores of the Grimani family.

After the surrender to the French Republic in 1797, a large number of valuable books and MSS., in addition to works of art, were appropriated by Bonaparte, not only from Venice itself, but from Padua, Verona, Treviso and Udine in Friuli. Among them were many of the most precious examples of the parent presses of Venice itself, including the *Rationale* of Durandus of 1459 on vellum, as well as an extensive assemblage of important codices, a considerable proportion of which belonged to the Bessarion library.<sup>1</sup> The selection has the air of having been made by a person or persons conversant with bibliography and the relative importance of literary antiquities. It was in this respect that Bonaparte proved himself an Attila to the Republic, for his system of plunder was alike merciless and shameless, and was characteristic of the arrogant brutality of the ascendant Power. The municipal authorities, in the face of these and other exactions, could only say: "Since right cannot resist force, it lies with you to do as you please."

The ardour of bibliographical research, the earnest spirit of literary inquiry, and the desire to become acquainted with the best classic models, which began toward the middle of the fifteenth century to animate her patricians and merchant princes, had the natural effect of securing to Venice the finest and largest assemblage of MSS. in the world. Giovanni Aurispa who travelled in the East, and is said to have sold part of his wardrobe at Constantinople to secure some literary prizes, formed a library of 238 MSS., among which were the works of Plato, Procopius, and Callimachus. Many others followed the example of this enthusiast, and formed similarly choice and precious cabinets; the Venetians became the highest bidders for autograph or unique codices. Bibliomania was here seen in its wealthiest aspect,

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, x. 389-446.

and the passion was productive of the most salutary results. But the generous thirst for knowledge, and the ever-growing appreciation of ancient masterpieces soon led to an increased demand for those compositions which rank among the noblest efforts of human genius, and a gigantic revolution was to be wrought in the course of time in the character of literature and the history of books. The Republic, though not the cradle of typography, shewed herself almost at the outset one of its most magnificent patrons; in fact, the Venetian territory on the *terra firma* is not without its pretensions to the still somewhat doubtful claim of priority in that most valuable of discoveries. For Pamfilio Castaldi of Feltre is alleged to have acquired, in 1440, the art of committing characters to type, and to have associated himself with Fust to whom he imparted the secret, the latter through Gutenberg forestalling him, however, in its practical application; but Castaldi failed to take any definite steps to carry out the use of movable types at home.

That Castaldi conceived the idea of such an advanced stage in the science is little more than an assumption from his alleged contact with Fust, and it is quite possible that he did not go farther than an essay in xylography which Fust developed. But, inasmuch as, within the same region at a comparatively short distance, so unusual and novel a conception is hardly likely to have simultaneously presented itself to two persons, the question arises whether Sabellico the historiographer, in his *Epitome*, 1487, in signalizing the unique distinction conferred on the reign of the Doge Pasquale Malipiero (1457-62) by the introduction of the art, has not confused two distinct or successive events, for he proceeds to tell us that Jenson whom he thought to be a German was the founder of the Venetian press—of course, an absolute and absurd error. It seems fairly clear from the accidental survival of a block book illustrative of the Passion, admittedly of Venetian origin and belonging approximately to the time of the Doge mentioned, that the invention noted by Sabellico was simply xylography. It was probably, though not necessarily, prior to the use of movable types, limited to works susceptible of being treated by such a process, engravings with letterpress inclusive. It is therefore submitted that the aforesaid Castaldi may have found a patroness in

the consort of the Doge Malipiero, for, on the back of a *Cavallo di Spade* belonging to a pack of cards printed in 1681, occurs the inscription "Arte della Stampa introdotta in Venetia dalla Dogaressa Dandola Malipiera." This, if true, is certainly a remarkable tradition to be preserved, after more than two centuries, by the draughtsman of a playing-card. But the Venetians were singularly tenacious of such reminiscences, and, until superseded by movable types, xylographic examples would perhaps answer to the term "arte della stampa"; in fact, the two systems were for a considerable period concurrent.

Sabellico, the Venetian historiographer,<sup>1</sup> who may be regarded and respected as a contemporary witness, tentatively assigns the commencement of operations at Venice itself to "about 1462." Thus the parentage was not Venetian or even Italian, but German—the same which had already yielded in the Fatherland several productions which are well known, as well as more than probably some which are lost or are subject to recovery. Within a measurable time, so much has been added from unsuspected sources to our stock of information, that, not Venice perhaps, but the peninsula may yet have some hidden surprises for us. Looking at the terms of the concession of 1469 to Speyer, there is a disposition to suspect, or even conclude, that any antecedent typographical operations, which can scarcely have been unknown to the Government, were in the nature of block books.<sup>2</sup>

On the 18th of September, 1469, the Senate, seeing "that this peculiar invention of our time, unknown to those former, is in every way to be fostered and advanced," accorded to Johann zu Speyer for five years the right of printing books; and, of course, the Republic enjoyed the advantage of Speyer's experience in his own country. In the same twelvemonth, which, according to the old chronology, did not expire till March, 1470, Speyer or Spira produced two editions of the *Familiar Letters* of Cicero, as well as the *Natural History* of

<sup>1</sup> *Rerum Venetarum Decades*, Lib. xxviii. (1487). The copy on vellum presented to the Doge Marco Barbarigo is still extant, and is described in the Hoe Catalogue, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Certain manuscript records of an ancient Venetian family speak of xylographic editions of Donatus the grammarian about the middle of the fifteenth century, and the Grammar was printed at Subiaco in or about 1465. The *Missæ Speciales* and any other similar *opuscula* issued by Gutenberg seem to be ascribable to a date prior to that of his first *Bible*, 1455. See H. F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, p. 2.



Pliny, of both of which a few copies were struck off on vellum. The two successive impressions of the Cicero on paper consisted of 300 copies, both completed in four months; several vellum copies of each survive.

The concession granted to Johann zu Speyer was not extended to his brother Vindelin, and the monopoly was only of a few months' duration. The former had finished an edition of the *Decades* of Livy and part of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, when he died suddenly, and left the unfinished book to be brought out by his brother,<sup>1</sup> who for some time carried on the business single-handed, and produced an edition of the *Annals* of Tacitus without date, said to be the earliest printed book with catchwords. The call for copies on vellum had a steady duration; in 1486, Antonius de Strata printed a limited number of an edition of the *Annals* on this material; a copy formerly belonged to St. Leonard's monastery at Venice. As a casual illustration of the wide distribution of books, even at a very early stage, we may cite the fact that a copy of the Livy of 1470 was bequeathed a few years later to a school at Castres in Languedoc.

In common with those of other early States, especially where the constitution was aristocratic, the Venetian prototypographers could look for no public support, either within or outside the Dominion, and their sumptuous productions appealed exclusively to wealthy and generous patrons. When they were not service-books of the Church or copies of official papers, they were limited to classical or patriotic masterpieces. As a rule, the parent presses of Italy under the old governments do not seem to have met with more than local encouragement. The feeling and demand for their outputs were seigniorial or sentimental rather than literary, and the veritable *incunabulum* almost equalled in rarity the work in its manuscript form.

The exclusive concession of 1469 was broken by a second grant to Nicolas Jenson of Sommevoire, who inaugurated his work here in 1470 by an impression of the *Rhetoricorum libri quatuor* of Cicero, of which there are copies on vellum. The colophon was in verse and presumably from the pen of the printer who was less proficient as a latinist. In his folio collection of Diomedes and other grammarians and in an Italian

<sup>1</sup> This fact is expressly intimated in the completed book.

version of Pliny, 1476, he describes himself as *Gallus* or *Gallicus*. In 1471, he reprinted Cæsar's *Commentaries* from the Roman edition of 1469, and produced the *Bibbia Volgare* which was reprinted at Turin.

Prior to his death in September, 1480, Jenson had entered into partnership with a printer named Zuan da Cologna, and by his will his plant was to be valued and his own share of it offered to the firm. In the preceding year, however, Jenson had furnished the father-in-law of Aldo, Andrea de' Torresani, with a certain set of matrices, and the latter is found, in 1482-3, producing a book professedly executed with these types; this so far constitutes an interesting link between what may be termed the first and second era of Venetian typography. It is noticeable that, among the earlier examples, there is an error in date analogous to that in the Oxford *St. Jerome* of 1478. The *Decor Puellarum*, issued by Jenson in 1471, is misdescribed in the colophon as having appeared in 1461, but the evidence in favour of the later year is quite conclusive.<sup>1</sup> That the demand for the printed book quickly grew remunerative, there is some indication in the circumstance that Jenson, one of the earliest labourers in the field, succeeded after a ten years' career in accumulating a handsome fortune, notwithstanding the costliness of material, the slow process of completion, the necessarily high price of the finished product,<sup>2</sup> and the inevitable residue left on hand, all bespeaking the need of capital. A copy of the Pliny of 1472 was not, it appears, rubricated till 1474—perhaps when a customer was found.

Nor was it long before others entered so apparently profitable a field; of these the most famous were Christoph Valdarfer from whose press proceeded the first edition of the Decameron with a date, a later Johann zu Speyer who was in business as late as 1493, Theobaldo Manutio (commonly called Aldo), the house of Sessa, and that of Giolito. The two latter survived down to the middle of the sixteenth century and executed much good work. From a monograph on the typographical annals of Venice we perceive that the early printers long continued to belong to several nationalities. Apart from theology and the classics, their pro-

<sup>1</sup> The same printer issued also, in 8°, the *Gloria Mulierum*. Romanin, x. 401.

<sup>2</sup> William Morris owed to Jenson the suggestion of his so-called *Golden Type*.

ductions will be found to embrace a copious assortment of contributions to history, lyrical and dramatic poetry and folk-lore.

The literary committee of Aldo included many distinguished names, and goes back to 1482, when Alberto Pico, Count of Carpi, and his uncle the accomplished Signore of Mirandola, are said to have concerted with the printer at Carpi the place for the establishment of the Aldine press. He employed, among others, the learned Petrus Morinus<sup>1</sup> and Marcus Musurus, the renowned collector and student who edited Aristophanes for him in 1498, and to such co-operation is due the accuracy of these lasting monuments of erudition and technical skill. In 1499, the elder Aldo was enabled by the munificence of a lawyer, Lionardo Crasso, to produce the celebrated *Hypnerotomachia* of Francesco Colonna of Treviso, Crasso reserving all rights.

Linacre the grammarian was another adviser. In 1501, our printer produced in script type an edition of the *Cose Volgari* of Petrarch, and, in 1502, a folio Herodotus—a very appropriate homage by such a State to such a man. We seem entitled to believe that both Erasmus and Holbein were professionally associated with Aldo, the former in an editorial capacity, the latter as a designer of bindings. The distinguished Dutch scholar certainly superintended the issue of the *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia* of Euripides in 1507, and added a Latin ode in eulogy of Henry VII. of England and his family, and, in the ensuing year, he published here his own *Adagia*. Aldo and he, however, subsequently quarrelled, and the former contemptuously alluded to the great Hollander as “*Transalpinus quidam homo*.” The acute troubles attendant on the war between Venice and the League of Cambrai (1508) interrupted the operations, more particularly those devoted to elegant literature; and there was no important revival till the appearance of the *Plato* of 1513, under the joint care of the printer and Musurus, and the patronage of Leo X.

At a comparatively early stage, the Venetian printers adopted the principle, not only of accepting proposals from

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the Naples edition of Pontanus, 1505, has the autograph of Morinus, and may be the very book from which the Aldine edition was derived.



patrons of literature to defray the cost of certain works, but undertook such as were committed to them by private individuals, for issue at their expense and under their responsibility. In 1496, an edition of the *Metaphysica* of Albertus Magnus came from the press of Bonetus Locatelli of Venice, "jussu et expensis nobilis viri domini Octaviani Scoticiensis Modoetiensis," and, in 1503, we find the Commentaries of Duns Scotus on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle similarly printed "iussu domini Andreæ Torresani de Asula."

Venice cannot be supposed to have been behind its Italian neighbours and other European States in the art of typography, but we are unquestionably in imperfect possession of a large number of products of the Venetian press, which may securely be presumed to have started, in common with other countries, by issuing humble and inexpensive tracts, or official *ephemerides*, before its founders launched into undertakings of a wider scope and a more costly character. It is by no means unlikely that thousands of tracts and broadsides have perished without leaving a trace. In the course of these pages, allusion has repeatedly been made to proclamations and a variety of other notices relevant to the periodical acts of the Republic, for the existence of which we are almost exclusively indebted to contemporary registers or diaries. An almanac of 1488 has survived by an accident, and the employment of pasteboard for such literature has as frequently led to its destruction as to its transmission to us.

We meet with numerous evidences of the activity and enterprise of printing-houses in nearly all the provincial centres: Padua, Treviso, Verona, Vicenza, Bergamo, Brescia, in the last of which Angelus and Jacobus Britannicus were in business in the closing years of the fifteenth century. Pierre Maufer of Rouen was at Padua from 1474 to 1479, removed to Verona in 1480, was at Venice in 1483, and at Modena in 1491.

Of course, as time proceeded, typographical adventurers, Germans, Belgians and French, distributed themselves and moved from one place to another. In one instance, a printer came from Bologna to Venice and migrated in 1481 to Florence, in consequence of the already severe competition. An enormous output accumulated in the fifteenth century

at Venice, in the provinces and even in Dalmatia. Gregorio de Gregoriis and his brother went from Forlì to Verona about 1486, and transferred themselves to Venice where the firm existed during many years. Verona, under the sway and influence of the Signory, is entitled to the distinction of having produced in 1472 the earliest dated volume from an Italian press, with engravings by a native artist—the treatise of Valturius *de Re Militari*; a folio volume, honourable to the local typographer, Johannes de Verona, and to the reputed artist, Matteo Pasti. In another case, the Italian version of the account of Hispaniola by Cortes, 1524, was printed by a Venetian from Vercelli for a firm at Brescia. Jenson of Sommevoire himself was followed at a short interval by Jacques Le Rouge, who published in 1476 an edition of the *Historia Florentina* of Leonardo Aretino. He there gives his name as Jacomo de Rossi, and describes himself as of the Gallic nation. At a later date, a Venetian, Johannes Antonius or Gianantonio, was in business at Paris, where he issued two editions of the *Bucolics* of Publius Faustus Andrelinus in 1501, venturing to pronounce them not inferior to those of Virgil and Calpurnius.

The printing fraternity seems to have gradually concentrated itself in the parish of Sant Paterniano, whither Aldus himself removed from Sant' Agostino. It is shown by official records that, in 1514, Andrea de Axolla occupied a house here belonging to the Trono family at a rent of sixty ducats a year, and that a second typographer, Lazzaro de Soardi, and his partner carried on business at another, paying only thirty-one ducats. The inducement to settle in San Paterniano very probably was the more moderate rental, and an aim at more popular prices; but the typographer was to be found almost everywhere, and the aggregate output became enormous, while the quality of the work often not unnaturally, as it appealed to the community at large and not almost exclusively to a limited number of patrons, exhibited a decline. We find a considerable assortment of printers' signs specified by the authorities;<sup>1</sup> but it is not made very clear when the printing-office and the bookseller's shop became independent institutions in separate premises, as, at first, the firm which produced the work also offered it to the public. We find the

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, p. 100.

famous house of the Giunti introducing a popular novelty in the shape of a pocket edition of the *Officium* of Roman use.<sup>1</sup>

A practice to which occasional recourse was had, both at Venice and in the provinces, was the introduction into the imprints of books, not only of the customary particulars, but of the regnal year of the Doge. An edition of Platina *De Honesta Voluptate*, printed in Friuli in 1480, expressly mentions the Doge in office, Giovanni Mocenigo, and, in a second case, a copy of the *Ortus Sanitatis* from the press of Quantel at Cologne, 1497 or thereabout, bears a contemporary inscription by a purchaser, presumably a Venetian, in the Low Countries or in Germany, *Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXVII. Kalend. Novembris regnante inclyto Principe Augus. Barbarico z. 2. emptus 11 Guild. 10 D<sup>ni</sup>.*

In connexion with the pursuit of the typographical art, it is proper and necessary to introduce a notice of the two literary Academies, the *Accademia della Fama* and *dei Pellegrini*, which not only afforded facilities in the form of libraries and assembly-rooms for the promotion of knowledge and culture, but undertook the publication of works for which there was not sufficient public encouragement. The *Accademia della Fama* was founded on a princely scale in 1558 by Federigo Badoer, a distinguished statesman and a personage of the most illustrious descent. It was composed of about one hundred members, and lectures were delivered on every branch of polite and technical learning; it accumulated a fine library for the use of all who chose to resort to it; it had its own chapel and ministers, and there were periodical festive or hospitable gatherings. Bernardo Tasso held the office of Chancellor with a salary of 200 gold ducats, and the President was Paolo Manutio, son of the celebrated Theobaldo or Aldo. Manutio borrowed or procured from the printer Bevilacqua the type used in printing some of the publications, of which there are about sixty on record. This magnificent scheme came to an end in 1561, and the Badoer family was almost ruined by the profuse expenditure. A revival took place in the same year under the auspices of Paolo Paruta the historian, but it resembled the original institution in name only.

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed. 1905-8, ii. 310, where a facsimile occurs.



The *Pellegrini* held their meetings at each other's houses or in the gardens of Giudecca, Murano or San Giorgio, where they read aloud the poets and prose writers of ancient and modern times; they extended their programme to educational and charitable purposes, and to the payment of due honours to departed colleagues; it was a fusion of the club with the gild. There were also Academies *Degli Imperfetti*, established by the legist Count Marino Angeli, *Dei Peripatetici*, for the promotion of the study of Natural History, *L'Accademia geografico-storico-fisica* instituted in 1681, the *Argonauti* of which the patron was the Doge Giustiniani; outside the capital were others, including the *Separati* at Murano, which instructed the young in the fine arts, philosophy and theology, and finally, the *Accademia Italiana*, established by Venetians at Paris under the auspices of Cardinal Mazarin.

These two features in the life of that period may be said to have sprung from the more or less informal gatherings which assembled at the house of the elder Aldo at San Paterniano, at first for purposes of consultation with that learned and accomplished man on the most suitable authors to be undertaken for his press. Among those to whose scholarship and counsel the world may be more or less indebted were Cardinal Bembo, the historians Sanudo, Sabellico and Navagero, and Ramusio the cosmographer. These and other personages not only tendered their advice to Aldo, but lent their aid, as we see, in revising the texts and even in reading the proofs. An interesting account has been given of the meetings at the Nani palace in Giudecca of the Academy of the *Filaleti* instituted by the historian, and where Nani and his friends discussed questions in the garden on a variety of topics, especially botany. A member of the club was Ambrogio Bembo, a young man of three and twenty who had served two years in the Candiot war, and spent four more in travelling in the East, collecting rarities and making notes till he was qualified to take his seat in the Great Council.

The provinces of *terra firma* followed the precedent of the mother-city in instituting academies for all the branches of learning and accomplishment—at Padua the *Ricovrati*: at Verona the *Società filarmonica* and the *Constanti*, the latter composed of forty gentlemen who paid professors. Vicenza

had its Olympian Society for the encouragement of the dramatic art in Italy.

The patronage of the press, the protection alike of printers, authors and buyers, and the safeguard of the community against the mischievous fruits of publications of an immoral or offensive character, appear to have engaged, from the outset, the serious and steady attention of the ecclesiastical authorities, of the College and of the Ten; a system of limiting books for a term of years, or even during the life of the writer, soon became a tolerable substitute for copyright. On the one hand, there was the principle of accepting a MS. recommended by some competent authority, and, on the other, of requiring a certificate in the case of every volume intended for educational purposes, that it was in all respects accurate and trustworthy. Among the distinguished men who offer themselves as applicants for privileges are Ariosto who acquires for his *Orlando Furioso* a life interest under the date 1515, a twelve-month prior to the first appearance of the poem at Ferrara; Francesco Berni and Bernardo Tasso, whose rights are similarly acknowledged in 1531; and Aretino, Trissino, Straparola and Parabosco who brought out his *Diporti* in successive impressions a little later.

The immediate motive for the institution of a censorship of the press in the Republic, when the authorities had for some time allowed tolerable latitude, even toward printed matter of a highly equivocal type, was the scandal occasioned by the appearance, in 1526, of a volume in *terza rima* by a certain Venetian doctor named Alvise Cynthio degli Fabritii, who dedicated it to the Pope under the title *Della origine delli volgari proverbi*. The author bore some grudge against the monks of San Francesco della Vigna, who had inflicted on him a serious commercial injury, and one of his forty-five proverbs: *Ciascun tira l'acqua al suo molin*, with an accompanying triplet, gave great offence to the brethren and led to an official inquiry of which the most notable outcome was the Censorship. There is an odd account of the seizure of the edition by the holy fraternity at the printer's, of an order obtained from the Executive for restitution to the author, and of the refusal of the printer to surrender possession till his bill had been

settled. The monks are supposed to have destroyed a considerable number of the copies while they were in their custody, but there is no ground for the statement that the book was burned.<sup>1</sup>

The new official jurisdiction over the press was more apt to be enforced in cases of alleged impiety or sacrilege than in cases of licentiousness. A few years later, some of the writings of Alessandro Caravia were proscribed on the former account, notably, his *Dream*, published at Venice in 1541, but very few instances of effectual suppression are within our knowledge. A few copies almost invariably escaped—a sufficient number to satisfy modern demands, and yet confer the piquancy of uncommonness.

Previously to the revival of culture and the introduction of typography, the scope of the connoisseur was necessarily much restricted. Yet he might have, if he chose, manuscripts of the classics, of more recent authors, and of the Scriptures—books of hours and missals which, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, displayed a beauty of style and a chaste grandeur of design not degraded by popularity and cheapness; oriental porcelain of fine paste and workmanship; medals and coins of innumerable types and periods; paintings in the hard and frigid manner of the first Italian masters, and remains of ancient sculpture. But the antiquary, as we know him, was a somewhat later creation; the earliest private collections were probably not formed prior to the fourteenth century, when we meet with the ill-fated Doge Faliero<sup>2</sup> as a dilettante with a taste and an eye for what struck him as curious or valuable; but an even anterior case is quoted by Count Papadopoli, in which a private individual signalized himself by forming an assemblage of books, bronzes and coins about 1335.<sup>3</sup>

The mediæval Venetian was more disposed, however, to invest his capital in ships and cargoes, counters and houses at home and abroad, or in Government stock which, if it was less advantageous, was more secure. It is curious to consider that, with the now reigning and almost tyrannical love of what is old, the furniture, the kitchen utensils and the money

<sup>1</sup> Brunet describes this book as “ouvrage dans lequel l’auteur explique par des contes orduriers, écrits en vers, l’origine de 45 Proverbes.”

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletino di arti e curiosità Veneziane*, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> *Monete di Venezia*, 1893, p. v.



in daily use by that same Venetian, if he was a housekeeper of fair resources and taste, and they by some miracle had descended to us in an unimpaired state, would be prized at more than their weight in gold ducats, while similar illustrations of the domestic life of the Greeks and Romans would probably have possessed in his eyes a more subdued interest. An omnivorous study of bygone ages was reserved for men and for times whereof he had formed no conception.

The term *studio* bore at Venice a twofold signification. It meant a university, and it also stood for the repository where a collector arranged his books and other possessions of an artistic or archæological character; it was the modern study with a somewhat wider application. It was a room in which literary monuments in print or manuscript merely constituted a section, and which might embrace paintings, bronzes, sculpture, majolica, porcelain, armour and all kinds of miscellaneous antiquities.

The inventory made in 1355 after the death of the Doge by Johannes Presbyter of SS. Apostoli, of the artistic and ornamental effects in the Red Room of the Casa Falier at SS. Apostoli, has been preserved,<sup>1</sup> and merits particular notice, partly because many items of value had in some way passed from the hands of Marco Polo into the possession of the Falieri—perhaps of the Doge himself who must have personally known the great explorer. The most prominent objects were:—

A painting (*tabula*) with the effigy of St. George.

Another executed by Magister Thomas *Pictor*, with figures of various nationalities.

A couch (*triclinium*) of rosewood (*lignum rubeum*), with carved work.

Objects in glass and alabaster.

A cabinet with fifty coins "*miræ antiquitatis*."

Another with rings and jewels, two given to the family (? of the late Doge) by Marco Polo.

An antique sword with an inscription.

Two heads of *barbari* or foreigners, brought from Africa by Jhabobello, a seaman.

Costumes of various peoples.

A curious berretta.

A copper (? bronze) sword found at Padua.

Two MSS., one with animals painted in gold and colours, the other containing Lives of Saints with their effigies.

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletino*, 1877-80.

Three engraved silver cups.

A gold statuette of Santa Marina.

Two cases of white leather, with various objects in gold and silver, given to Marco Polo by the Khan or some other foreign king.

A three-edged sword belonging to Polo, and carried by him in his travels.

A brazen *Sphæra Mundi*, which formerly belonged to Master Antonio the astrologer.

Painted Indian cloths, formerly the property of Polo.

A MS. of Polo's travels.

*De locis mirabilibus Tartarorum*, said to be in Polo's autograph.

Several astrological and physical treatises and other books in red and white leather.

Thus the house of Falier clearly seems to have come into possession, by gift or otherwise, of many of the curiosities which Marco Polo brought back with him to his native city, on his return from his strange and romantic experiences in regions then previously unknown. The present document, transmitted to posterity by the systematic care of the Venetian archivists, exhibits one of the most familiar names and characters in the story of the Republic, as a pioneer in the pursuit and preservation of antiquarian remains and works of art.

The Venetians signalized their zeal in the formation of libraries and in a diversity of allied pursuits. A long list of names gradually accumulated, commemorating those distinguished and meritorious citizens who became owners of literary treasures, both before and after the invention of the printing-press, and of whom some generously bequeathed their possessions to the Republic.

Quite a long catalogue might be drawn up of the men who followed in the footsteps of Faliero down to the end of the eighteenth century, and Cardinal Domenico Grimani who died at Rome in 1523,<sup>1</sup> and brought together at Santa Maria Formosa that princely collection which included the famous *Breviary*, stands nearly foremost; Sansovino enumerates many others.

Bibliomania dated from an even anterior period. Let us assist in commemorating as many as possible of those distinguished book-lovers in the days of Italian and Venetian splendour. Venice itself was on the one hand a gainer, on

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vi. 281.

the other a loser, by the incidence of devolution in this way. For instance, the libraries of St. Mark and San Giorgio Maggiore were enriched by the donations or otherwise of Cosimo de' Medici, Cardinal Bessarion and the Vespucci family, while the books of Cardinal Bembo passed to the Vatican, and the original collections of Consul Smith to England.

Andrea and Francesco Odoni.  
Jacopo Foscari, son of the Doge  
    Francesco, a philhellenist, ob.  
    1457.  
Bernardo Trevisano.  
Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of  
    Venice.  
Pasquale Cicogna, Doge from 1585 to  
    1595.  
Gabriele and Andrea Vendramino.  
Marino Sanudo.  
Benedetto Dandolo.  
Antonio Calbo.

Andrea Loredano.  
Cardinal Bembo.  
Girolamo Donato.  
Jacopo Contarini.  
Leonardo and Alvigi Mocenigo.  
Francesco and Domenico Duodo.  
Giambattista Erizzo.  
Simone Zeno.  
Giovanni Gritti.  
Francesco Bernardo.  
Gio. Paolo Cornaro.  
Apostolo Zeno.  
Marco Foscarini, Doge (1762-3).

The Foscari family at one period undoubtedly owned a more or less considerable number of the class of books then in vogue. A *Cicero* of 1502 preserves evidences of the former proprietorship of two members of this distinguished and ancient house: "filippi foscari et amicor[um]," and "Aloysii Foscari & Amicor[um]."

The catalogue of the Museum of Andrea Vendramino (1400-1478), which Sir Henry Wotton officially visited in 1619, occupied sixteen large volumes. Of Cardinal Bembo many of the acquisitions found their way to Parma and Turin. The books of Francesco Barozzi, a Venetian nobleman of the sixteenth century, were purchased by the Earl of Pembroke, who presented the bulk to the Bodleian Library at Oxford—the remainder, it is generally thought, were subsequently acquired and given by the Protector Cromwell. Andrea Odoni was a connoisseur on general lines, including books and coins; he acquired the assemblage of antiquities formed by his uncle Francesco—in the painting of him by Lotto he is contemplating some of them; this was in 1527; he was one of the Titian coterie, and is thought to have befriended the great artist, although no likeness from that source has been identified. There is one, however, by Lotto at Hampton Court, in which he is represented seated at a table, a dark, bearded man, surrounded by ancient statuary.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii. 378.



The libraries of Jacopo Contarini and Apostolo Zeno came to the State; that of Marino Sanudo was unhappily scattered. Apostolo Zeno, the eminent man of letters, who is said to have amassed 30,000 volumes, bequeathed them to the Jesuits' College whence they were transferred to the Marciana.

The Venetians in the days of prosperity were in the field whenever any great collection was announced for sale, either at home or abroad, and there is collateral testimony to a fact which is itself eminently probable, that portions at least of the library of the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, found their way to the shores of the Adriatic. This was about 1490 when the purchasing power of the subjects of the Republic was in its zenith. The books of Corvinus, which it has been erroneously stated Lord Arundel purchased in 1636 at Nürnberg, were, in fact, gradually dispersed. The most important had disappeared in 1520, when the Venetian representative at Buda saw the remains of the once noble and extensive collection, and wrote to a literary friend to say that there was next to nothing left worth carrying away. He mentions a *Virgil*, a Cicero *De Legibus*, and a *Pliny* as desirable acquisitions. The greatest treasures had already been abstracted by the ministers of Maximilian, and the shelves were apparently open to every comer. There were cases in which personages of rank and influence became recipients of gift or dedication copies, of a special character as regards the material on which they were printed and the sumptuous bindings which the donor bestowed on them. An interesting copy on vellum, with illuminated initials and the arms of the ducal family of Barbarigo, of Sabellico *Rerum Venetarum Decades*, 1487, still exists, but has long left its Venetian home, and has parted with its original vesture; there are many such memorials of former magnificence and taste.

Other favourite lines of collecting were arms, armour and ancient musical instruments. We have the names of some of those who made such objects their speciality, and the extent to which prodigality of decoration on weapons of more or less recent manufacture was carried is familiar to later generations. The Doge Faliero who died in 1355 seems to have been one of the earliest enthusiasts in numismatics, and left behind him a cabinet of Roman coins; he had numerous followers, particularly Sebastiano Erizzo (1522-85), a public servant, lecturer

and archæologist, who published at Venice in 1559 *A Discourse on the Medals of the Ancients, on the Consular Money of Rome, and on the Medals of the Emperors*. Other connoisseurs were Domenigo Pasqualigo whose treasures came to St. Mark's, Giovanni Soranzo, Onorio Arigoni who published a description of his fine collection of coins in 1741, and finally the founder of the Correr Museum. But a member of the Correr family, apparently a different person, formed a cabinet of Roman medallions, which seem subsequently to have passed into the hands of the Pisani, by or for whom a catalogue was printed at Venice in folio with 92 plates.

The multiplication of printers and books naturally led, as elsewhere, to the rise of a class which made it their special calling to distribute in retail and sell at second-hand. There is in the Marciana the ledger of an anonymous dealer of this kind, who flourished in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century, and who seems to have been quite miscellaneous in the character of his stock. He must have been one of the leading members of the trade, and his place of business was somewhere near the Rialto. His entries extend from May 1484 to October 1485. He sometimes gave books in exchange for household requisites; sometimes he sold a lot at an agreed price, as when he lets sixteen various works go "in massa" to Messer Alvise Cappello for two ducats and one lira. In one instance, he makes a present to a corrector, probably of the press. Popular literature at the period fetched comparatively nothing; indeed, many of the classics and many books with fine engravings were estimated in *soldi*. Plutarch's *Lives* are thought worth two ducats, or about a sovereign, and for nearly the same money a customer might have had Plato, Dante, Petrarch and Diogenes Laertius. The Geography of Ptolemy, however, is invoiced at 3 ducats 4 lire 18 soldi. The owner of this unique day-book recognized the principle of allowing credit, perhaps only to regular and safe clients, and pursued the modern method of always keeping in hand surplus copies of articles in constant demand, such as school-books, the Satires of Juvenal, *Itineraries to Jerusalem* and the letters of His Holiness Pius II.

The winter months constituted, according to the returns for the period comprised in the account, the busiest part of the year; from September to December, 1484, the takings

were 318 ducats. Not only the season, but current circumstances, influenced custom, for, in the case of the lawyer Leonardo Crasso, an extension of copyright was conceded in 1509, because the *Hyperotomachia* of Colonna, 1499, of which he defrayed the heavy cost, had proved unsaleable by reason of the wars. In the previous May, the dealer in question took stock, and found that he had 1337 volumes on hand. A list attached to the ledger enumerates the nine holy-days, mainly occasions of State ceremonials and processions, on which he was obliged to close his premises wholly or partly, and to refrain from exposing goods for sale outside or "on the balcony."

The restriction was not very exacting and was perhaps indulgently interpreted, the expression "aperto a mezo" being susceptible of loose solution. He does not state whether the regulation was generally applicable. As a record there are few things approaching this Venetian memorandum-book in antiquity and curiosity, since for the date it is unusually full, and presents a refreshing leaven of books of human interest.<sup>1</sup> At the Frari in Venice, there is a second relic of a similar kind belonging to a much later epoch, 1596 to 1603, but such MSS. are almost necessarily of peculiar rarity, as they are objects long deemed unworthy of preservation or notice.

The collection of antiquities implies indeed the existence of sources whence the acquirers furnished themselves, and where such things were stored pending the arrival of a buyer. The records of this class are both scanty and intermittent. So far as books are concerned, we learn that such as Petrarch left behind him at his death in 1363 were sold at Padua. Anton Kressen of Nürnberg bought in that city a copy of the Poet's works, printed at Venice in 1501, and caused it to be bound for him in his own home in 1505. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the members of one of the Councils were supplied with copies of *Æsop* to fill up vacant time; each of the forty-one Councillors had one, and they were all brought to light in a short space of time from local depôts. In 1536, the dispersal of the extensive library of Marino Sanudo must have flooded every emporium and private study in Venice.

<sup>1</sup> Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, pp. 37-39, 432-52. The earliest Scottish if not British ledger is that of Andrew Halyburton, 1612.



We know that Paolo Sarpi was for years a daily frequenter of the shop of Bernardo Secchini, and that many others resorted to it, both Venetians and foreigners: it was there that Sarpi fell in with the French Jew. He is said to have known Secchini as early as 1586, and his biographer speaks of the latter as having his place of business at the sign of the Golden Ship.<sup>1</sup> There were not only shopkeepers, but stall-holders who exposed their goods in the public thoroughfares where space allowed, and, in 1774, we meet with the hawker who traversed the streets in search of clients.

Evelyn was much struck, on his visit to the city, by the museum of curiosities which had been formed by Signor Rugini, a noble Venetian, who occupied a fine and richly-furnished palace. The collection was of the type then admired in England and associated with the names of Ashmole and Sloane; but Rugini counted among his acquisitions many costly and splendid specimens of ornamental furniture and, according to the diarist, some valuable cameos. It is worth noting, in immediate reference to a bedstead inlaid with agates, crystals, cornelians and other stones, estimated at 10,000 scudi, that at that time gilt-iron bedsteads were commonly used in Italy, on account of the liability of wood to harbour vermin.

Many private collections of more or less notable character existed down to the last years of the Republic, and a few survived the Fall in 1797. It was in those families which had retained their wealth, or had been willing to sacrifice other considerations to their heirlooms, that relics of the past were to be sought. The contents of aristocratic mansions and palaces were of a sumptuous, varied and more or less casual description; the middle-class or bourgeois connoisseur was long unknown in a State where even merchants were patricians, and one of the most recent cases under the old *régime* was that of Teodoro Correr or Corraro (1750–1830), who formed and carried out, on an ambitious scale, the design of accumulating all available remains which served to illustrate the Venetian annals and life from the earliest period. This

<sup>1</sup> Michel et Fournier, *Histoire des Hôtelleries*, &c., 1859, p. 297, where, however, Secchini is described as an innkeeper. Perhaps he kept his stock on the first floor over a tavern or hostelry.

noble undertaking resulted in the Correr Museum, bequeathed by the owner to his native city and country. It embraces archaeological examples of every kind: unique state-papers, weapons, bronzes, coins, medals, and the entire world of culture cannot be too thankful to such a man for his invaluable legacy. Correr was on the ground, of course, when such things were procurable, more especially in the last dark days when a vast amount of property was cast adrift, and few, if any, besides himself were at hand or disposed to secure it. The Museum is consequently the sole repository of a large number of historical and personal memorials, which might have perished in the absence of those affectionate eyes and hands. It has received some later accessions, particularly the Molin bequest.

Of a native school of Binding and Gilding we find no actual vestige before the fifteenth century, beyond a casual mention, which is of course suggestive, of two manuscripts bound in 1321 for Marino Sanudo the traveller, one in red, the other in yellow, and it is not certain that these were done in Venice. The multiplication of books, after the establishment of the Aldine Press in or about 1494, probably encouraged the institution of a binding department which may, as in France and England, have been under the same roof, and there is ostensible evidence that the appliances for gilding covers of volumes were even exported to Germany at an early date. The dedication copy of a book of poems, printed at Vienna in 1529, has been decorated on the sides in gold with Venetian tools, and exhibits, moreover, gauffed edges. The most likely explanation, however, appears to be that the sheets were transmitted to Venice, to be clothed in the rich morocco vesture which is still in its faded glory recognizable.

The extant specimens of Venetian work in morocco can hardly be referred to an earlier period than the first half of the sixteenth century; the Venetian leather, which was doubtless of Levantine origin, became celebrated, and modern English artists long followed the practice of attiring, not only the productions of Aldus and Asulanus in this vesture, but any choice volume committed to their care. But the expression *Venetian binding* is very loosely and vaguely employed in catalogues, to denote morocco liveries which have no perceptible connexion with Venice, and may not even be

of Italian origin. It is extremely probable, however, that many of the Grolieresque bindings, found on the productions of the Aldine Press between 1520 and 1540, may have been locally executed; they are sufficiently abundant, but seldom occur in a high state of preservation.

Although the Petrarch of 1501,<sup>1</sup> noticed above as purchased at Venice, was carried back home to receive a German cover, there is no doubt that, even before the time of the Aldi, Venice had a school of bibliopegistic art which, starting with oaken or other wooden boards covered with plain or stamped leather<sup>2</sup> as elsewhere, alike in Italy and France, gradually developed through the stages of pigskin and limp vellum into Levantine morocco, gilt, tooled and otherwise decorated to meet an ever-growing variety of tastes. A Strabo, printed at Venice in 1472, yet exists in a nearly coeval binding of stamped leather over oaken boards, exhibiting a curious Oriental interlaced knot-work design; it may originally have belonged to the Barbaro family, as on the last page is a MS. epitaph on Ermolao Barbaro who died in 1493. On the other hand, many books of course parted with their first clothing, and were re-attired in a less becoming and dignified manner. Such we can scarcely doubt to have been the case with a copy of Cicero's *Orations*, attributed to the Milanese press about 1478, in which the former ownership of the Venetian house of Moro is established by the shield of arms on the first page, but the covers are of relatively modern calf.

Some rich examples occur among the *Ducals* of a more or less early period. There is one of the Doge Andrea Gritti, directed in 1531 to Andrea Gradenigo who was proceeding as Governor or Proveditor of Monselice. It is in the original gilt red morocco, with the name of the recipient on the upper cover. A second, in its old red velvet binding with ties, was delivered by the Doge Priuli in 1561 to Giovanni Soranzo on his appointment as Captain of Brescia, an office which he was to hold for sixteen months and until his successor arrived. A *Ducale* delivered to Zuan Battista Pasqualigo, proceeding Podestà to Cresignana in 1593, affords an uncommon example of Venetian morocco binding of the time. It is a manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Now in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> The Huth copy of the *Hypnerotomachia* of Poliphilo, 1499, appears to be in its original vesture of oak boards with a leather back, and the paper has not suffered from the process of rebinding.



on 170 leaves of vellum, in Italian; the covers are designed in the Oriental style, and decorated with gold tooling, the Lion of St. Mark being impressed on the obverse and the Pasqualigo arms on the reverse.

The grants of arms to new families were similarly preserved in sumptuous Turkey leather covers, with religious or other symbols on one side and the shield or medallion on the other, accompanied by the Doge's leaden seal. There is an example appertaining to the Moro family, dated 1608, in magnificent red morocco binding, enriched with elaborate scroll-work and embellished with the Crucifixion and the Moro coat on either side.

The fashion among persons of means and taste, both among the aristocracy and in the religious houses, for painted book-covers and edges set in even before the sixteenth century, for the Piloni family of Belluno formerly possessed a marvellous assemblage of volumes,<sup>1</sup> so decorated by no less a personage than Cesare Vecellio. A Florentine visitor to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in 1713, in company with the Elector Friedrich August of Saxony, records that they saw there a collection of books with richly embellished bindings, but at Florence itself the earlier Medici caused their books to be treated in this manner, whether they were from a local or from a foreign press. The painted edge has the air of having been an outgrowth from the gauffered style of decoration not uncommon on examples of works from the Venetian Press.

<sup>1</sup> The collection was sent *en bloc* abroad.

## CHAPTER LXIII

The House—Its various apartments—Household articles—Chimneys—Ovens and Wells—The Water-supply—Domestic objects: Musical Instruments, Birds, Flowers, Cats, Dogs, Gardens—The Curfew—Conflagrations—Torch-bearers—Use of Charcoal—Venice a busy resort—Liberty of strangers—Guides—Hotels—Police supervision—Pilgrims to the Holy Land—Plagues and Famines—Details of the Population at various dates—Sanitary precautions—Punishment for adulteration—Board of Health—Quarantine.

THE houses of the early Venetians, subsequently to that primitive epoch when the city presented an assemblage of low and undecorated timber tenements, roofed with thatch and pierced with unglazed port-holes, exhibited some points of resemblance to the Roman buildings at Pompeii. This may be another way of saying, that the models of building transmitted by the Romans were followed by their successors, who may have had some of them still fairly preserved under their eyes in the Middle Ages. But a unique piece of testimony survives, in the form of a reference to certain judicial proceedings in the second half of the eleventh century, to indicate that, in some of the ancient dwellings of the aristocracy, a spacious covered portico or porch constituted a feature; for a suit at law is said to have been heard before the ducal court in these circumstances, at the residence of a member of the Candiano or Sanudo family. This perhaps corresponded with the later *loggia*, which was reached by a flight of steps and constituted an open-air apartment where, as in the *Altana* and *Liago*, the family might meet in suitable weather. It is perceivable that in some instances, more especially perhaps in earlier times, a mansion occupying a more than average area was designated by the term *Corte*, the prototype of the modern Court.

Coryat observed the peculiar way in which some of the foundations of houses bordering on the Canals were made, and states, probably as something which he had immediately heard, that the preliminary process represented a third of the total cost. He then describes the process of

damming the water and driving in the piles, and says that it was the same as that followed at Amsterdam and Stockholm. At a later date, it was the plan pursued in building St. Petersburg. It is traceable in Venice back to the fourteenth century.

Fir, larch and elder were the descriptions of timber in principal use. The house, which was not uncommonly one-storeyed,<sup>1</sup> seldom exceeded two storeys exclusive of the *Liago* (*Helicium*) or *Solarium*; namely, the basement or *terreno*, on which were the kitchen offices and the armoury, and the upper storey which contained the reception rooms and dormitories.<sup>2</sup>

On entering a house of the better class through the ample portico, of the ancient employment of which as a court of justice in eyre mention has already been made,<sup>3</sup> the first object which met the eye was an outer court, leading into a vestibule (*atrio*), from which a staircase conducted to the second storey. The latter, in addition to the dormitories, contained the principal sitting-room, along the walls of which were ranged curiosities of art, armour, weapons and other family relics—the sword which a Michieli used at Jaffa, or the spurs which a Dandolo wore at Constantinople. It was a quadrangular apartment, usually not very spacious, the sides of which were covered with leather embossed with gilt arabesques; or, if the family was particularly wealthy and extravagant, with silken tapestry brocaded with silver. The more private portion of even palatial dwellings was not adapted for the accommodation of festive assemblies.

From the sitting and sleeping apartments you ascended to the *Liago*, which was closed on three sides, and open only on that which had a southern aspect and enjoyed the morning sun. The roof was flat and supported by rafters, instead of being vaulted like that of the Roman edifices, and on it was sometimes raised the *Altana*, which was absolutely open. But the settlement of details, where there was in former times at least no municipal control, depended on individual taste and discretion. A singular attic belonging to the Palazzo Contarini in the fifteenth century is illustrated by

<sup>1</sup> Zanetti, *Dell' Origine di alcune Arti presso li Veneziani*, 78–79.

<sup>2</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905–8, i. 66 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> It was the same in France, at all events in regard to gateways, and also among the Hebrews. Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia*, 1843, p. 140.



Molmenti.<sup>1</sup> Round the roof they gradually learned to place a stone gutter, which received the rain water, and conveyed it by pipes into the wells; the means of filtration were a still later improvement.

Wherever we look, flat roofs appear generally to have been preferred, as they are still in many places, either for safety where the cyclone is an habitual visitor, or for use and enjoyment where it is often possible, as in the tropics, to sleep in the open air. At Venice the inmates of the house could here inhale the evening breeze during eight months of the year, after a sultry summer's day, and here even the processes of the female toilette were occasionally performed. Nor was such a structure by any means unknown in more northerly latitudes, though the nature of the climate in England and elsewhere made such an architectural feature comparatively unserviceable. Coryat was agreeably impressed by the verandahs or little galleries of pleasure, as he terms them, projecting from the main building, and affording a prospect of the whole city in the cool of the evening.

It was in the hall that entertainments were usually given, especially those on a large scale. Meetings of interest to the various branches of a family were held in it. As long as the Ducal Court was one of circuit, and the Doge himself presided over it, this part of the house was often devoted to the hearing of suits, as it yet continues to be in Morocco and other parts of the East, if the weather or other circumstances precluded the use of the porch. It was here, perhaps, in residences of pretension, that the bronze fire-dogs, as time proceeded, were placed, of which a very few magnificent examples, executed by famous sculptors and worth many times their original price, have come down to us.

In the better sort of houses, as now (at the Palazzo Papadopoli, for instance), the hall was sufficiently spacious for convivial purposes, and on or against its walls were placed paintings, arms and armour. The trophies of the chase also found a place, so long as forest land within a reasonable distance afforded ample facilities for sport, and hunters or hunting parties frequented the neighbouring *terra firma* in quest of the boar, the wolf, the deer and the fox, nearly all once found within the confines of Venice itself.

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 90.

In the hall of the Casa Polo, the great explorer received his friends and kinsfolk at a banquet on his return in 1295. Out of it a series of doors opened into the various offices and the apartments intended for reception or for family use. The *terreno* generally contained the store-rooms. Above, in the second storey, besides the dormitories and study or library, was a private chamber used as a withdrawing room for the ladies. But there was, of course, at no time a precise uniformity in the distribution of the apartments or their application. Of beds and bedrooms we should know less, had it not happened that they casually enter into the details of ancient illuminations and mosaics, in which we are able to trace, so far as important dwellings are concerned, the evolution of the universal sleeping-recess into modern forms, and to note the long prevalent usage of dispensing with night-clothes. The bed, as a detached article of furniture, is found in paintings of the fifteenth century, and was infinitely varied in its style and appurtenances.

A study of the forms used in the construction of the staircase, alike external and internal, must lead to the natural conclusion that personal taste or local circumstances governed the fashion and details, and Molmenti supplies us at different points with the means of judging the range of choice and style, where the spiral or cylindrical staircase, as within the Casa Contarini at San Bovo, is the most characteristic and conspicuous.<sup>1</sup>

Existing remains of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries sufficiently demonstrate the growth of plastic and decorative art, not only for ornamental purposes, but even for the normal service of all parts of the dwelling. Objects in pottery and bronze, the commercial value of which is now enormously enhanced, owing to the naturally limited survivals, especially those in fine preservation, were once, and indeed long, utensils or appliances in common vogue among householders, dealers and professional practitioners. Entries in the catalogues of modern collectors, among which *chefs-d'œuvre* by renowned masters of other days meet the eye and change hands at stupendous figures, are not instantly recognizable as having formerly, for a modest consideration, been acquired as ordinary furniture, or as part of the fittings of an apothecary's

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 91, 376, 404; ii. 120, 466.

or grocer's shop. They belong to an age anterior to machinery and competition, to one appreciative of beauty of feeling and form for their own sakes, without a side-glance to emulation and to the auction room. Our museums have become treasuries of countless articles of infinite variety, instruction and charm, of which the honour is unequally apportionable between the genius which created them, and the sentiment which promoted their development. It might not be a difficult task to replace, on the ground, an old Venetian residence of the better class with all its sumptuous embellishments, from examples which are in our hands, and the same may be said of the contemporary place of business, where the appurtenances were viewed, not with our eyes, but with the eyes of those who had bought them from the maker.

The usual receptacles for apparel, and even the chamber-fittings, were those large carved chests or coffers of oak or cypress which the Venetians exported in Plantagenet days to England and other countries, and which are described in numerous ancient inventories and writings. They received, as time proceeded, artistic embellishment, and occasionally served as trunks for travelling purposes; it appears that a particular sort, known as a *bisacca*, was employed to hold books, as, in a trial which took place in 1549, certain heretical works are described as kept by the owner in "un per de bisacche." At a later period, Flanders competed with the Republic in this as in other things, and examples of Flemish work are still to be seen in museums and private collections. The use of cypress-wood at Venice was recommended by its presence close at hand in earlier times, when so large an area was still forest and coppice. For ordinary travelling purposes, other kinds of trunks and handbags were gradually introduced, and soon attained such a degree of efficiency as to answer without material change the requirements for centuries, even of the most exalted personages.<sup>1</sup>

It was probably the occupation of the Gild of Casemakers to construct these receptacles, indispensable for household use

<sup>1</sup> In *Illuminated Illustrations of Froissart*, 1844, No. 27; Gascoigne's *Supposes*, 1566 (Works, ed. Hazlitt, i. 233). The mail or trunk is distinguished from the cap-case which a traveller probably carried in his hand.



and for journeys by land or sea. The romantic episode of the Brides of St. Mark in the tenth century reveals to us the existence of this body, and it was then by inference in a flourishing condition. It responded to a large and incessant want, and the followers of the vocation appear, from a casual allusion, to have extended their labours to the manufacture of umbrellas.

In the dwellings of the poor, the floor of the room consisted of common paving-stones, strewn with sand or rushes; but the remains of cement pavement which have been exhumed shew that that material was often applied to a similar use in more fashionable residences; marble and mosaïc were also largely employed.

Buildings of an antique and patriarchal type were still to be seen in the eighteenth century—some the original structures abandoned to the humbler classes, others reproductions of old tenements of an unpretending character on the former lines.

It is capable of proof that chimneys were to be found here and there during the reign of Domenico Contarini (1043-71), even in the habitations of the middle classes.<sup>1</sup> In a document of the year 1048, in which a house is sold by one of the Morosini family, with a specification of its contents and character, the chimney is one of the features named. There was evidently not more than one, although the premises have the undoubted air of having been of considerable importance for the period, and even to have been in part of stone. The earthquake of 1282, which committed the most terrible damage in many quarters of Venice, was fatal to a very large number of chimneys in the metropolis. The Venetian *cammini*, which were generally in the kitchen<sup>2</sup> of the residence, were, in the first instance, of the rudest possible structure, especially in the humbler abodes, where the inmates contented themselves with the hollowed trunk of a tree or even with a bamboo. Nevertheless, their existence must be treated as a mark of superior civilization, for elsewhere such appliances, in any form, continued till the fourteenth century to be of the rarest occurrence,<sup>3</sup> and it is hardly

<sup>1</sup> Filiati, *Ricerche*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Zanetti, *Origine di alcune Arti*, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 79. They were not introduced into Rome till 1368.

an exaggeration to say that, during a very long course of years, a larger number of chimneys might have been counted in the Dogado than in all the rest of Italy. It was to the faulty structure and inflammable material of the chimney which, prior to the Great Fire of 1106, was formed, like every other portion of the house, entirely of timber or bark, that the origin of many of the innumerable conflagrations which desolated the metropolis between the fifth and sixteenth centuries was due. In the view of the Piazza as it appeared in or about 1494, the chimneys are particularly conspicuous from their funnel-like form, but other authentic sources of information lead to the view that there was no fixed plan or rule, and that, in the same thoroughfare, each owner pursued his own pleasure or taste. The great fire at the Palace in 1574 was thought to have originated in the kitchen chimney-flues during the preparation of an inaugural banquet.

In 1355, an apartment or saloon at the Ducal Palace, supposed to belong to the private portion of the building reserved for the sovereign, is designated *Sala Camminorum* or the chimneyed room, as if the feature were then sufficiently exceptional to be thus distinguished; and we know from various authorities, as well as from actual experience, that the Venetians, even in modern times when the weather not infrequently demands artificial warmth, content themselves with a stove. The *Sala Camminorum*, however, may have been a species of hall where the chimneys of the building converged. It is difficult to speak or feel with certainty where it is a question of a structure no longer extant.<sup>1</sup> It is deserving of mention that, in the *Cries of Venice*, 1785, a posthumous work probably calculated for a much earlier period—the artist was born in 1698—a chimney-sweep is represented at the top of a building, pushing a long broom down one of the chimneys, and a second figure in the foreground is plying for hire, his implement on his shoulder. It is a primitive contrivance consisting of a couple of poles fastened together, and at the end of each a bundle of twigs; it had perhaps been in use for centuries. The same set of prints shews that the supply of fuel for wood-fires formed

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti (*Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 72, 75) furnishes some early examples of chimneys of varied forms.

a distinct industry—a man is delivering bundles from a boat at the door of a dwelling-house—and that the use of bellows was general, as a dealer figures elsewhere. They are not dissimilar from the modern type.

But in connexion with the same era and the same personage—the unhappy Doge Faliero—it is mentionable that, at his private residence at SS. Apostoli, the room which held his library and antiquities was known as the *Camera Rossa*, and not improbably it grew customary thus to distinguish apartments in important and stately houses by their decoration or upholstery. While of the books and manuscripts with which Venice was formerly adorned we have fairly copious particulars, we do not learn much of the older type of bookcase which superseded the chest or ran parallel with it. We casually hear of a bookcase in which certain archives were kept by the Executive in 1574.

Every good establishment was provided, not only with a kitchen, but with a well and an oven—the two great essentials among all mediæval communities. The former is one of the features specified in the deed of sale in 1048 of premises belonging to the Morosini, but the oldest monument of this kind is probably the great Nuns' Well, dating back to a period of unknown antiquity and situated in what was once part of the garden of the Abbey of San Zaccaria, but had long formed, when it came to light in 1888, a central spot beneath the Piazza. We are all aware of the stress laid on the possession of a well in the Old Testament, and of the principle on which it was regulated. In the second book of Samuel, the well of Bethlehem is represented as by the gate of the city, but this, like our own parochial wells, was for public use. At Venice, on the contrary, if a well was sunk, it belonged to the person who owned the property and his tenants or clients; it was usually sunk, as at Pompeii, in the outer court, and near at hand was sometimes a cistern, in which a sufficient quantity of rain was preserved for use. The water from the cistern was allowed to filter into the well, it being thought that pure filtered rain-water was an improving ingredient in that which was derived from the subsoil or the river. One or two of the shocks of earthquake, which so often visited the Republic down to the end of the thirteenth century, inflicted serious



damage on these valuable contributions to comfort and health, and, until the Brenta was brought into service, the supply of fresh water was always in danger of interception or deterioration by natural agencies. Temanza proposed to himself a dissertation on this subject, but it does not seem that the idea was carried into execution. The 24th of the *Cries of Venice* portrays one of these wells, from which a woman has been just drawing two buckets of water; she is allowing a boy to quench his thirst. Many of the well-heads in private dwellings were elegantly carved, and became in modern times objects of attention to connoisseurs.

In 1540, the Venetian envoy at the Court of the Emperor Ferdinand sent to his Government a report of the system then followed at Bruges by which the city was supplied with water brought by leaden pipes from the nearest river, and the ambassador, Tommaso Contarini, intimated that at Venice they might get at no great cost, by a similar expedient, superior water from the Brenta; this was done at a later date.<sup>1</sup>

The English traveller Thomas, who was at Venice about 1548, testifies to the care and cost undertaken in constructing these essential contributions to health and comfort, in order to preclude the contamination of the fresh water by that of the lagoon, and he apprises us that, although water to the value of 20,000 crowns a year was also brought into the city in boats, complaints were often heard of a scarcity among the poorer classes. There seems to have been a special service of boats for this important purpose, with a station on the Rio dell'Acqua Dolce, and the water-sellers were to be found in the adjoining Campo San Baseggio, where they characteristically enough had their own chapel.

The conveniences to which they were accustomed at home the Venetians are naturally found seeking in their colonial settlements, and even in the ports where they merely enjoyed trading rights, since the employment of those common to the inhabitants was apt to prove a source of disagreement.

Molmenti<sup>2</sup> has very serviceably refurnished for our inspection and study the early Venetian kitchen, including

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vii. 246-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii. 162-6, 169-75, 472-83, 485.

that of the Ducal Palace—the pantry, the dinner-table, the banqueting apartment with all its sumptuous accessories; and that agreeable writer has, in common with others, been largely aided by the painters of the national school, who ingenuously made the domestic costume of their own day subservient to the immediate object. The violence to consistency was universal, and in a picture of the Supper at Emmaus, a place of which the exact identity is unsettled, Christ is seated at a primitive table on trestles, and has on one side the Venetian nobleman for whom the work was executed, and, on the other, a Turk. We see the same thing when our eyes fall on representations by Veronese or Tintoretto of the Marriage at Cana or the Feast in the house of Levi. The treatment and colouring are transparently local and casual, and bear the appearance of having been borrowed from Venetian analogues; the incongruity has to be balanced with the gain. Modern familiarity with the houses of antecedent ages might have been far less considerable in the absence of incidental illustrations, even when the material asks for editorship. When the dwellings of the respective classes have been realized, the process of supplying their arguable or average contents has to follow, and the pages of the illustrated edition of the *Vita Privata* are wealthily enriched by examples of furniture and articles of daily use among different orders of the community at successive epochs—the tables and chairs, the mirrors, the arras, the chandeliers, the beds, the kitchens and kitchen-utensils, the pantry, the dairy, the fireplaces and the staff employed in dressing and cooking the food, in serving and carving the meats, and the inferior servants whose functions were discharged in the scullery. Of all these details the means of enabling us to form a connected idea are in a certain measure extant. There are even vestiges of the old ducal culinary apartment, as it existed in the later days of the independent Republic, when it had beyond question undergone constant restoration, and preserved few traces of its aspect in grander times; when it not only prepared all that was required for public entertainments, but for the private table of the Doge, where his Serenity was entitled to freedom from intrusion by any beyond his family and personal friends.

Research and curiosity have been perhaps too exclusively confined to the habits and environments of the rich and fashionable class in the community, and we have to study all works dealing with this branch of the subject, with the steady recollection that they not only concern relatively modern times, but a social minority more restricted than under more popular governments. The archaic domestic and personal costume of Venice, in greater measure than that of States differently constituted, lacks material for its elucidation, even when we regard the higher levels, and the lives and homes of the population at large have merely here and there a gleam of light shed upon them by some accidental and indirect allusion, or by the permissible inference that conditions in so conservative a society differed but little from century to century.

Amid their graver callings, the Venetians were distinguished by a passion for music, birds and flowers, and few houses were without a garden and an aviary, in the former of which flower-beds and avenues of fruit-trees were agreeably diversified with shrubberies of cedar, cypress, larch, pine and laurel. In the *Cries of Venice*, 1785, a flower-seller, exhibiting a basketful before two women, is made to say that, in summer, spring, autumn and winter, he has always these things on sale, so that at Venice you may have a perpetual garden. Cages filled with singing-birds formed part of the pageant at a ducal coronation in 1268, and such birds are also a feature in the *Cries*. We remark that, in another engraving in the series, a woman is represented at a window holding a cat in her arms, because such domestic pets were presumably common long before. The printing-house of Sessa placed a cat on its title-pages in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the great Doge Francesco Morosini, who died in 1694, carried with him in all his campaigns a cat, of which the skeleton is still, or was till lately, preserved.

One of those incidents, of which the main importance for posterity and the historian resides in their indirect bearing, was the loss, about 1212, of a Doge's son through the injuries sustained while he was bathing, from the savage dogs kept by the monks of San Giorgio Maggiore, and this circumstance may be allowed to stand sponsor for the existence of the practice at Venice of employing watch-dogs, as the



Romans had done, while the pursuit of the chase, even within the limits of the Dogado in early times, must have involved the use of more than one species of hound. But we fail to trace back the dog as a domestic pet; those which were attached to San Giorgio were probably mastiffs, a breed apparently familiar to the Gauls of ancient Venetia, and found as a type on the coinage of the independent Dukes of Mantua. There was also a breed which was known as the Dalmatian—the modern carriage-dog.

In the gardens which belonged to the wealthier class, exotic plants became not uncommon, when the Crusades had rendered Europeans familiar with Oriental botany; and a crystal fountain, which sometimes was to be seen playing in the centre, completed the picturesque effect of the landscape. The orchard of San Giorgio Maggiore, the vineyard of San Zaccaria, the olive-yards of Amiano and the aviary of San Giobbe enjoyed during the Middle Ages peculiar celebrity. Among private grounds, those of Tribuno Memo at San Marcuola in the ward of Cannaregio, were most famous at the close of the tenth century.

The Venetians, in common with other mediæval societies, had the curfew, an almost unavoidable safeguard in an age of timber and thatch, but at what hour of the evening it rang does not appear. That there was at least one exception to its provisions seems certainly to be shown by a law<sup>1</sup> of 1306–7, granting to the Gild or Company of Barbers the privilege of keeping fires after dusk in the Barbieria; in the Rialto generally lights were permitted, it appears, till an hour after midnight. If at Venice, as in England, it was the case that the barbers were also professors of surgery and dentistry, and were, in fact, prior to the rise of the regular physician, the only medical men outside the monasteries, we can more readily understand the grant of such an indulgence to them. But a free resort to links and the use of oil as a lighting medium, especially when its employment was extended to public and other buildings, almost necessarily formed a fruitful source of casualties, even with the strictest enforcement of the curfew and the exercise of the utmost care. Marco Polo had brought back with him in 1295 information

<sup>1</sup> Gallicioli, *Delle Memorie Venete*, i. c. 10.

of the means which, in some parts of China or Cathay, they then employed for the extinction of fires—means not dissimilar from those still in use in the north of Europe; but no explicit account reaches us of the machinery, if any, adopted in mediæval Venice.

The general operation of the curfew restricted, perhaps, the enjoyment of indoor recreations after nightfall, but at certain seasons, and, in the case of the aristocracy, at the dispersion of festive parties on the approach of dusk and a retirement to the dormitory, the rule was evidently subject to many modifications. It was certainly a law for which, beyond the excessive danger of locomotion by night in a labyrinth of dark alleys and canals, and the inconceivability of an adequate illuminating medium for general purposes, no actual necessity existed, and in its origin was rather political than social or domestic, while, in the poorer or less populated quarters of Venice, silence and gloom probably prevailed when daylight waned and the night was moonless. In London, at the close of the seventeenth century, it was usual to retire to rest at an early hour for reasons analogous to those which governed society elsewhere, and the hour of rising was also earlier. Arrangements were adapted to existing conditions of life.<sup>1</sup>

There is sufficient testimony that nocturnal entertainments and late hours among the higher classes were by no means unfamiliar, even in the presence of the old decemviral ordinance passed some time about 1310, that no one must be seen traversing the streets after the third bell of the night.<sup>2</sup> Of lighting appliances there was (in a rude and barbarous way) a tolerable profusion. The giver of a ball or masquerade, a concert or a birthday supper, might have his oil lamps and candelabra for waxen tapers, or, as at the fatal masquerade when, in 1393, Charles VI. of France was nearly burnt to death, the host might line the saloon with flambeaux. When the moment came for breaking up the party, the guests could proceed home on foot or by water, attended by torchbearers for protection against the darkness, and furnished

<sup>1</sup> Human remains, periodically exhumed from the banks of the Thames below London Bridge, have been supposed in some cases to belong to persons who had lost their way in the dark or had been murdered.

<sup>2</sup> At Forlì, in the time of the Riario government, no one was permitted to walk abroad when the great bell had sounded, with or without lights.

with weapons for defence against still more dangerous enemies. Here, again, the phlegmatic conservatism of the Venetian comes to our assistance, for, with all the riches of modern invention at his elbow, he still contents himself at night with the occasional glimmer, shed over the canals and over all but a few leading thoroughfares by the lights of the hotels and public offices.

Those who have in quite modern days travelled abroad, as well as those who are familiar after nightfall with the open country in England in the immediate suburbs of London, will not be surprised to learn that a vast space of time elapsed before any attempt was made in the direction of lighting Venice when daylight failed. The appliances were long absent, and nocturnal locomotion necessarily became limited. Within living memory in old Antwerp, almost unbroken darkness prevailed at night in the minor thoroughfares, except where, in a niche appropriated to an image of some saint, a candle or small oil lamp burned, not for the public convenience, perhaps, but for devotional ends. Centuries earlier the conception of the illuminating medium occurred to the Republic (1117-28), and appears to have arisen in a similar way and spirit. Small oil lamps, called *cesendeli* and fixed in *capitelli*, were distributed over the thoroughfares of the metropolis, and indirectly helped to indicate where water-lanes terminated in a canal. The remedy was, of course, extremely imperfect, and the new reform did not accomplish much, it is to be apprehended, in the way of checking robberies and acts of violence. The cost, it appears, was, at the outset, met by intrusting the clergy of each parish with the execution of the work, and authorizing the levy by them of a local rate for its maintenance;<sup>1</sup> and it may be supposed that the religious aspect of the usage tended to reconcile the taxpayer with this particular burden. The devotional side long continued to be prominent. In 1178, the Doge Ziani left funds to a monastery to maintain a *cesendelo* outside its gates in honour of St. Stephen. This was the *lampas ardens* of mediæval England, for which rents or funds were left by pious persons at different times.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Galliccioli, *Memorie*, lib. i. ch. 8, sect. 19; Mutinelli, *Del Costume Veneziano*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, 1695, ed. 1818, Glossary; under "*Luminare*."



At a comparatively late period, when the influx of strangers desirous of visiting all parts of the city and of attending places of entertainment after nightfall was greater and more continuous than in earlier times, when business was more exclusively the aim of those arriving in the City, a special institution arose to facilitate the more secure transit from point to point of those unacquainted with the unique topography, and it was the *Codega*, a person of approved character, who was stationed, lantern in hand, at certain places to conduct passengers to their destinations. No precautions were neglected to render the thoroughfares at all hours reasonably safe, and De la Lande went so far as to express the opinion that, in spite of the defective lighting, one might traverse the place at night without risk. It is, at any rate, beyond doubt that life was safer at Venice than in the Papal States, where, almost concurrently under the pontificate of Clement XIII. (1758-69), 11,000 murders of which 4000 occurred in Rome itself were recorded.

An incidental help is given to us in respect of the usages of this in common with other mediæval capitals, when daylight failed and some extraordinary occasion demanded artificial illumination, by a passage in the historian Sabellico. He informs us that, during the famous Carmagnola tragedy in 1430-32, the Senate sat from the first lighting of the torches to the break of day. The torch yet plays its part on the same ground, but is no longer required for the same or any kindred purpose. Let us imagine, however, an august body of about two hundred legislators, engaged under such conditions for several hours, in deliberating on a public question of the most momentous consequence, the Doge Foscari one of them, with the natural incidence of reading and examining papers, registering propositions and taking notes! At the same time, the wax-candle was at first, perhaps, dedicated to religious ceremonies, and even clothed with a sort of sacred character, as the term *ceremony* has its root in the Latin *cera*. The custom was, in many places where the torch was charged with wax, to mix with the latter a proportion of resin to prolong its duration. The wax-chandler was a known vocation in England in the middle of the fourteenth century, and must have been so in Italy, but the torch-bearer is an in-

evitable figure in all the scenes and transactions of the old time after nightfall. Shakespear introduces them into the *Merchant of Venice*,<sup>1</sup> and in 1641 we hear of the exportation of bees-wax from England to Ireland for the tapers employed in churches. The case of 1430-32 above cited may securely be taken to be a typical one, and a sample of what occurred for centuries at repeated intervals on emergencies. An identical experience must undoubtedly have attended the deliberations of the Senate or the Executive during the War of Chioggia, the League of Cambrai, the Spanish Conspiracy of 1618 and numerous other vital junctures. The practice was so familiar to those who pursued it, that the reference to it by a contemporary or early writer may be treated as purely fortuitous and a sponsor for a general principle.

The *Cries of Venice*, 1785, portraying and renewing many aspects of the earlier life and customs, introduces a public lamp-lighter, whom we observe on his round at dusk, kindling the oil lamps thinly scattered up and down the back lanes and at the door-ways of certain houses. It is elsewhere noted that, in the time of Annibale Caracci who died in 1609, sulphur matches were in use at Rome, and doubtless co-operated in multiplying disasters. The fifteenth illustration in the *Cries* introduced to us a highly curious and serviceable piece of knowledge. An old woman is chaffering with a boy for the commodities which he carries in a couple of baskets; in one hand she holds a pan to receive her purchase, and in the other a lamp of antique type, which might have been modelled on one from Pompeii. This receptacle for the oil was doubtless the utensil in general use by night, and suggests by its construction a tributary to the periodical fires which visited the city.

It yet remains a difficult and hazardous undertaking to approach and enter, when daylight has failed, any harbour in the world with all the advantages of modern improvements; but, when the sun went down and the night was moonless, Venice was as unreachable as if it had been surrounded by a wall of brass; one of the busiest and most wealthy capitals of Europe lay in silence and darkness. In 1380, when Carlo Zeno, on whom the existence of his country hung, reached

<sup>1</sup> Act ii, sc. 4.

Lido in the middle of a winter's night with his prayed-for fleet, he does not seem to have ventured to proceed to Chioggia till daybreak. There seems to be no record of a lighthouse even at Lido in those days, and if such a safeguard existed, it is not difficult to guess how rudimentary it would be. Leghorn is credited with the possession of one in 1303, but the supply of a clue to a port, where there were no adequate appliances for nocturnal protection against an enemy, might have been regarded as a dubious advantage.

Another and cognate respect, which was unquestionably an element in rendering conflagrations more frequent, was the recourse for warming and cooking purposes to wood and charcoal, before oil was introduced as a heating medium. Wood was long employed in open fires, surrounded by the same material on all sides except the floor; charcoal seems, in the eighth century (742), to have been deposited in braziers or pans, and served a variety of uses, including the deprivation of a few early Doges of their eyesight as an expedient for rendering them incapable of farther mischief, which, as in so many other cases, doubly serves us, since we thereby see the antiquity of the practice, and are able to recognize the application of an ordinary domestic item to judicial purposes as they were understood in former days. The brazier, at least, continued to be a method of torture down to a comparatively late date, and when we first hear of it as a punishment, it had long, no doubt, served as a household convenience. The most modern provision on this ground for mitigating the severity of winter is inadequate enough to persuade us that, in former times, especially in the beginning of Venice, the condition of affairs was even less supportable. Utensils were introduced for blowing the fire when a pan or other receptacle of charcoal was employed, but the earliest and rudest have naturally disappeared. A pair of Venetian bellows of comparatively late date is carved in oak in high relief, having, on the upper side, the arms of the Doge supported by angels and surmounted by the ducal berretta, a head of St. Mark above and a grotesque one below; on the lower side is a demoniac mask. This example probably resembled those to be seen in noble houses; the poor had their own humbler equivalents.



Venice was almost from the beginning a place of universal resort. Here was to be purchased every article of use, luxury or ornament. Here might be found shopkeepers, manufacturers and contractors of every class, who were ready to execute orders of any description. On her quays or at outlying points, captains of vessels were continually waiting to receive cargoes and passengers. In those streets, sailors and mechanics, the workmen at the glass-furnaces and the operatives at the Arsenal, busy townfolk and curious strangers, were to be seen at all times hurrying to and fro in a confused throng from the break of day, when the Bell at the Campanile (beneath which were the counters of the money-changers) summoned the artificers in the employment of Government to their labours till sunset.

Evelyn tells us as the fruit of his personal observation in 1645 : "Nor was I less surprised with the strange variety of the several nations seen every day in the streets and piazzas ; Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Moors, Greeks, Slavonians, some with their targets and bucklers, and all in their native fashions, negotiating in this famous Emporium." It is to be much suspected that the handsome young Persian, whom he met at Bologna in a rich vest of cloth of tissue and decorated with ornaments according to the fashion of his country, had been supplied by a Venetian tailor.

Referring to the liberty of strangers, an English eyewitness of the sixteenth century remarks that all men have so much freedom at Venice that, though they may speak very ill of the Venetians, there is no interference with them so long as they refrain from political allusions or criticism ; and, in their Carnival, the same writer says that all sorts may disguise themselves, and deliver with impunity under the very noses of the authorities views derisive of the customs, dress and even misery of the people.<sup>1</sup> He emphasizes the universal religious tolerance, and declares that it signifies nothing if a man be a Jew, a Turk, a Gospeller, a Papist or a believer in the Devil ; nor does any one challenge you, whether you are married or not, and whether you eat flesh or fish in your own home. The freedom which appeared everywhere, both in the case of residents and strangers, struck Fynes Moryson

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Historye of Italye*, 1549, ed. 1561, fol. 85.

who was in Italy some years before he published his *Itinerary* in 1617.

The general toleration of Venetian institutions, outside the political government of the Signory itself, attracted hither some of the Catholic recusants during the reign of Elizabeth, particularly from the Northern parts after the Rebellion of 1569. In 1581 and later years, we find Richard Collinge or Cowling of York and his brother Thomas at Venice, and the former, after his return home, in correspondence with one of the friends he had known there, Signore Giulio Piccioli, and from a letter addressed to that gentleman about 1599, there comes the interesting information that at this time Guy or Guido Fawkes, the writer's cousin-german, was resident at Venice in a state of great poverty. In 1591, Martin, son of Edward Turner, also of York, was sent by his parents beyond seas in order to be educated at Venice or Padua, where the tone was then said to be absolutely Jesuitical; and the exodus from the country under pretence of enabling sons to acquire languages was so considerable at this juncture, that the Council of the North directed the authorities at York to make an inquiry into the matter and report the facts.<sup>1</sup>

The floating population of such a city, where the number of permanent dwellers never reached 200,000, was of course very great. Multitudes were constantly arriving or leaving.<sup>2</sup> Whether the visitor to Venice was a pilgrim who desired to take his passage in a vessel bound for the Holy Land, or a foreign merchant who had come to attend the Fair at Murano, or some devout person who wished to join in the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi, it mattered little. On landing at the Piazza of Saint Mark, he was sure of meeting with one of the commissionaires (*Tholomagi, Sensali* or *Messeti*<sup>3</sup>), who were bound to be in constant attendance on that spot, and whom he engaged to provide him with a lodging, to change his money, and to perform any other service which he might require. It was the business of the commissionaires, of whom there were twelve under a *gastaldo*, to protect their employers against fraudulent inn-

<sup>1</sup> Davies (Robert), *Pope : Additional Facts concerning his Maternal Ancestry*, 1858, pp. 32-5.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo Torsello, *Letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna*, March 1326; *G. D. per Francos*, ii. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Marin, v. 181.

keepers, and to caution them against the deceitful practices of sea-captains; if they were detected in an act of dishonesty, or in a dereliction of duty, or if they were charged with a misdemeanour of any kind, they were liable to a penalty of not less than half a ducat.

The *tholomago* delivered such fees as he had received during the week to his *gastaldo* on Saturday, and the latter at once, or on the Monday, handed them to the *cattaveri*, who made a monthly distribution of the funds in hand.

It was the province of a particular department of the Public Service (*Messetaria* <sup>1</sup>) to take cognizance of the proceedings of this body of officials, as well as to examine and regulate the charges of hostelries, to check mercantile agreements, and, generally, to see that no imposition was practised on unsuspecting travellers. The *tholomago* was under oath to accept or solicit employment only at the hands of strangers or of members of the Venetian clergy and nobility.

There were many posts which were less lucrative than that of *tholomago*. Not a single day elapsed without witnessing the landing of a large number of persons at the Piazza on business of various kinds. Sometimes it happened that an ambassador and his suite came and wished to secure berths in a vessel about to leave for Constantinople. From time to time, a Royal or Pontifical visit, or a Coronation, or a Ducal wedding, was the means of providing profitable employment for every member of the calling in the city. But the cause, which more than any other contributed to swell the floating population, was the periodical recurrence of Holy Festivals, as well as secular diversions, when the gathering of strangers from every part of the adjoining *terra firma* was beyond all belief. As many as 100,000 visitors were reckoned among the company at the Annual Fair of the Ascension (*Sensa*), at a time when the entire urban population did not approach double that number. One year, during the reign of Pietro Tradenigo (860), was recollected, when the frost was so severe, that the visitors to the annual fairs were able to cross on foot or come in carriages, instead of employing boats.<sup>2</sup>

There is an extremely graphic account of a lodging-house kept by Diana Palermitana, in which in 1618, during the

<sup>1</sup> Marin, v. 181.

<sup>2</sup> The only other occasions when the ice on the canals was sufficiently firm to allow free transit and to suspend navigation were 1378, 1491 and 1709.



Spanish conspiracy, about 300 men of different nations were domiciled together, and had no landing-permit as required from the Uffizio della Biastema, yet, in 1647, when matters were so much less critical, the omission to procure this voucher was declared to be capital.<sup>1</sup> Diana averred that the English ambassador connived at the admission of lodgers without obtaining the licence, and she lets us conclude that there prevailed a degree of laxity almost incredible in dangerous circumstances.

The Venetian hotels or *alberghi* were very ancient and very celebrated. The leading establishments of this kind in the fourteenth century were the *Moon*, the *White Lion* and the *Wild Savage*. The first-named was flourishing in 1319, the second was the resort of distinguished visitors in 1508. The *Wild Savage* was a famous house for travellers who could afford to pay well, in the time of the Doge Andrea Contarini (1368); in 1769 when the Emperor Joseph II. visited the city in strict incognito, he put up at the *White Lion* on the Grand Canal, possibly the same house. In the fifteenth century, the *Pilgrim*, the *Little Cup* or *Cappello* and the *Rizza* are mentioned in the Books of the Procuratie of Saint Mark. The *Black Horse* on the Piazza of St. Mark and the *Sturgeon* at Rialto, with their hanging signs, have come down to us as details in paintings by Bellini and Carpaccio. Montaigne does not name the house at which he stayed in 1580; he merely informs us that it was "trop publique et assez mal propre," but then he adds that he was making only a brief stay. Lithgow the Scottish traveller put up, he tells us, at the *Cappello Rosso*; this was about 1614. When Evelyn was here in 1645, he selected the *Black Eagle*, near the Rialto, proprietor Paolo Rhodomante, whom the visitor describes as honest; we may therefore conclude that his charges were reasonable; Evelyn does not say what they were. From Rome hither his expenses had been "seven pistoles, and thirteen julios." It will be recollected that it was at the *Luna* that Silvio Pellico stayed, both when he was a free man, and when he returned to Venice a prisoner in 1820. At a short distance from the capital, we come across the *Campana* or "Bell" at Mestre, where Casanova stopped when he had effected his escape from prison in 1786.

<sup>1</sup> Raymond's *Itinerary*, 1648, pp. 186-7.

After 1280 and perhaps earlier, it became the business of the Police to take care by special inspection that hotel-keepers provided proper beds and clean sheets and coverlets, and duly attended to the comforts of their visitors.<sup>1</sup> In 1484, the concourse of strangers at a tournament held in that year was so vast, that all the hotels were filled, and permission was given to private householders to let their apartments furnished.

The practice of inscribing the names of visitors in a register for reference and security had been known to the Romans, and Marco Polo found it in force in China. At Paris an official ordinance of 1407 imposed such a regulation on all innkeepers, and probably it was the same at Venice. In the declining years of the Republic, some of the palaces were let to various tenants, and some were converted into warehouses or inns.

We meet with no ancient guide-books to the city, analogous to the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, of which the edition published at Treviso within the Venetian territories in 1475 may not be the first, or to the *Guide to Rome* published at Venice in 1588, but Rome had, of course, a peculiar degree of attractive sanctity independent of local and commercial requirements. It is extremely curious and interesting to meet with a second type of publication of this kind, written by an Englishman who calls himself *Scha Kerlay* (Shakerley), and who published his manual at Rome in 1562, as he tells us, without expectation of praise or gain.<sup>2</sup>

The polyglot vocabularies intended to assist travellers on the continent were issued from the first half of the sixteenth century from numerous presses in Germany, Switzerland, France and Italy itself, and there are two bearing the Venetian imprint in 1541 and 1549. A manual in a pentaglot shape was printed at Venice in 1526, and embraced Latin, Tuscan, French, Spanish and German in parallel columns. The contents are ranged under the subjects, and were, of course, calculated for the use of those desirous of entering into conversation or of ascertaining the equivalents for articles in daily use. The volume is constructed on the same principle as the later and more familiar works which comprise the English language.

Sufficiently copious particulars have descended to us of the experiences of travellers who made it their aim to pay a

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. 492.

<sup>2</sup> *La Guida Romana*, Roma ; 1562, 8°.

visit to the Holy Land. The earlier pioneers naturally had their lessons to learn, and, even in the fifteenth century, there were those who could by practical observation afford to later pilgrims the benefit of their own discoveries and errors. The persons who, from a variety of motives, desired to behold with their own eyes and tread with their own feet the very ground which had been the scene of the labours and sufferings of Christ and His Apostles, belonged to different classes of society, and embraced both the clergy and the laity; even great soldiers who had spent their active lives on battle-fields amid all the horrors of war devoted some of their fortune to this pious and meritorious object. At first the hardships and the cost were alike formidable; not less than 200 gold Venetian ducats sufficed to convey a passenger to the desired spot and bring him back, and in any circumstances the rough seas and scanty accommodation proved more trying to the veteran *condottiere* than the hardships and privations of long campaigns. The unchronicled mortality must have been enormous: the descriptions in some of the itineraries are appalling.

It was a strange infatuation, yet not more so than the modern devotional visits to Lourdes and other shrines. Even Casola, himself a churchman, cynically remarks in 1494: "Each one who goes on the voyage to the Sepulchre of our Lord has need of three sacks—a sack of patience, a sack of money and a sack of faith."<sup>1</sup> We appear to get nearer to him and his ship, when he speaks of the terrible storm off Zante, and of the cries on board of *Jesus* and *Miserere*, of his pious reflections on the just anger of God, and of the propitiatory engagement of the passengers to undertake on their safe arrival three pilgrimages—to Loreto, Padua, and Venice itself. The great Loyola, who began as a courtier and a soldier, walked from Rome to Venice, there took ship for Cyprus and the Holy Land, and returned by way of Venice in 1524 to Spain. The accomplishment of the scheme when funds were limited involved almost insurmountable difficulties, but arrangements were gradually made for pilgrimages on a more popular basis, in which a number of travellers occupied one vessel, and a fixed inclusive tariff was established for the double journey.

<sup>1</sup> *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, (ed. and tr.) by M. Margaret Newett, Manchester, 1907.



There are numerous accounts of early visits to Palestine by way of Venice, and the process was facilitated as far as possible from time to time; printed guides were soon forthcoming, setting forth what each passenger required in clothes, food and conveniences: a warm overcoat, a sea-chest, a barrel of wine and another of fresh water, cheese, sausages, junk, preserved sweetmeats, syrups and a close-stool, and, if he was not accustomed to the sea, he was recommended to secure a place amidships.

It is not difficult to perceive that, during all the years the fashion of engaging in these remote expeditions lasted, the Venetian Government found it necessary to organize a special machinery for protecting its own subjects on the one hand and their customers on the other, and the traffic, on the whole, was doubtless highly remunerative, looking at the heavy charges levied on the owner by the authorities, who might feel that the clients were exceptionally wealthy.

Toward the close of the fourteenth century, women began to brave the dangers and discomforts of the enterprise, and occupied places on board side by side with the other sex. This marked the point of time when it was decided to select a department to manage and control, subject to the sanction of the Senate, the licences to owners and contracts between the pilgrims and the shippers. The earliest registers of the *Cattaveri*, the *Pilgrims' Book* included, have apparently perished, but the office had been in existence since 1280 for the safeguard and recovery of communal property. It subsequently superintended all matters relative to Pilotage, and its duties were extended, agreeably to a decree of the Great Council in 1392 when the movement took more definite shape, to the conduct of the often troublesome and intricate details arising out of pilgrimages; the extant records constitute part of the colossal system by which the Republic bequeathed to future ages the materials of its history. It is equally characteristic of Venetian temperament that, stringent as the law in this immediate respect might be, the Senate seldom refused to concede special terms to royal and noble applicants for passages. During a certain course of years (about 1442), the licences to take pilgrims were sold by auction, and the buyer enjoyed a monopoly of the voyage, the proceeds of the sale being devoted to the purchase of timber for the Arsenal. It

is a small detail, but we incidentally learn that, at stopping-points on voyages, the departure was notified by men who landed and sounded trumpets to warn laggards, and sometimes even guns were fired to reach more distant wanderers.

Those who, in the course of centuries, made Venice their port of departure for the Holy Land and the Sepulchre, naturally arrived from different points and, as a rule, on horseback, as whatever baggage they proposed to carry was purchased when they reached the place of embarkation and found what was requisite. According to circumstances, they rode as far as Mestre, Padua, Pavia or Treviso, and then parted with their horses, proceeding by boat the remainder of the way. Casola, in 1494, came from Milan in this way, and embarked for Venice at Padua. It is characteristic that the horse was left in charge of the innkeeper till its owner returned; sometimes the animal disappeared, sometimes the owner.

On the journey from Mestre to the city, *sbirri* met the gondolas bearing travellers from various points, and examined their luggage, but, as a visitor about 1714 apprises us,<sup>1</sup> "not very strictly, and if you have any thing prohibited, on giving them a small Matter they will take no Notice." Such a statement is to be received with caution; these officers were probably not the official police, but rather custom-house functionaries who levied on dutiable goods or property.

A passport of health was, as already has been stated in connexion with a political episode of 1607, absolutely imperative—probably down to the close. Chancel mentions that those who had omitted to procure one were detained forty days, were very poorly accommodated, and paid high prices for their food, which was handed to them on the end of a long pole as a precaution against contagion.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Itinerary* of William Wey, of Eton College, 1456–62, we are apprised that he set out for Jerusalem from Venice with nearly 200 other pilgrims, and that it was then customary to purchase the necessaries for the voyage at a *depôt* near St. Mark's. The bedding cost three ducats or about 28s., and was taken back by the vendor on the return into store at half-price, even if the articles were more or less deteriorated by use. This outfit comprised a feather-bed, a

<sup>1</sup> Chancel, *New Journey over Europe*, 1714, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 99.

mattress, two pillows, two pairs of sheets and a quilt. Wey and his companions occupied two galleys. The freight and commissariat from Venice to Jaffa amounted to about forty ducats, but this sum did not include many extras indispensable for an English gentleman, medicine among them.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to see that, at the place of call, passengers who were at all fastidious took the precaution of buying certain provisions for themselves. Even those who had made a stay at Genoa, bound for Palestine, proceeded, it appears, to Venice to take ship for Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> Judging from the case of Casola in 1494, pilgrims, on their return from the East, disembarked at Sopra Porto, Malamocco, where there was good anchorage, and performed the rest of the journey by boat.

There is a contemporary narrative of the journey of Sir Anthony Shirley to Persia in 1600, by way of Venice, where he was honourably entertained by the Signory. He had crossed from England to Flushing, and had proceeded to Cologne, Frankfort, Nürnberg and Augsburg, and thence across the Alps to the Adriatic.<sup>3</sup>

Chancel, a traveller of the early part of the seventeenth century,<sup>4</sup> specifies Mestre as the best place of accommodation for such as intend to travel into Germany by Tyrol and Carinthia, or into Austria by Friuli, and likewise for those who intend to make the tour of Italy. He speaks of it as about two miles from Venice.

From those twin scourges of the Middle Ages, Plague and Famine, which were largely due to an ignorance of agriculture, to the slowness of intercommunication, and to the stagnation of trade, Venice did not enjoy an exemption. Her experiences, however, though severe, were not more so than those of Milan and Florence. It was only as the spirit of commercial enterprise, which the Italian Republics fostered and to which the Crusades gave an undoubted stimulus, was gradually developed in Europe, that those frightful visitations of pestilence and hunger with the recitals of which the pages of history abound, when men forgot their humanity and blasphemed their Creator, sensibly diminished in frequency and horror.

<sup>1</sup> Jusserand, *La vie nomade*, 1884, pp. 241-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Romance of Paris and Vienna*, 1485, reprinted 1868, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *A True Report of Sir Anthony Shierlies Journey overland to Venice, &c.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 1600.

<sup>4</sup> *A New Journey over Europe*, 1714.



There can be slight doubt, however, that epidemics largely influenced the permanent population of Venice which was at all times abnormally limited. It has been supposed that, in the tenth century, the numbers were about 40,000; in 1170, they had only reached 64,000; in 1339, 40,000 able-bodied men were counted, and the Black Death of 1348 is said to have been fatal to 100,000 persons—an almost undoubted exaggeration. From 1422 to 1593, the figures are quasi-officially given as follow: 1422, 190,000; 1509, 110,000; 1540, 131,000; 1552, 158,000; 1563, 174,201; 1574, 195,863; 1581, 134,800; 1586, 151,296; 1593, 155,722, but these particulars are receivable with allowance. The Plague of 1576 swept away about 50,000; that of 1630–31 nearly 47,000; and when the day of thanksgiving was held, the crowd is said to have been enormous; this may prove nothing, yet it does not suggest, at all events, a decline in the numbers. Lassels, the travelling tutor, mentions 180,000; this was about 1670. In 1795, the official figures were: for the city itself, 137,240; for the entire Dominion, 2,921,011. At the period of the extinction of independence (1797), the urban statistics shewed 149,476. In former days populations were scantier, with heavier death-rates, and the Republic, apart from casual visitors at fairs and festivals, shewed a chronic disposition to render accessions to actual citizenship at least difficult, since fifteen years' residence and fulfilment of civil obligations were required, before an alien could be admitted to an equality with a person of Venetian birth. In circumstances of exceptional emergency, the qualification was occasionally relaxed, and, of course, honorary citizenship stood on a distinct footing. Political decadence, however, operated more powerfully and permanently than any other cause in the shrinkage of numbers, and parts of the Dogado which were once thickly inhabited are at present occupied by market-gardens or are absolutely desolate.

The city, although placed in a situation which naturally suggests extreme humidity and insalubrity, has been considered healthier and drier, even than Milan, in consequence of the beneficial influence of the east and south-east winds, while the saline exhalations from the lagoons have been recommended to sufferers from phthisis, scrofula and tuberculosis;<sup>1</sup> yet

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905–8, ii. 66.

Montaigne is heard in 1580 to complain of the effluvia from this source, although he says nothing about the dirt which might have offended his nostrils in Paris at that time. But in summer there was always danger of contracting malaria or enteric fever from the wide areas of marsh and brackish shallow bordering on the Adriatic and Mediterranean. In 1782, a foggy and wet spring followed by a very dry summer involved Venice, in common with nearly the whole of Europe, in an epidemic of Russian catarrh. This malady could be traced back to the fourteenth century, and in 1731 it spread as widely as in the later year; it was supposed to emanate from North America. At the present time, in certain states of the tide, the canals omit an odour as unpleasant as unwholesome. The mist which is apt to rise from the lagoons is known as the *Mermaid*.

The Government was perpetually adopting some fresh precaution against epidemics. During the Plague of 1348, a Committee of three Sages had been deputed to concert all necessary and possible measures for arresting the evil; and in 1423, the first Lazzeretto was established on part of the site of the modern Armenian Convent. The successive developments which this novel and admirable Institution received greatly helped to improve the health of the Capital, and to diminish the rate of mortality. In 1467, larger accommodation for afflicted persons having been demanded, a Hospital with 100 wards was built at the public expense, in a vineyard belonging to the Abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore, and this building became known as the New Lazzeretto.<sup>1</sup> During the plague of 1527, the Convalescent Home already existing at SS. Giovanni e Paolo was enlarged, and three others behind the Hospital of the Incurables, at San Cassiano and at the Giudecca respectively, were established; the patients received gratuitous rations of bread, soup and wine.

In the same spirit, every species of commercial roguery was brought within the pale of the law. A heavy penalty attended the exposure for sale, or even the attempted introduction into the City, of meat unfit for human food; justice had its terrors for the vintner who endeavoured to palm upon his

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iv. cap. 6. A remarkable account of the lazar-houses established in England and elsewhere may be found in a paper by Dr. Cookson in the Lincolnshire Topographical Society's *Transactions*, 1841, pp. 29 et seqq.

customers some nondescript compound as the finest growth of the Marches or as undoubted malmsey. One ground of complaint and trouble in respect of wine was the habit of the skippers of adulterating foreign wines with the brackish water of the lagoons when they had tapped the casks at sea. It went hard with any confectioner who was detected in putting chalk into his sugar-plums or adulterating his maraschino or even diluting it. Of her project of sanitary reform the Signory never allowed herself to lose sight. In 1459, the Board of Health, which had been already organized from time to time as occasion required, was virtually rendered<sup>1</sup> a permanent branch of the administration, although it was not officially declared to be so till 1485; somewhat later, a species of Highway and General Police Act, in the shape of Regulations for keeping the thoroughfares in a state of cleanliness, and the clearance of all offal, putrefying substances and rubbish from the footpaths was promulgated. No expedient which tended to add to the general safety and comfort was neglected. During the prevalence of an epidemic in the neighbouring cities, no meat, fish or wine was admitted into Venice, until it had undergone a regular process of disinfection. The most tender care was exhibited to secure for metropolitan use the sweetest and most wholesome water, and subsequently to the fifteenth century the entire supply was derived from the Brenta. No impurities were suffered to offend the eye or the nose; smoky chimneys, as well as noxious smells, were prohibited; and it was illegal to pollute the canals, which were periodically dredged to check the stealthy accretion of mud and slime from the continuous deposits of the Brenta, the Adige, the Piave and the Po itself. In 1501, the Lagoons were placed under the special superintendence and control of three Savii or Sages, and in 1542 the department engaged the permanent services of a professional adviser. Two bulky quarto volumes by the engineer Zendrini attest the energetic and unremitting efforts to keep the waterways open. These regulations were framed with such extraordinary attention to the minutest and most trifling details, that they acquired in process of time European celebrity, and furnished a model so recently as the eighteenth century for the Dutch Republic. The malodorous condition of the minor

<sup>1</sup> Domenico Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, 655. The printed copy, *Arch. Stor. Ital.* vii. 137, was abridged, and there the passage does not occur.



foot-ways and back lanes under Austrian and Italian rule would hardly have been tolerated in the old days, in the face of the more general distribution of wealth and the abundance of splendid and luxurious private habitations.

One of the most memorable visitations of Asiatic cholera or Black Death, subsequent to that of 1348, was that experienced at Venice in 1447. So powerful was the dread of contagion, that altars were erected in the streets, and mass was celebrated in the open air. Fires were kept continually burning to purify the atmosphere; braziers of scented woods were employed with a similar object; processions were formed in every quarter; every effort was used to deprecate the supposed wrath of the Almighty, and a hymn was composed, which the people sang aloud in the streets and on the canals:—

“Alto re della gloria  
 C'azzi via sta<sup>1</sup> moria  
 Per la vostra Passion  
 Abbiane misericordia.”<sup>2</sup>

The Plague of 1447, with the customary deliberation and delay characteristic of all proceedings when urgency was not deemed imperative, led to the introduction, about the same period as the admittance of the Board of Health in 1485 among the permanent Executive bodies, of the principle of Quarantine, in which, as in so many other matters of police, the Republic took the initiative, and which yet remains a feature in all European systems. Its wisdom and efficiency are not to be judged at present sanitary needs and views, but by those of the time, as well as by the special precautions imposed on a city which had such constant intercourse with the East.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e. questa.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cronica Erizzo*, MS. in the Marciana. Quoted by Romanin, iv. 482.

## CHAPTER LXIV

Hospitals and other charitable and pious institutions—*Scuola della Carità*—Asylum for destitute children—*Misericordia*—Magdalens—Poor-relief—Monastic institutions employed to accommodate prisoners of war—Manners and costume of the earlier period—Testimonies of foreign writers (940-1494)—Dress of the humbler class—Character and attire of ladies—Their personal appearance—The chopines or *Zilve*—Their long prevalence and ultimate abolition—Pietro Casola at Venice in 1494—His description of a noble lady's lying-in apartment—Architecture—Dom Pedro of Portugal at Venice in 1428—Other distinguished guests from Italy and other parts of the world—Three great ladies visit the city *incognito*—The Conti del Nord—The drawing-rooms—The Procurator Trono and his wife—Sumptuary laws—Their inefficacy—The *Sigisbeo* or Maestro di Casa—Lady Arundel's Maestro in 1622—Parsimony—Gallantry—The Gondoliers—Gloves—Burials—Popular Marriage Ceremonies.

FROM the opening of her independent career, Venice abounded with pious and charitable institutions which were broadly classifiable into Hospitals or *Hospitia*, *Scuole* and Gilds. By his will, made in 977, Orseolo the Holy left funds for the erection of a hospital—a term and thing of wider application in its origin than is at present understood, and, no doubt, comprising the graver or more chronic types of insanity. A *Scuola della Carità* was established before 1310. The Doge Marino Giorgio founded an asylum for outcast or destitute children. In 1392, was erected the *Scuola dei Zoppi* or *Zotti*, in a lane which yet preserves the name, and it was restored in 1533; it was exclusively for the benefit of the lame and their dowerless daughters.<sup>1</sup> The growth of these philanthropic and beneficent institutions was steady and almost incessant during the fourteenth and two succeeding centuries. The Government erected in 1474, as a thanksgiving for the recovery of Scutari, the Jesus Hospital at Castello, which at Easter and Christmas dispensed generous alms to the poor, and took measures for the perpetual replenishment of the public granaries. Official zeal and benignity vied with private munificence in meeting all legitimate claims and needs. In 1498, one of the Morosini family built in the street of the

<sup>1</sup> It is said that the *Scuola* was annually entertained in April at the Contarini Palace, and that members of the aristocracy served the tables. Such a usage would be in keeping with ancient Venetian *bonhomie*.

Holy Trinity thirty-six dwellings for impoverished patricians, and, in 1535, Bartolommeo Nordio, a timber-merchant from Bergamo, established the *Fraterna*, which distributed relief to decayed nobles, to indigent gentlefolks, and to young married women who were in need of aid.

Even after the fall of the Republic, under the will of the Doge Manin who died in 1802, 110,000 ducats were devoted to the establishment of an Orphanage and an Asylum for persons of weak intellect. A building, known as the *Misericordia*, was endowed successively by Giacomo Moro, Bartolommeo Verde and Veronica Franco for poor women and penitent females. During the reign of Bartolommeo Gradenigo (1339-42), the Foundling, or *La Pietà*,<sup>1</sup> had its rise, four centuries prior to the appearance of such a thing in London, and, in 1349, an Orphanage was to be seen at San Giambattista, at the Giudecca. A Hospital for Incurables for the particular use of victims of the venereal disease followed, as we have seen, very closely on the discovery of America; it was established there in 1522 by Gaetano Thiene, a Vicentine, and was the earliest of its kind. Both the founder and Girolamo Miani who, after leading an active and free life, devoted the whole of his fortune to the endowment at San Basilio in 1524 of an Asylum for the children of poor artificers, where they were fed and clothed and taught a trade, were after their deaths almost canonized.<sup>2</sup> Miani extended his noble benefactions to Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Milan and other places. Well might Ritio in his book on Italian place-names, 1585, say:—

“Gentil huomini e ricchi sono  
Venetiani populo bono.”

<sup>1</sup> A large contributory element to the founding institutions was the illegitimate offspring of courtezans of humbler rank. Such as belonged to the Veronicas and Margaritas, if they were indiscreet enough to bear any, were brought up and educated at their parents' expense, and such was equally the case in regard to all children who were left till they were too big to pass through a narrow grating in the wall, and whom their mothers were then obliged to take back home. If the infant answered to the regulations, no questions were asked, and the woman was discharged for ever from her parental obligations. As they grew up, the boys were drafted into the naval or military service, or other public employment, but the girls too often trod in the maternal footsteps. The Venetian institutions incurred slight risk of lacking tenants.

<sup>2</sup> Miani was actually placed in the Calendar by Benedict XIV. in 1747. There is a portrait of this enlightened and estimable man in Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, ii, 57.



The system of establishing schools such as the *Carità* seems to have attained great development in the sixteenth century, when we meet with two classes, *Maggiori* and *Minori*; these were mainly supported by voluntary contributions or endowments, and occasionally took part in public ceremonies and processions. They were partly charitable, partly educational, in their objects. Moreover, periodical distributions of alms and poor-relief took place, both on the part of the Government and on that of individuals. At the same time, by a law of the Great Council passed in 1300, street-begging was interdicted; the officers of the *Signori di Notte* were ordered to take all mendicants, and to convey them to the hospitals.

A peculiar appropriation of the monastic establishments under stress of circumstances was their share in housing prisoners of war, for whom the Government had no means of providing in the ordinary places of detention. Venice has been usually regarded as a spot remarkably rich in gaols, but, as a matter of fact, its resources in that respect were always scanty, and when pressure arrived, special arrangements were compulsorily made.

Pope Gregory VII., the immortal Hildebrand, is said to have remarked that the spirit and liberty of ancient Rome survived in the Republic, and assuredly, in comparison with the state of the rest of Italy including Rome itself at that period (1073–85), the Venetians might well have seemed to be what this great man described them. But long before his time, a Lombard envoy, who was at Venice in 940 on his way to Rome, animadverted on the politeness as well as the rich attire of the citizens, and compared these traits with the social condition of his own countrymen and of the Franks. "The City of Venice," writes Ferretus of Vicenza,<sup>1</sup> "deserves to be called free, for it is governed by the counsels of good citizens, and not by the dictates of an absolute King; it was a saying, when the ducal authority threatened to grow too overbearing, 'It is no king that we want.'" Nicholas Bonotriensis, who accompanied Henry VII. of Germany during his Italian journey in 1310–14, complains of the discontented and restless spirit of the Venetians of his time. "They will have," says the Bishop, "neither God, nor the Church, nor

<sup>1</sup> *Rerum in Italiâ gestarum ab 1150 ad 1318 Historia*.—Murat. ix.

the Emperor. Neither the land nor the sea satisfies them!"<sup>1</sup> A similar stricture is passed by Froissart, however, on the Lombards generally, and Cardinal Wolsey, in a conversation with the Venetian Resident at London in 1516, somewhat inconsiderately declared that, if the Republic aimed at grasping so much, it would end by making enemies all round. The Duke of Milan had said much the same thing as far back as 1466. In the *Chronicle of Muazzo*, the Islanders are accused of being incurable rambles. "The villas, the gardens, the castles of the Venetians," remarks this writer, "are Dalmatia, Albania, Romania, Greece, Trebizond, Syria, Armenia, Egypt, Cyprus, Candia, Apulia, Sicily and other countries, where they find advantage, recreation and security, and where they stay ten years at a time with their sons and their nephews."<sup>2</sup>

It is the rather optimistic remark of Sansovino that, in times of the highest antiquity, the citizens of the Republic judiciously adopted a style of attire which harmonized with the simplicity of their manners and the soberness of their carriage. "Originally," he continues, "the Fathers (*i Padri*), being strongly attached to religion on which they based all their actions, and anxious to educate their children in the observance of virtue, the true foundation of all human affairs, as well as in the love of peace, had recourse to a species of costume suitable to their gravity, and such as might indicate modesty and respect. They were filled by a solicitude to do no wrong to any man, and to live in quiet with all; and they desired to make this solicitude apparent, not in their manner only, but in their garb also."

But there were doubtless departures from this puritanical sobriety of costume. At the entertainment which Marco Polo, his father and his uncle gave at the Casa Polo in 1295 on their return from their travels, the three explorers appeared, successively, as we have seen, at table in long gowns of crimson satin, crimson damask and crimson velvet. These transformations were part of a preconcerted expedient, but Ramusio, writing in 1553, seems to speak of such a class of dress as usual at that period. In short, much depended on circumstances and the taste or resources of the wearer.

<sup>1</sup> *Iter Italicum Henrici Septimi, A.D. 1310-13, Auctore Nicolao Episcopo Bononiensi.*—Murat. ii. 895.

<sup>2</sup> *Filiati, ubi supra.*

"I have considered," writes Pietro Casola of Milan in 1494,<sup>1</sup> "the qualities of these Venetian gentlemen. For the most part they are tall, handsome men, astute and very subtle in their dealings, and whoever has to do business with them must keep his eyes and ears well open. They are proud—I think this is on account of their great dominions—and when a son is born to a Venetian gentleman they say themselves, 'A Lord is born into the world.' They are frugal and very modest in their manner of living at home; outside the house they are very liberal. The city of Venice preserves its ancient fashion of dress—which never changes—that is, a long garment of any colour that is preferred. No one would leave the house by day if he were not dressed in this long garment, and for the most part in black. They have so observed this custom, that the individuals of every nation in the world—which has a settlement in Venice—all adopt this style, from the greatest to the least, beginning with the gentleman, down to the sailors and galeotti. Certainly it is a dress which inspires confidence, and is very dignified. The wearers all seem to be doctors in law, and if a man should appear out of the house without his toga, he would be thought mad."

We are sent to Cesare Vecellio<sup>2</sup> for the fullest and perhaps best account of the male and female attire of all classes at Venice, in and just antecedent to his own time. His volume is extremely well known, and some of the Venetian section has been ineffectively copied. He has patriotically devoted more than a just proportion of space to the Signory, and the work is lavishly embellished with engravings, of which some may have been derived from drawings by Titian himself. It is a compilation unequal in its graphic value, but we are concerned only with that section which is most likely to have owed its pictorial illustrations to the great artist. The figures purporting to represent the more ancient dress are neither more nor less authentic, however, than those supplied elsewhere. Vecellio helps us only where he furnishes the results of personal or quasi-personal observation.

Lassels<sup>3</sup> observes:—"The *men Themselves* here, who looked

<sup>1</sup> Canon Pietro Casola's *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1494* [trans. and ed.] by M. Margaret Newett, Manchester University Series, 1907, pp. 142, 143.

<sup>2</sup> *De Gli Habiti Antichi, et Moderni di Diuerse Parti del Mondo*; 8°, Venetia, 1590.

<sup>3</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, pt. ii. pp. 377-8.



like *men* indeed: and as a *Philosopher* anciently sayd, that when he came from *Corinth* to *Sparta*, he seemed to come from *horses* to *men*: so me thought, when I came from *France* to *Venice* I came from *boyes* to *men*. For here I saw the handsomest, the most sightly, the most proper and grave men that ever I saw any where else. They weare alwayes in the towne (I speake of the *noblemen*) a long black gowne, a black cap knit, with an *edging* of black wooll about it, like a *fringe*; an ancient and manly weare, which makes them looke like *Senators*. Their *hair* is generally the best I eversaw any where; these little caps not presing it downe as our hats do; & *Perrywigs* are here forbid. Under their long gownes (which fly open before) they have handsome black sute of rich stuffs with stockins and garters, and spanith leather shoos neatly made."

At the same time, allowance has to be made for the individual taste or fancy of unofficial persons, and for the humours of such bodies as the Company of the Stocking or of such as took part in masquerades and the carnival. The tailor of Casanova brought home a doublet of taffeta, with a fringe of silver lace designed by the young lady with whom he had arranged to breakfast at Castello, and the same eccentric character orders not so long after a pair of very wide boots, lined with bearskin to keep him warm in the *Piombi* during the winter. Before his troubles, when he could press the fine pavement of Venice at his pleasure, he says that he found little shoes sufficient.

The dress of the men among the common classes was merely a sky-blue (*Veneto colore*) frock with narrow sleeves confined at the wrist, those wide breeches which went under the name Venetians, and close-fitting hose; their head-gear with the rest of their habiliments was probably of a no less simple character, and subject to little variation. In a climate where a warm temperature prevailed during eight months of the year, there was a limited call for thick clothing.<sup>1</sup> Signor Tessari has depicted for us, and an English lady has described, the workwomen and the maidens of the lower class at Venice, as they now are,<sup>2</sup> and it is perfectly safe to assume that their appearance and dress have not materially changed

<sup>1</sup> For the gala dress of the working women compare ch. 66 *ad finem*. As to the Venetian colour, see Morgan, *Romano-British Mosaics*, 1886, pp. 86-7. There is a monograph by Calogiera on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> *Pearson's Magazine*, September 1905.

since the days of the old Republic. They retain their aristocratic figures, graceful carriage and fine heads and features, but with these go a certain languor and sadness, in harmony, as it might seem, with the fallen national fortune. The fishermen and gondoliers rarely expended any considerable sum on their attire. A coarse blouse, pantaloons and a tasselled cap went far toward the completion of their outdoor wardrobe, the hosier and the cordwainer were infrequent creditors, and, if an organ-grinder is seen in the streets, he is less Italian in aspect than the same professional person in a London thoroughfare.

The Senators<sup>1</sup> usually appeared in a long robe with ample folds, and furnished with open sleeves which were variously termed *dogaline* and *ducali*; the colour chosen, if not black, was azure (*turchino*), of which the Venetians were passionately fond. In wet or cold weather, it was customary to fasten the large sleeves round the wrist with strings, which was called wearing them *a comeo*, but the younger men, who disdained this effeminate precaution, perhaps, and never used strings, were said to wear them *a dogalina*. The sleeve was generally ornamented with a double row of buttons, one of which, running in a transverse direction, made with the other a species of cross. The cap, which was most frequently composed of black or red velvet, was in form triangular, with two silken fillets as strings, meeting cruciformly in front across the forehead. There were temporary fashions. A favourite general won over the young aristocrats to his particular way of wearing his bonnet; within a few years (1430-41) it had been in succession *alla Carmagnola* and *alla Sforzesca*.

Not satisfied with raising memorials of the Crucifixion in their churches and their dwellings, the Venetians carried such memorials also on their persons; they symbolized the Passion in the sleeves of their dresses and the ribbons of their hats, and a Doge in the fourteenth century wore a cross in his corno, as a concession to his father who would not uncover in his presence, unless such a subterfuge was provided. We are reminded of Sir Thomas More.

<sup>1</sup> Mutinelli, *Del Costume Veneziano*, 1831. The practice of wearing the hair unkempt on the part of men in high stations, though long usual in other parts of Italy, does not seem to have prevailed at Venice; it may have originated in a fear of foul play during the operations of the barber. The Venetian of rank let his hair and beard grow at seasons of mourning or trouble.

Above the inner robe was ordinarily thrown a long mantle or cloak which descended nearly to the feet. To this cloak was in most cases attached a hood which might be drawn at pleasure over the head, or allowed to hang down the back or over one shoulder. The waist was commonly encircled by a wide band of velvet or other material (in mourning black or violet velvet), which served the twofold purpose of a girdle for the dress, and a belt for the weapon which long formed an indispensable part of the costume. High leathern shoes conspired with the flowing vest to hide the red stockings, and completed the description of a senator or nobleman of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The dress varied according to the seasons<sup>1</sup> as well as the personal taste of the wearer, and its elegance and costliness had a tendency to increase. At the same time, the mantle was very seldom seen without a fur lining; in summer, ermine, in winter, furs of fox and squirrel, were preferred, and the number of skins of animals of this kind, preserved in the dwellings of the rich, was barely credible. Apart from external accessories, of which the minor varieties were infinite in either sex, there were the masculine types of feature, almost in equal measure liable to differentiation. A reference to Molmenti<sup>2</sup> will shew at a glance the wide diversity of face and pose among members of the nobility and followers of liberal professions.

The modes were naturally governed by the practice of personages in high society, whose influence was capable of introducing changes and modifications of costume. At one time scarlet superseded blue; and that was again replaced by red. The cloak was an inseparable adjunct of outdoor dress, and even the beggar liked to imitate his superiors by throwing over his shoulder some rag which did duty for this appendage.

As the Shylock of the *Merchant of Venice* is represented to be a subject of the Republic and a Levantine Jew,<sup>3</sup> it may be

<sup>1</sup> See Fulgore da San Geminiano, A.D. 1260, *Sonetti de' Mesi*; *Poeti del primo secolo*, ii. 172, *Gennaio*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Privata*, ill. ed. 1905-8, ii. 202, 243-7, 401, 404, 464, 490-5. In a picture of the *Last Supper* by Paolo Veronese, Christ has on one side a Turk and on the other a Venetian patrician—probably the patron of the artist.

<sup>3</sup> Hazlitt, *Shakespear: the Man and his Work*, 1912, p. 449. But in a unique tract of a date near the period of the play, we have a Jew named Caleb Shilocke who was serving in the army, or was at least attached to it as a follower.



permissible to remark that such persons usually wore yellow turbans or, in the words of Bacon, orange-tawny bonnets, whereas their Italian co-religionists were commonly seen in red hats.

It is true that, in the nearly contemporary series of engravings by Giacomo Franco, we get the *Mercante* of the day—as the artist could see and portray him in 1609, but it is open to question, whether this personage is not to be construed into the equivalent of the French *Marchand* rather than into the opulent and influential proprietor of argosies, the capitalist, Jew or Gentile, who had his representatives and correspondents, and who, if he gained much, was content to risk much, especially in unsettled times.

The ladies were distinguished by their intelligence, the sprightliness and vivacity of their wit, their fondness for music, their talkativeness, their coaxing ways and their love of spruce clothes. "Ladies of Venice," says Gianni Alfani, a Tuscan poet of the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> "I wish to sing with you of my mistress, because she is adorned by every virtue and charm which are resplendent in you."

In person, the ladies were graceful and comely, though rather low in stature and with a slight inclination to fulness of bust, ascribable, perhaps, to the warmth of the climate and the prevalence of indolent habits, but also in part due to the prevailing fashion in attire, as we are best able to judge when a modern Englishwoman adopts on a special occasion the same style. A traveller, writing in 1714, assured us that "here is a greater number of lovely women than in any place in Europe."<sup>2</sup> They are said by Sansovino to have enjoyed a pre-eminence among the Italian women for the whiteness of their linen and for their skill in sewing and embroidery. Their costume underwent numberless changes at successive periods.<sup>3</sup> Originally it consisted of a robe of gay colour, generally blue unless they were in mourning, and of simple pattern descending in loose folds to the instep, with a mantle of azure tint which could be thrown, at the wearer's option,

<sup>1</sup> *Poeti del primo secolo*, ii. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Chancel, *New Journey over Europe*, 1714. Molmenti, *op. cit.*, ii. 500-10, furnishes some interesting types of Venetian female beauty from pictures by Titian, Giorgione, Veronese &c., but it is possible that we should allow for idealization.

<sup>3</sup> Filiassi, *Ricerche*, 144; Molmenti, *op. cit.*, ii. 408 *et seqq.*, where this subject is copiously illustrated.



MERCHANT'S DRESS

[*Photograph by Donald Macleth, London*]





across the shoulders, or be drawn close to the person by a clasp. In a drawing which probably belongs to the thirteenth century, appears a Venetian lady in this kind of drapery, with those peculiar shoes, resembling pattens, then in vogue, and with a small cap, perhaps of velvet, from which her hair escapes in careless ringlets down her back. Her sleeves are straight and fitted tightly to the wrist. The outer garment seems to be lined with a warm material, and the whole aspect of the figure indicates that it is designed to represent a female of the better class in the winter garb of the period. A second drawing<sup>1</sup> which is ascribed to the fourteenth century exhibits a lady, in indoor and perhaps evening apparel, who, from her mien and deportment, may be pronounced without much hazard to be a member of the aristocracy. Her hair is elaborately arranged and parted, and is combed off her brow; her head-dress is a species of turban. The robe which, though fitted with a high body, leaves the neck exposed, is confined at the waist with a narrow zone; the sleeves are of the simplest description. The hand which is not concealed by the drapery is gloveless; the arms are bare considerably above the elbow, and a bracelet encircles the right wrist. The feet are quite hidden from sight; pattens were employed in traversing the kennels and alleys, and were replaced in the house by easy slippers, or, on formal occasions, by shoes of more elegant workmanship. When Pietro Casola was at Venice in 1494, the pattens or *zilve*, as they were called, were worn so monstrously high, that ladies in the streets were obliged to save themselves from tumbling by leaning on the shoulders of their lacqueys.<sup>2</sup> Yet he says explicitly it was a well-kept and clean city, and that, whatever rain may fall, there is no mud. The same writer archly observes that they did not seem to spend much on shawls to cover their shoulders. The chopine was still in full fashion in the time of Coryat; they were frequently made of the Lombardy poplar. They have long been discarded,<sup>3</sup> although they were almost essential till the thoroughfares were improved; but while they prevailed, they were among the numerous sources of worry

<sup>1</sup> Mutinelli, *Del Costume Veneziano*, 1831.

<sup>2</sup> See Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, x. 367. When Lady Jane Grey made her state entry into London in 1553, she disguised her short stature in this way; but when she proceeded to her execution she dispensed with this artifice.

<sup>3</sup> Romanin, iv. 495.

to the authorities who regulated their dimensions, as women of low<sup>1</sup> stature adopted exaggerated patterns to cover their natural deficiencies. The daughters of the Doge Domenico Contarini (1659–1674) are credited with having taken the courageous initiative, in revolting against this highly inconvenient and unbecoming feature in the outfit of women of quality, and emancipated their countrywomen from a mischievous fashion. An improved police had perhaps rendered it less needful, but they still remained in use when the Sieur de la Haye was here about 1660, and saw the ladies going abroad supported by female attendants. An earlier traveller, John Raymond, who speaks of the fashionable promenade at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, calls them walking may-poles. Coryat writes in 1608: "All the women of Venice every Saturday in the afternoone doe use to annoint their haire with oyle, or some other drugs, to the end to make it looke faire, that is whitish. For that colour is most affected of the Venetian Dames and Lasses. And in this manner they do it: first they put on a readen hat, without any crowne at all, but brimmes of exceeding breadth and largeness: then they sit in some sun-shining place in a chamber or some other secret roome, where having a looking-glasse before them they sophisticate and dye their haire with the foresaid drugs, and after cast it backe round upon the brimmes of the hat, till it be thoroughly dried with the heat of the sunne: and last of all they curle it up in curious locks with a frisling or crisping pinne of iron, which we cal in Latin, Calamistrum, the toppe whereof on both sides above their forehead is acuminated in two peakes." The author saw the operation, he says, performed by a Venetian lady who had married an Englishman.<sup>2</sup>

Casola describes the lying-in chamber of a member of the Delfini family; we propose to stand aside and let him tell his story:

"The aforesaid royal Ambassador [Philippe de Commynes] said truly, that neither the Queen of France nor any French noble would have displayed so much pomp in similar circumstances. The ducal Ambassador said the same, and declared

<sup>1</sup> *Itinerary*, 1648, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Coryat's *Crudivities*, 1611, pp. 262–3.

that our most illustrious Duchess<sup>1</sup> would not have such ornamentation on a similar occasion.

“As the room was not capable of holding many persons, the aforesaid ducal Ambassador chose me specially to enter with him so that I might see and also report what I had seen elsewhere. While we were standing in the room he asked my opinion several times, now about one thing, now about another. I could only reply with a shrug of the shoulders, for it was estimated that the ornamentation of the room where we were and where the invalid was—I mean the permanent structure—had cost two thousand ducats and more, although the length of the chamber did not exceed twelve *braccia*. The fireplace was all of Carrara marble, shining like gold, and carved so subtly with figures and foliage that Praxiteles and Phidias could do no better. The ceiling was so richly decorated with gold and ultramarine and the walls so well adorned, that my pen is not equal to describing them. The bedstead alone was valued at five hundred ducats, and it was fixed in the room in the Venetian fashion.

“There were so many beautiful and natural figures and so much gold everywhere that I do not know whether in the time of Solomon, who was King of the Jews, in which silver was reputed more common than stones, there was such abundance as was displayed there. I had better not try and describe the ornaments of the bed and of the lady—that is, the coverings and the cushions, which were six in number, and the curtains—as I fear I should not be believed. They were in truth most wonderful.

“I must tell about one other thing, however, which is true, and yet perhaps I shall not be believed, though it is certain that the ducal Ambassador would not let me lie. In the same chamber there were twenty-five Venetian damsels, one more beautiful than the other, who had come to visit the invalid. Their dress was most decent, as I said above, in the Venetian style. They did not show, however, less than four or six fingers’ width of bare skin below their shoulders before and behind. Those damsels had so many jewels on the head, neck and hands—that is, gold, precious stones and pearls, that, in

<sup>1</sup> Beatrice, wife of Lodovico il Moro. She was herself at Venice in this year.



the opinion of those who were present, these must have been worth a hundred thousand ducats. Their faces were very well painted, and so was the rest of the bare skin that could be seen."<sup>1</sup>

Our Milanese conductor cannot have discovered all these matters while he was in the room, but must have collected his statistics outside. Nevertheless, his description is, considering the time, instructive enough.

It is only by intermittent glimpses that an insight is obtained into this class of history, and even Molmenti cannot yield us sensible assistance till we have reached comparatively modern days. A much earlier observer than Casola, Petrus Damianus, who was at Venice in the eleventh century, has drawn a picture of the Dogaressa of that day, a Greek by birth, whose luxurious habits excited mingled astonishment and displeasure in the mind of her biographer, although the intimate relations between the Greek capital and dynasty and the Italian republics, and even occasional intermarriages, should have familiarized Western Europe, and especially careful observers, with Byzantine habits and tastes, for, almost precisely a century prior, the German emperor Otho II., by his union with Theophano, daughter of the Greek Basileus, Romanus II., had introduced at his court the ideas and refinements of that of Constantinople. It seems that every morning, when the consort of the Doge Selvo (1070-84) rose, her cheeks were bathed with dew, which was found to impart to them a beautiful sanguine colour. Her ablutions were performed in rose-water; her clothes were scented with the finest and most delicate balsams; her hands were always gloved. Her chamber was saturated with essences and aromatic perfumes, insomuch that her attendants could scarcely refrain from fainting during the tedious process of the toilette.

The lady was a Greek; and this was a personal trait—especially at so early a date. Yet it is observable that, in the coronation-oath of 1229, balsam and rose-water are expressly mentioned as articles which might (with plants, flowers and sweet herbs) be offered as gifts to the ducal family. There is too slight ground for apprehending that, on the European continent at least, habits of personal cleanliness were, down to relatively modern times, incredibly rare among both sexes

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 339, 340.

and all classes. The case of Diana of Poitiers (1499–1566) has been adduced as an illustration of the prevailing tendency, as it was treated in the light of eccentricity or idiosyncrasy on her part, that she preserved her health and physical charms by the assiduous use of the bath. It was even insinuated that she had recourse to artificial restoratives, such as crushed gold in the water, although a contemporary assures us that she refrained from the use of rouge or paint.

Casola was an eyewitness of the splendid pageant of the *Corpus Domini* on the Piazza in 1494, and can scarcely find words to describe the splendour of the cloth of gold and velvet costumes, the richness of the decorations, the profusion of flowers and wax-tapers, the prodigality of colour; the scene survives for us all to-day in the well-known painting in the Venetian Academy.

This observant traveller continues to give an account of the life of the period. He tells us that the elderly ladies and the young matrons used in his time to walk abroad closely veiled,<sup>1</sup> but that the unmarried women were, on the contrary, liberal rather to excess in the display of their charms, and painted a good deal. Perhaps the latter practice was followed to hide their bad complexions, which, according to a contemporary of Casola, Marino Sanudo the younger,<sup>2</sup> they spoiled by their artificial way of living. Casola himself observes: "These Venetian women, especially the pretty ones, try as much as possible in public to show their chests—I mean the breasts and shoulders—so much so, that several times when I saw them I marvelled that their clothes did not fall off their backs."<sup>3</sup> Those who can afford it, and also those who cannot, dress very splendidly, and have magnificent jewels and pearls in the trimming round their collars. They wear many rings on their fingers with great balass rubies, rubies and diamonds. I said also those who cannot afford it, because I was told that many of them hire these things. They

<sup>1</sup> It may be that the author of the *Decor Puellarum*, 1471, supposed to be Zuan Corner, intends the married women, when he speaks of them going veiled according to the custom of Venice. See H. F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Edificazione della città di Venezia* (Cicogna MSS. 920), quoted by Romanin, *ubi suprà*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op., cit.*, pp. 144–5. Equally in Great Britain, in the time of James I., ladies of position went so *décolletées*, that it was suggested, as a discouragement to the practice, that female offenders should be hanged with naked bosoms and backs.—Amos, *Great Oyer of Poisoning*, 1846, p. 47.

paint their faces a great deal, and also other parts they show, in order to appear more beautiful." Long before the time of Titian,<sup>1</sup> in whose portraits we recognize the characteristic, they powdered their hair with gold-dust or with some preparation of wood-ash, to lend it an appearance more attractive to the other sex than that which nature had bestowed. Nor was this practice confined to women, for the beau and the dandy also followed it. It had been common among the Romans, and prevailed in Spain in the beginning of the sixteenth century, if not earlier. Alike in the case of the Spaniards and Italians, the fashion strikes us as out of harmony with the normal Venetian complexion. At Venice, the process of dyeing the hair occupied a considerable time, and it was common to the *hetaira*. These artificial methods survived down to much later days, in fact to the close of the independent life;<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Thrale who was here in 1784, speaking of the Venetian ladies, says: "Few remain unmarried till fifteen, and at thirty [they] have a wan and faded look." She quotes "Madame la Présidente" for the remark: "On ne goûte pas ses plaisirs ici, on les avale."

At the same time, while the writer notes that the female members of the better classes did not concern themselves with housekeeping cares or maternal duties, she pays a high and warm tribute to the fascinating address of the ladies whom she encountered. "A Venetian lady has in particular," she tells us, "so sweet a manner naturally, that she really charms without any settled intent to do so, merely from that irresistible good-humour and mellifluous tone of voice which seize the soul, and detain it in spite of Juno-like Majesty or Minerva-like wit. A woman of quality, near whom I sat at the fine ball Bragadin made two nights ago in honour of this gay season, inquired how I had passed the morning. I named several churches I had looked into, particularly that which they esteem beyond the rest as a favourite work of Palladio, and called the *Redentore*. 'You do very right,' says she, 'to look at our churches, as you have none in England, I know—but then you have so many other fine things—such charming *steel buttons*, for example'—pressing my hand to show that she meant no

<sup>1</sup> Fournier, *Le Vieux-Neuf*, 1877, ii. 215-16.

<sup>2</sup> The mode is described by Byron in a letter to Hobhouse as in vogue in 1821.



offence: 'For,' added she, 'Chi pensa d'una maniera, chi pensa d'un'altra.' . . . All literary topics are pleasingly discussed at Quirini's Casino, where everything may be learned by the conversation of the company. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Piozzi carried away the impression that Venice was a very delightful place, and quitted it at the end of five weeks with regret; but she thought the general mass of the people ignorant. She mentions having seen an exhibition of a stuffed horse, for which people paid a penny or its local equivalent, and she believed a statement made to her, that large numbers lived and died in the capital, without knowing or caring to learn how the milk brought for their consumption from the mainland was produced.

In 1201, when the rest of Europe was unable to shew any sensible advance in domestic architecture, we meet with a passage, connected with the share of the Republic in the Crusades, in which a great French soldier and a man of baronial standing, who may be accepted as a competent witness, Geoffroi de Villehardouin, emphatically commends the exceptionally spacious accommodation at the Ducal Palace, and the testimony possesses the distinctive value of being the earliest allusion of its kind. The same writer enters at considerable length into the architectural improvements spreading over centuries, which gradually brought the abode of the Doge and the contiguous block of buildings to the condition and aspect familiar to the eye of the later traveller, and, indeed, to all of us to-day. There is veritably no European site, no area of such limited extent anywhere, which has been trodden by such a succession of feet, which has echoed to such a diversity of accents, representing all the nations of the earth, bound on missions in their nature so infinitely various—from Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Albrecht Dürer and Montaigne, to William Beckford, Mrs. Piozzi, Byron, Goethe and Ruskin.

As early as 1304, before that Power had acquired any sensible measure of importance, the son of the King of Portugal paid a visit to Venice, and received every mark of distinction. The Arsenal and all the other attractions of the capital were shewn to him, and the demonstration of public enthusiasm or curiosity is described as extraordinary. The Doge met the prince at Malghera, and escorted him

<sup>1</sup> L. B. Seeley's *Mrs. Thrale*, 1891, pp. 236-8.

at his departure as far as Malamocco. His country had considerably advanced in power and rank when, in 1428, at a ball given in honour of the heir of a much later ruler, there were 120 ladies entirely enveloped in robes of cloth of gold, blazing with jewels, and 1300 others attired in crimson silk studded with pearls and precious stones. The noble visitor intimated a desire to see some of the private residences of the patricians, and pronounced them as less like the dwellings of citizens than the palaces of princes. Elsewhere we have a statement, almost a complaint, that, while crowned heads used wooden platters for their food, the Republic dined and supped off silver.

It was not long posterior to the visit of Dom Pedro, that the singular case happened—about 1441—in which the Emperor Frederick III. of Germany presented himself, and, the Doge Foscari being reported indisposed, the reception devolved on his consort; the august pair—the Empress, a girl of fifteen, Eleanora of Portugal—remained a fortnight. Her Majesty had a surfeit of sight-seeing, and perhaps the Signory and the Dogaressa were not sorry when the guests took their leave. The latter were in command of the situation. To have given umbrage would have been out of the question; the experience was unique.

One of the earliest notices of the *Sensa* or Feast of the Ascension, to which persons of all ranks, conditions and nationalities were in the habit of repairing, is associated with a signal historical episode, for, in 1347, Isabella de' Fieschi, wife of Luchino Visconti, Duke of Milan, was among the visitors: a very beautiful and attractive woman of cultivated taste, but of a susceptible and licentious disposition; there is a tradition which seems to be fairly supported, that the Serenissimo Andrea Dandolo became enamoured of his guest.

Scarcely a year elapsed without some incident necessitated by political, commercial or other motives. In 1422, had come Francesco Sforza and his bride Bianca Visconti: in 1438, Johannes Palæologos, Emperor of Constantinople, visiting Italy to attend the Council of Constance: in 1476, the Marquis of Mantua,<sup>1</sup> and in the same year a Tartar delegation

<sup>1</sup> Comp. ch. lvi. The Gonzaga family was associated with the Signory during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on several occasions in a military capacity. Giovanni Francesco II. (1484-1519) even inscribed on his coins his

from the Khan, of the stay of which in the city the Milanese envoy at Venice furnishes the Duke Galeazzo Maria with a narrative, shewing the profuse outlay on the representatives of a country in which the Republic had every desire to preserve and extend its reputation for wealth and power. Not only rich vestments and precious stones, but armour, weapons and horses, were offered as a testimony of the great affection and loyalty of the Venetians toward the great Khan, and the travelling expenses of his Highness's diplomatic agents on their return home were handed to them, as a crowning proof of friendship and of indifference to money.

There is a detailed coeval account of the mission of the Lord and Lady of Forlì and Imola, Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza-Visconti, in 1481, at the instance of Pope Sixtus IV., in connexion with a design for the partition of the duchy of Ferrara between Venice and the Holy See. Madonna di Forlì and her husband were met even at Ravenna by Venetian noblemen, and at Malamocco were welcomed by forty of the leading citizens. When they reached San Clemente, the Doge and 115 noble ladies appointed to attend on Madonna Contessa—a girl of eighteen—were waiting in the Bucentaur to offer their salutations, and to conduct them to the city. Among the suite was the daughter-in-law of his Serenity habited all in gold. When Riario paid a visit of honour to the Doge, the latter met him at the foot of the Palace stairs. One day he was taken to the Arsenal, and another to the Great Council, where he was made a Venetian citizen by acclamation, and where, when he had designated Bernardo Bambo Podestà of Ravenna, his choice was forthwith confirmed without a ballot. On Sunday, the 9th of September, a ball was given in the great hall of the Palace, at which, says an eyewitness, 132 noble maidens, resplendent in gold, gems and pearls valued at 300,000 gold crowns, were present; the throng was so great, that the narrator declares he had never seen such, except at Rome at the time of the Jubilee. The Doge sat between his two guests; owing to the multitude the dances were rather confused; the banquet took place at sunset, and wax candles made the night like day.

dignity as Captain-General of Venice; indeed he did the same in regard to the Holy See. The Marquis experienced many vicissitudes of fortune, and lived to become the friend and opponent, the *generalissimo* and prisoner of Venice.



A very unusual occurrence took place in 1485, when the Venetian Executive apprised by circular the governors of Padua, Vicenza, Verona and Breseia, that the Grand Master of Rhodes might be expected their way, and that they were to neglect no means of doing him honour. "Watch for his arrival; meet him on the way, well accompanied; receive him with every mark of love and respect, and accompany him to his lodging, where you will have his expenses and those of his retinue paid from the moneys of our Signory. On his departure, in like manner you will accompany him with tokens of honour, making the usual offers, and in such bland form of speech as of your prudence you will know how to do." In a letter from the Doge to Richard III. of England, written on the same day, the 2nd of May, his Serenity refers to a visit paid to Venice by the Lord Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell (Sir John Kendal), three months before.<sup>1</sup>

In 1493, Beatrice d' Este, wife of Lodovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, is found coming with a numerous retinue of kinsfolk, attendants and her husband's diplomatic representatives, to ratify the defensive treaty between Milan and the Signory against Charles VIII. of France, and was received with due homage; but when the Duke was taken prisoner and sent to Loches by Louis XII. in 1500, bonfires were lighted on the Piazza of St. Mark to signalize the event. Sanudo the diarist writes under the 14th of April in the latter year: "This year they had a bonfire on the Place of St. Mark. Yesterday the Signory caused to be brought thither thirty cart-loads of wood, and the French ambassador who arrived to-day also purchased a quantity, and had it set alight, together with the boat in which he came."

Philippe de Commynes has been elsewhere noticed, as having been accredited by Charles VIII. of France to the Government of the Doge, with a view to a stricter alliance between the Powers in connexion with the French projects in the Peninsula. This was in 1494. The historian reports that he was met by an escort, comprising five and twenty gentlemen richly attired, and by a salute of drums and trumpets at Lizzafusina, which he transforms into *Chafousine* and describes as five miles from the city. He left at that point the boat which had brought him from Padua, and entered with

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), i. 154.

his suite into certain small covered barks furnished with carpeted seats. The visitor, whose first experience of the place this was, was astonished by the peculiarity of the site, by the number of clock-towers and monasteries and blocks of building, all rising, as it were, out of the water, and by the vast collection of boats, the only class of vehicles to be seen, which he set down at 30,000. Venice itself, when Commynes reached it, impressed him as the most triumphant city he had ever seen; where the greatest honour was done to strangers and ambassadors; which was governed by the wisest methods; and which paid the greatest homage to God. The illustrious Frenchman was conducted to the principal sights, and was much gratified by the splendour of the Treasury of St. Mark, and by the magnitude of the Arsenal, which he characterizes as the finest spectacle and the best regulated institution of the kind then extant. A curious and unexpected occurrence was his meeting at the Milanese embassy with Pietro Casola on the return of the latter from the Holy Land. A comparison of notes between these two notable individuals must have been mutually interesting and instructive.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond the admiration of an unusually intelligent Frenchman for the amenity of Venice, the beauty of its buildings and the excellence of its policy, there was the tendency of the noble countrywomen of Commynes, to pay homage in their own way to the Signory, by imitating its female aristocracy in their dress, which underwent a marked change, subsequently to the expedition of Charles VIII. to Italy at the end of the fifteenth century.

An unprecedented episode is referable to 1502-3, when, on the 17th of February, three noble ladies, the Marchioness of Mantua, the Duchess of Urbino and the Marchioness of Cotrone, arrived *incognito* and were lodged at the Trevisano Palace at Sant' Eustachio. They received a private visit from a high Government official, who offered them handsome gifts and placed himself at their disposition. In the course of the same year, a much more serious outlay was involuntarily and unexpectedly incurred by the arrival of Anne de Candalles, accompanied by the Marchioness of Saluzzo, on her way to Hungary to be married to King Ladislaus VII. The Hungarian commissioners were there to receive her, but her dowry of

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, bk. vii. ch. 15, and Casola, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

40,000 ducats, promised by her cousin Louis XII. of France who had negotiated the alliance, did not accompany her, and she was obliged to remain till the money was forthcoming, as the representatives of Ladislaus would not leave without it. The august young lady, who is described by the diarist Sanudo as seventeen years of age, short of stature, handsome and gentle of speech, was lodged at the palace of the Dukes of Ferrara, and is stated to have cost her hosts about 4500 ducats a week for some time; but a senator observed that "he who drinks the sea may drink a river." The future queen did not embark till the 21st of July, when one of the Masters of the Arsenal, "the discreet and handsome Piero Lando," says Sanudo, was appointed commander of the galley which conveyed her to Segna. She retained a grateful recollection of her kind Venetian entertainers, and took an opportunity of conveying, through the ambassador at Buda, her acknowledgments to the Doge and the Signory, to the authorities at Brescia and to the aforesaid Lando. Her Majesty does not name the diarist himself, who states that he did the honours at Verona where he was then treasurer.

The visit of the lawyer, Anton Kressen of Nürnberg, to the city in or about 1505 is noticed in connexion with his purchase of a *Petrarch* there. It was in the same year that a more distinguished man than Kressen found his way to Venice, in the person of Albrecht Dürer, who remained there or in Italy a full twelvemonth. In a letter to the magistrates of Nürnberg, he states that the Doge had once written to him, offering him a home and a yearly *honorarium* of 200 ducats; and, in a most interesting correspondence with his intimate friend, Wilibald Pirkheimer,<sup>1</sup> the scholar and collector, he shews to some extent how he employed himself during his stay, and what his opinion of the Venetians was. He evidently combined business with pleasure, for we hear of his laying out 100 ducats in colours. In a communication to Pirkheimer in September 1506, he says that the Doge and the Patriarch have called to see one of his paintings, and in another he announces his intention to pay a professional visit to Bologna before he leaves. Dürer met with agreeable society here—artists, musicians, men of letters, persons of prepossessing address and extensive information.

<sup>1</sup> *Albert Dürer à Venise et dans les Pays-Bas*, traduit de l'Allemand par C. Narrey, large 8vo, 1866.



He formed the acquaintance of Giovanni Bellini, who recommended him to several, and expressed a desire to possess one of his works for which he would gladly pay a good price. He conversed with a printer whom he does not name, but does not suggest that he executed any artistic commission for him or any other member of the calling, or for any bookbinder. He certainly designed and engraved two book-plates for Pirkheimer, and decorated several of the books themselves, chiefly with slight marginal sketches, but in one instance at least with a finished painting. The book was a *Theocritus* printed at Venice in 1495, and apparently acquired by Pirkheimer in or about 1524, the date of the inscription in which Dürer commemorated this testimony of affectionate regard for his friend. In one passage of the correspondence, he declares that he is becoming by degrees a veritable Venetian signore. The letters of Dürer to Pirkheimer almost lead us to infer that the prices realizable for his productions were not so high as in Germany, or at least at Nürnberg. We perceive that he made numerous purchases for his friend—rings, tapestry, fans, paper, glass. He reports to him the difficulty of obtaining sapphires, and the high tariff for emeralds, but says that amethysts of medium quality in white and green might be had at prices ranging from 20 to 25 ducats. As to the latter, he merely professes to repeat what the experts have told him, knowing nothing about precious stones. He had bought some wool or woollen goods on his own account, and the parcel was lost in a fire, as well as, he fears, a cloak, which loss altogether puts him out of humour. It was in the course of the present visit, that Dürer executed a still extant plan of Venice as it then appeared.

This sojourn was quite independent of previous overtures of the Signory, and the event merits commemoration, looking at the singular eminence of the individual and the rarity of notices of the resort of his countrymen to Venice, notwithstanding the long existence of a local German Gild, and the antiquity of diplomatic relations. It seems improbable that Dürer and Kressen met on Venetian ground, for the latter was back at Nürnberg in the course of 1505, and his *Petrarch* was sent home by the binder. Pirkheimer himself was no stranger to Italy, having spent a good deal of time in the last decade of the preceding century at Padua and elsewhere; and he undoubtedly knew Venice. His Aldine

*Martial* of 1501 was given to him by a Venetian nobleman, Andrea Cornaro.

There is a mention in Sanudo, under the 16th of May, 1507, of the visit of a Scottish bishop (supposed to be Robert Blackader, Bishop of Aberdeen and of Glasgow) to the city on his way to the Holy Land, and of his gracious reception by the Doge. He entered the presence-chamber with attendants dressed in purple camlet. He was invited to occupy a seat near the Doge. He brought letters of introduction from the Kings of Scotland and France, and delivered a Latin oration in praise of the Signory. The Diarist thought that his income was 2000 ducats, and tells us that accommodation was found for him at the Cà Frizier at Cannaregio. He was still at Venice on the 1st of June, and was invited to join the party, when the Doge went in the Bucentaur as usual on Ascension Day to bless the sea beyond SS. Andrea and Nicolò. He at length took his passage on the Jaffa galley and died on board.<sup>1</sup>

We meet, in his badly dated autobiography, with an account of a short stay at Venice, some time before 1548, of Benvenuto Cellini who saw there Titian, Jacopo Sansovino the sculptor whom he had known in earlier life at Rome and Florence, and Lorenzino de' Medici with whom he became acquainted during his residence at Paris, while Lorenzino was staying under the roof of Giuliano Buonacorsi. Cellini was strongly importuned to prolong his visit, but he hastened back to Tuscany. About twenty years later, Miles Blomefield of Bury St. Edmunds, a well-known book-collector, appears to have been here, as he has inscribed in a copy of *The History of Italy*, by William Thomas, 1549: "Myles Blomefylde in Venice, A° 1568."

A very elaborate affair was the visit in 1572 of Alfonso II., Duke of Ferrara, of which an eyewitness has transmitted particulars. Seven palaces were engaged to accommodate him and his suite, and the crowd of gondolas on the Grand Canal was such that there were some fatal collisions. The reception of Henry III. of France some years later was attended by great display, but the Cappello and another mansion sufficed to lodge his Majesty and those who accompanied him.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (Venice)*, i. 329-31.

In 1574, we meet with a distinct vestige at Padua, so near to Venice, of Sir Philip Sidney, who brought away with him a reminiscence of his visit in the shape of a copy of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*, printed at Venice in 1569, and inscribed at the top of the title-page: "Philippo Sidneio, Patavij, 20 Junij 1574." Is it not probable that he extended his journey to the Lagoon, if indeed he had not previously landed there, and beheld the city in its unfaded splendour? <sup>1</sup>

Montaigne, who had been here in 1580, furnishes a recollection of his feelings, where, in the enlarged impression of his famous book in 1588, he added a paragraph, noting his opinion that Venice was a good place in which to spend the declining years of life.

When the Duc de Rohan was here in 1600, the Arsenal was described by him as being in a high state of efficiency, and as having 100 galleys fully manned and equipped. The Duke says that it contained the means of arming 20,000 infantry, and that 2000 hands were employed in various branches of work. He saw the Palace, or rather, he says, the prison of the Doge, and speaks highly of the paintings by Titian and other masters, and was charmed by St. Mark's Basilica. Although we collect that his stay at Venice and Padua extended over two months, his account is meagre, but he visited the greater part of Europe as well as Great Britain, and his book of travel is a small one.<sup>2</sup> He admits that Venice was so wonderful, that scarcely any length of stay was sufficient to exhaust its beauties and its treasures.

Evelyn has left his impressions of the *Sensa* as it appeared to him in 1645, and takes the opportunity of describing the ladies at that period and their attire. "It was now Ascension-week," he writes, "and the great mart, or fair, of the whole year was kept, every body at liberty and jolly; the noblemen stalking with their ladies on *choppines*. These are high-heeled shoes, particularly affected by these proud dames, or, as some say, invented to keep them at home, it being very difficult to walk with them; whence, one being asked how he

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's *Roll of Honour*, 1908, p. 214, where a facsimile of the inscription may be found.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage Du Duc de Rohan, Faict en l'an 1600, en Italie, Allemagne, Pays-Bas, Angleterre & Escosse.* 12°, Amsterdam, 1646.



liked the Venetian dames, replied, they were *mezzo carne, mezzo legno*, half flesh and half wood, and he would have none of them. The truth is, their garb is very odd, as seeming always in masquerade. . . . They wear very long crisp hair, of several streaks and colours, which they make so by a wash, dishevelling it on the brims of a broad hat that has no crown, but a hole to put out their heads by; they dry them in the sun, as one may see them at their windows. In their tire, they set silk flowers and sparkling stones, their petticoats coming from their very arm-pits, so that they are near three quarters and a half apron; their sleeves are made exceeding wide, under which their shift-sleeves as wide, and commonly tucked up to the shoulder, showing their naked arms, through false sleeves of tiffany, girt with a bracelet or two, with knots of points richly tagged about their shoulders and other places of their body, which they usually cover with a kind of yellow veil, of lawn, very transparent." The diarist proceeds to mention that the courtezans and citizens did not wear the high shoes, and covered themselves with a long taffeta veil, out of which they cast glances at passers-by; but he presently discriminates between the women of pleasure and the *cittadinanza*, by informing us that the former went unveiled.

Evelyn mentions one or two matters immediately after his arrival which are worth transcribing:—"June, 1645. The next morning, finding myself extremely weary and beaten with my journey, I went to one of their bagnios, where you are treated after the eastern manner, washing with hot and cold water, with oils, and being rubbed with a kind of strigil of seal's-skin, put on the operator's hand like a glove. This bath did so open my pores, that it cost me one of the greatest colds I ever had in my life, for want of necessary caution in keeping myself warm for some time after"; he presently dwells on the abundance of excellent and cheap provisions which had been observed by previous visitors.

Sir Andrew Balfour, a Scottish physician who visited Venice about 1668,<sup>1</sup> arrived there by water from Bologna in a vessel which made the voyage twice a week. He was advised to go to the English Consul for information as to lodgings. At that time, Giles Jones filled the position and entertained lodgers,

<sup>1</sup> *Letters Write to a Friend*, 8vo, 1700, pp. 223-6.

and Balfour speaks of him as an honest fellow who sent his purchases on to London. Sir Andrew considered three or four weeks not too long to gain a thorough knowledge of the place. Speaking of Murano, he observes: "They have likeways a great Art of whitneing Wax, which is observed to succeed better in this Island than any other place in or about the City." He presently adds: "You cannot miss to meet with a great many Curiosities here, both Natural and *Artificial*, because of the great resort that Strangers have to this Place, especiallie from the *Levant*; you will find *Medals*, *Intaleo's*, *Chamao's* &c. amongst the Goldsmiths. I have seen severall Curiosities to sell in the place of St. *Mark*, and sometime within the Court of the Palace, and in many other corners throughout the City. You may meet with many Curiosities of *Glass*, that are both usefull and delightfull. It will be worth your while to visit the Book-sellers' Shops, for besides many Curious Books, that you may light upon here, and particularly of *Botany*; you may likeways find verie many Books, that are prohibited in other places of Italy." The writer was pleased to meet with the brother of Antonio Donato, a botanical authority, who had published in 1631 an account of certain natural objects found in the lidi of Venice, and who shewed him copperplates of them. He adds: "There are many Virtuosi in the City, that have great collections of fine things, which you may be pleased to inquire after and see."

Richard Lassels, an English tutor, who, after paying several visits to Italy in his professional capacity, published his experiences in 1670 at Paris, has devoted a considerable space to an account of what he saw here. "The *Habit* of the *Doge*," he writes, "is ancient, and hath something of the *Pontifical* habit in it. His *Pompe*, *Train*, and *Lodgeing*, are all *Princely*; and in *publick functions* he hath carryed before him the *eight sylver trumpets*, the great *Umbrella* of cloth of tyssue, the *cusshen*, the *Chair*, the *guilt sword*, and a *white wax candle* carryed by a child. All letters of State are written in his name." Lassels left very little unexplored, but he says nothing of the prisons. He remarks in one place: "We went after diner one *Saturday*, to see the *Jews Synagogue*. Among other things I heard here a *Rabbin* make a *Homily* to his flock. He looked like a *French Minister*, or *Puritanical*

*Lecturer*, in short *cloake* and *hat*. The snaffling through the nose made all the edification that I sawe in it: It was in *Italian*, but the coldest discourse that I ever heard in any language. Indeed it was their *Sabboth* day, and they eat no other meat that day, but cold meat."<sup>1</sup>

William Acton, somewhat later,<sup>2</sup> set down a few passing impressions about the place to which he appears to have devoted a three weeks' stay; but he is not so minute in his description as in the case of Rome. He visited the Arsenal, where he states that arms for 400,000 men were stored—a probable exaggeration or slip of the pen. The Treasury of St. Mark struck him as inferior to that at Loreto. He ascended the steeple of St. Mark's, apparently meaning the Campanile, from which he saw, he tells us, a larger number of buildings than in Rome. In the choir of the Church of Sant' Antonio were twelve brass tablets engraved with Scriptural subjects, and in the cloisters he observed "a little black marble stone that covers the bowels of the old Duke of Norfolk, father to the supposed mad Duke, that we saw confined at Padua." The writer must refer to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who died unmarried at Padua in 1677; but the marble stone seems to belong to a much earlier date, and probably to the story related in these pages of a Duke of the Plantagenet period.<sup>3</sup>

In 1688, Cosimo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, came to attend the Carnival, or at any rate in Carnival-time. A regatta was arranged in his honour.<sup>4</sup> There was no cessation of visits of illustrious personages of all countries, so long as the Republic lasted, nor was there much abatement of extravagance. They came from a variety of motives; but the Carnival and Regatta, and the unique City, with so lengthened and brilliant a history, were the prevailing inducements, although the Duke of Brunswick, of whose stay there is a coeval narrative, brought with him in 1685–6 the troops with which he proposed to operate in the Morea, and was consequently quartered at Lido.

It had been the intention of Peter the Great of Russia to

<sup>1</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, pt. ii. pp. 371–2, 422–3.

<sup>2</sup> *New Journal of Italy*, 1691.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. liv.

<sup>4</sup> An account of it appeared at Venice in a folio volume with fourteen folded plates. Comp. Romanin, vii. 552.



call at Venice on his way back home in 1698, but his return was accelerated by political events, and he sent forward one of his favourites to learn particulars of Venetian naval construction and to study the Italian language. When he next met this person at home, he bad him get out of his sight as he was only fit to play the fool, inasmuch as he confessed that he had spent all his time in Venice in his rooms, smoking and drinking brandy. In 1755, the Elector of Cologne met with a friendly and hospitable welcome, and a public banquet was arranged for him at the Nani Palace at the Giudecca. The contemporary painting in the *Museo Civico* exhibits the guests seated round the tables in the form of a horse-shoe, in an apartment of noble dimensions lighted by candelabra suspended from the ceiling.

In 1769, the Republic had notice from the Cavaliere Trono, Superintendent of the Government Posts, that the Emperor Joseph II., after visiting Florence, Mantua, Turin and Milan, proposed to come to Venice in strict incognito as the Graf von Falkenstein. His Majesty arrived on the 22nd of July about midnight with a very small retinue, and was taken by Trono, whom the Signory had selected to attend upon him during his sojourn, to the *White Lion* at SS. Apostoli on the Grand Canal. The lateness of the arrival did not prevent him from going to the Opera at the San Benedetto Theatre, where he paid his respects to the great ladies in their boxes and had his visits returned. The next day, he visited all the objects of interest, especially the Arsenal, but declined all publicity and state, and excused himself to the Senate, through Trono, for not attending the festivities and diversions which had been prepared in his honour, observing that he did not care for such matters, and that, during all his travels as a young man, he had followed the same principle. The Cavaliere, however, prevailed on his Majesty to go to a *conversazione* at the Casa Rezzonico,<sup>1</sup> it being understood that the meeting had not been arranged on his account, and that he was not to be received with the slightest

<sup>1</sup> The card of invitation was as follows:—

“Resta avvertito V.E. figli e consorte per parte degli eccellentissimi Savii, cassiere attuale ed uscito, che nella sera di martedì, sarà li 28 luglio alle ore 24, vi sarà una publica conversazione in cà Rezzonico a cui resta supplicata d'intervenire. Sono invitati li nn. hh. in vesta nera, e le excell. dame in andrien nero con cerchio e barbole.”—Romanin, vii. 191.

ceremony. There were present one hundred and twenty ladies splendidly dressed and blazing with jewels, and upward of six hundred patricians. The Emperor arrived when the music had already commenced, and entered unnoticed without torch-bearers and footmen, attended only by his major-domo. He attended a sitting of the Great Council, and insisted on occupying one of the ordinary benches set apart for strangers, where the Cavaliere Mocenigo explained to him the course of procedure. The Emperor subsequently heard a cause before the Quarantia, and, although he considered all existing judicial systems liable to a charge of inconvenience, he pronounced the Venetian forms the purest and most conducive to equitable results which he had seen. He conversed with Trono upon the objects and benefits of commerce, of the inevitable tendency of Powers to commit acts or adopt measures prejudicial or obnoxious to their neighbours, but observed that such things ought not to produce a breach of friendly relations. To the Procurator, touching on Trieste, and mentioning that others, who had studied commercial questions more than himself, had remarked that millions might be spent in that city without any adequate fruit, his Majesty replied that that might be so, but that he intended to go there, and judge with his own eyes what the real facts were.

His Majesty left Venice after the *conversazione* on the night of the 25th of July, full of admiration of all that he had seen. Trono informed the Senate that Joseph spoke German, French, Italian, Latin and a little Hungarian; he gave him a very high character. The Emperor was again at Venice in 1775, and was then accompanied by the Archdukes Leopold, Maximilian and Ferdinand. The whole party was in strict incognito, and remained eight days, witnessing the *Sensa* and the *Regatta*.

This certainly was one of the most remarkable experiences of the kind, and the city had never been honoured by the presence of an exalted guest so unassuming in demeanour. The Venetians must have regarded his Majesty with speculative wonder, as a type totally distinct from those to whom they had been immemorially accustomed: perhaps as one meeting half-way the new democratic spirit to which Venice itself was not by any means a stranger toward the last. The preparations for the imperial visitor, in addition to

fireworks, illuminations and a regatta, included the formation of an artificial lake in front of the Piazzetta, set off with fruit-trees to represent the Gardens of the Hesperides, and, on this sheet of water, fishermen dressed as tritons plied their craft, and went through all the forms of their pursuit by torch-light. The Emperor acted at Venice in no exceptional manner in declining the honour due to his rank; his Majesty had done the same in Paris and elsewhere. Peter the Great of Russia had set the example, so far as crowned heads went, though the practice of travelling incognito was no novelty even in the sixteenth century; it went back to the Middle Ages—and farther.

A very different person from Joseph II., William Beckford of Fonthill, author of *Vathek*, speaking of the appearance of the streets in 1780, mentions the unusual number of Orientals, and the polyglot conversation heard by him: here, some talking in a Slav dialect, there, some in a Greek argot or jargon. If the Church of Saint Mark, he says, had been the Tower of Babel, and the square in front of it the principal street of that city, the confusion of tongues could not have been greater. The numerous Jews, both Italian and Levantine, in their gabardines and red hats or yellow turbans, contributed to render the scene more impressive and dramatic.

There was scarcely any interruption of this sort of incident, or limit to the variety of guest who sought, in these late days, the hospitality of Venice, and found it not less generous and thoughtful than in times of infinitely greater prosperity and power. In 1782 and the succeeding year, came his Holiness Pius VI., the Grand Duke Paul of Russia and his wife travelling as the "Conti del Nord,"<sup>1</sup> and Gustavus III. of Sweden who adopted the name Count of Haga: all were received with splendour and politeness. The visit of their Imperial Highnesses had been expected for some months, and their near approach was indicated by the appearance one evening at the Opera of the Duke of Würtemberg, brother of the

<sup>1</sup> (i.) Del Soggiorno dei Conti del Nord a Venezia in Gennaro del MDCCCLXXXII. Lettera della Contessa Giustiniana degli Orsini, e Rosenberg a Riccardo Wynne, suo Fratello, a Londra. Dal Francese recata in Italiano. 8°, 1782, with portraits of the Duke and Duchess. Pp. 78. (ii.) Descrizione degli Spettacoli, e Feste Datesi in Venezia per occasione della venuta delle LL. AA. II. il Gran Duca, e Gran Duchessa di Moscovia, sotto il nome di Conti del Nord Nel Mese di Gennajo 1782. Seconda Edizione corretta, e ampliata. 8°, Venezia 1782. Plates pp. 20.



Grand Duchess. The Procurator Francesco Pesaro, a *savio* of the Council, and Signore Giovanni Grimani, *Savio di terra ferma*, were delegated to attend upon the new-comers, to salute them on their arrival, and to forestall all their wishes. The Duke of Würtemberg, accompanied by Pesaro and Grimani, proceeded to Conegliano where the Duke and Duchess appeared toward the evening, and the next day the whole party set out for Venice, a portion of the Russian retinue having gone before. The narratives of this episode admit us to a fuller acquaintance with the particulars of the reception, and the pains taken to propitiate and impress the distinguished and unusual visitors. On the first evening, there was a grand assembly at the *Palazzo* or *Casino dei Filarmonici*, and the Cavaliere Andriana Foscari, wife of a former ambassador at the Court of Vienna, was introduced to the Russian Princess by Pesaro, as the most suitable personage to wait upon her during her stay. The two strange guests were conducted through the city, preserving a strict *incognito*, and were even attired in Venetian costume. The most signal feature in the whole affair was probably the superb and brilliant spectacle at the theatre of San Benedetto, where, from the absence of any public hall of adequate capacity, a banquet was given to the visitors, and where we perceive in one of the contemporary engravings<sup>1</sup> the tiers of boxes from floor to ceiling, filled by members of the aristocracy arrayed in the height of the prevailing fashion, many with opera-glasses in their hands, to enable them to command the scene beneath and around them. There was also a grand dance at the Filarmonici, when the Grand Duchess gave her hand in a minuet to the Procurator Pesaro, taking occasion to tell him that that was only the third time she had consented to dance since leaving St. Petersburg, her two previous partners having been the Emperor and the King of Poland. Pesaro officially acted as proxy for the Doge.

For the Pontiff there were religious ceremonies and a special cantata written by Gasparo Gozzi, with music by Buranello; Pius visited all the public buildings and the Arsenal. The shews prepared in honour of the Russian *incogniti* necessitated a temporary enlargement of the Piazzetta; the crowd of spectators is described as enormous. Yet, to

<sup>1</sup> See the large illustration in the "pocket" of volume ii. of this work.

the infinite astonishment of the Grand Duke, perfect order was preserved by the head of the police in his red robe, assisted by five *uscieri* of the Council of Ten. His Highness may have appreciated the contrast between Venetian and Russian institutions, but Casola in 1494 was equally struck by the maintenance of perfect order during the festival of Corpus Domini under precisely similar conditions. Russian acquaintance with Western affairs had improved since a Duke of Muscovy imagined that Venice was a province of the Apostolic See.

Still another class of witness is the Spanish Abbot Juan Andres, who travelled in Italy in 1789 and took Venice in his way. He appears to have been a bookman, and was struck by the large number of booksellers in the place, in comparison with Rome, Naples or any other Italian city. Such commodities, according to him, were exposed for sale, not only in regular shops, but on stalls and benches, by those who lived by dealing in nothing else.

One of the last guests of distinction seems to have been the Comte d'Artois, who presented himself here in 1791 on behalf of the Royalist cause in France, and was received with royal honours, as the progress of the French revolutionary movement was still uncertain, and the king still reigned; shortly after, the Queen of Naples and the Emperor Leopold arrived on a similar mission. The object appears in both cases to have been to obtain the friendly neutrality and advice of Venice, rather than an active support, although the exploits of one of its naval commanders at this juncture in Africa, against the corsairs of Tunis and Algiers, may have led some of the Continental Powers to exaggerate the belligerent resources of the Signory. These two episodes were quickly succeeded by the fall of the French Bourbons, and, when we next hear of the Comte d'Artois, he has been desired by the Government to quit the Venetian territories where he had taken up his residence.

The drawing-room or *salon* had its history and development, if it had been practicable to trace with any amount of consecutive precision the gradual stages through which it passed, till it assumed the form which it is described as wearing in the eighteenth century by correspondents, diarists and play-wrights. The peculiar rigour of the official system

survived to a great extent to the close of the Republic, but even at Venice the tribunals, more especially the Senate, grew at last more pliant to those influences which are mixed products of the drawing-room, the theatre and the fashionable promenade or the *ridotto*. As the corruption of manners tended to increase, there were cases in which important political preferment was decided by the wife of some statesman, more ambitious, more indomitable, perhaps more attractive, than himself. Maria Quirini-Corraro desired in 1756 to obtain for her husband, then filling one of the embassies, the post of Bailo of Constantinople, and at first failed; but the Signora canvassed everybody likely to be of service, exhausted all expedients, even procured a private interview with the Doge, and ultimately gained her point at all risks. There were several others equally celebrated and equally intrepid in the pursuit of their aims. But, partly owing to the rare personal capacity of her husband in the diplomatic service, and his extraordinary predominance in the last days, Caterina Giacobba Dolfin-Trono or Tron acquired a social position and influence probably unsurpassed. The Procurator Tron (1702-62), whose features and dignified presence have been preserved to us in the portrait by Longhi, had, from his special prominence and his selection to discharge any function in which unusual tact and dexterity were needful, received the popular sobriquet *el Peron* (*il padrone* or *the governor*). He belonged to a family which had given a Doge to the Republic in the fifteenth century, and had popularized itself by its munificence, and the *salon* of his beautiful and imperious wife was the favourite resort of all who aspired to be in the inner circle, who had a taste for hearing or talking scandal or who had a suit before the councils or the courts. *La Trona* was in her time the central figure of the most distinguished, the most influential, and the most brilliant society in Venice—the Venice of Gozzi and Goldoni, of feverish gaiety and ubiquitous intrigue, of the masquerade and the card-table. According to the descriptions of her which have descended to us, she must have been a highly fascinating woman, who had a wide circle of friends both in and out of Venice,<sup>1</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> “D’après le portrait que nous en a laissé un de ses adorateurs, elle avait les cheveux blonds, le front serein, les yeux d’azur, la bouche de roses, la gorge opulente et d’une blancheur de neige, les mains et les pieds très-petits.”—Molmenti, French version, 1882, p. 463.



she had two faults—a daring and insolent indiscretion and a want of self-command. She committed herself both by what she said and what she did; she sometimes lost her temper and sometimes left room for unfavourable criticism. One of her retorts is preserved. When some one said, “La Trona vendeva il palco più caro dela persona,” the lady rejoined, “Gavè rason, perchè questa al caso lo dono.” Her connexion with the Gratarol affair, however, was the most serious blow to her prestige, and is supposed to have been immediately instrumental in excluding her husband from the Dogeship when a vacancy occurred in 1779. Pier Antonio Gratarol, Secretary to the Senate, was compelled to quit his office and his country, and ascribed his disgrace to her machinations. In his *Apology*,<sup>1</sup> printed in 1779, he has drawn the character of the “Venetian princess” with a pen dipped in gall, imputing to her the gravest improprieties, and at the same time insinuating that she employed the Senate as a medium for publishing her decrees.

Her husband the Procurator and Postmaster-General (*Deputato alle Poste*) was a really eminent and valuable public servant, and his wife and himself were perhaps the most distinguished couple of their time. Andrea Tron in 1772 rendered a signal service to his country, by promoting the suppression of a considerable number of the monastic institutions with which the city swarmed. A noble kinsman wrote: “Six and twenty monasteries suppressed! what a consolation!” These establishments<sup>2</sup> had gradually acquired the character of fashionable resorts for the ordinary friends and acquaintances of the inmates, men and women alike, and the *parlatorio* was, at certain appointed or understood times, a general rendezvous where gaily-attired ladies foregathered, where Punchinello was admitted to amuse the children of visitors, and where boys sold refreshments.

Modern research has admitted us behind the scenes, and placed us within view of the high social life at Venice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We are familiar with the toilette, the conversazione, the concert, the ball

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, French version, 1882, p. 437.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. ch. xlv., and see Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed. 1905-1908, iii. pp. 412-15. Many of these monasteries, nunneries, and even churches, were at intervals removed, and the sites utilized for secular purposes—to enlarge the Arsenal, form a public garden, or lay out a cemetery.

and all the accessories indispensable to persons of rank and fashion. The innumerable diversities of head-dress, the preferences in jewellery, the changing sentiment in boots and shoes and the multifarious ideas legible in the rich historical fan, which even the inmates of some of the religious houses were at liberty to use out of devotional hours; the artistic visiting-card<sup>1</sup> and the book-plate are at our disposal. Both sexes partook of the same capricious and wavering humour, and were perhaps more or less, as they have always been, under the tutelage of their caterers and leaders. The modes of Padua and Milan became not dissimilar from those of the Adriatic metropolis.

The sumptuary laws which were promulgated as early as the last year of the thirteenth century, in order to restrain extravagant expenditure on dress, personal ornaments and household living, dated from a political crisis, when the Government discovered that the resources demanded for public objects were squandered on luxury and ostentation. Practically, the observance of statutory precepts was never in this respect very rigidly enforced. On the day after the issue of one of these edicts, so to speak, a magnificent ceremony or pageant necessitated a revival of the old splendour and profusion; and when, not a constitutional, but a social principle was involved, the authorities were singularly lenient, or granted on application a special grace. Vast sums of money, no doubt, were wasted, but the community at large was entertained and propitiated.

The wars with Genoa (1353-55) and Hungary (1356-58) had superinduced a scarcity of money and a rise in prices, and the times were pronounced to be bad. Yet this distress was insufficient to check the progress of luxury among the higher classes who were less sensible of the pressure, and it was thought necessary in 1360 to impose restraints on this costly tendency. The measure, which had been preceded by one of a similar character in 1334,<sup>2</sup> was the third known step

<sup>1</sup> See a note in Molmenti, *ill. ed.*, iii. 412, and facsimiles of two eighteenth century examples, *ibid.* 458-9. He also furnishes an elegantly engraved plate of an invitation to a wedding, addressed to a guest by the mother of the bride (*ibid.* 361). The business card (*ibid.* pp. 76-7) had been in vogue, at all events elsewhere, in the seventeenth century, and, in the eighteenth, assumed more ambitious proportions, and demanded the hand of the engraver when it became a medium of advertisement for goods on sale.

<sup>2</sup> Romanin, iii. 347.

which the Senate had actually taken in that direction, for, in 1299, an ordinance appeared in the wake of the Genoese troubles to repress extravagance. The effect of the new legislation<sup>1</sup> on the 21st of May was to limit the amount of marriage presents, to keep within more moderate bounds the taste for jewellery and the extravagant love of personal decoration, and to forbid parents to take their sons and daughters of tender age to parties and wedding-suppers, where the young ladies more especially imbibed precocious notions respecting pearl earrings and jewelled head-dresses; at a later date, it was not permissible for girls under eight to attend marriages, unless they were near kinsfolk of the parties. Spinsters were not unreasonably asked to restrict themselves to thirty pounds' worth of ornaments, and they received an encouragement to marry at the earliest opportunity, by the privilege which they thus acquired of more than doubling their stock. A father was responsible to the State for the observance of the law by his family and dependents, and if his authority failed, it was for him to report the matter to the proper quarter, and leave the rest to the magistrates; the latter had no sinecure. One conspicuous source of trouble was the wide and embroidered sleeve. When that was banned, the milliners or tailors concentrated their art on the lining, and there was a second official pronouncement. From these rather harassing rules and restrictions, the Doge, the Dogaressa and the ducal family were expressly exempted, and their operation extended neither to esquires, judges nor medical practitioners, who were permitted to dress themselves as they pleased.<sup>2</sup> Yet the dearer furs such as ermine were denied to men under five and twenty, the age at which they were qualified to take their seats in the Great Council.

Nowhere, indeed, were regulations laid down for the government of society outside the Executive with more minute precision, and more audaciously disregarded. In the fourteenth century, entertainments involving late hours and the presence of women, unless they were relatives, were prohibited from the month of September till the last day of the carnival, and no one was to be permitted to keep his doors open to guests of either sex after the third even-

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, iii. *Documenti*.

<sup>2</sup> "Item licet cuilibet militi, judici, vel medico conventato posse portare quicquid voluerint in suis personis propriis."



ing bell from Michaelmas till the commencement of Lent. In 1450, the authorities conceived the notion of limiting private dinners or suppers to half a ducat a head, and they carried their paternal interposition to the extent of prescribing the quality or quantity of table-linen, gold and silver plate, and other accessories to be displayed on festive or ceremonial occasions. The waiters and cooks at forthcoming banquets were required under penalties to wait on the *Proveditori alle Pompe*, and furnish full particulars of the programme. This, to be sure, was in 1512, when the Republic had scarcely rallied from the exhaustion of the wars of the League of Cambrai. In the case of a wedding, the parties were expected to notify to the authorities eight days in advance all the details, the outlay to be incurred, and the names, ages and relationships of those who had been invited. The subject of dowries was one for which the State provided. Under a law of 1420, the amount was fixed at 1600 ducats, or, if the bride was a plebeian, 2000, of which a third seems to have been allotted to the outfit.

In 1523, when the Marquis of Mantua was staying at Venice, he desired to give an entertainment at his own house to the ambassadors, and to invite twenty-five Venetian gentlewomen. He applied for leave for the ladies to come in cloth of gold and jewellery, the Act notwithstanding, and the *Proveditori alle Pompe* were authorized accordingly. But the latter pleaded their inability to comply, and a special leave to gratify the Marquis was granted on their suggestion in the College.

These injunctions were almost uniformly inoperative, for the State itself was the greatest offender, and set the worst example. When Beatrice, Duchess of Milan, came to Venice in 1493, there was a grand reception at the Palace, with music and an infinite number of torches, and the guest of the day describes in a letter how there were 300 objects in gilt sugar and fine drinking-glasses, the tables extending the entire length of the hall. The display of costly subtleties in sugar became a favourite and constant feature at these princely celebrations. When Henry III. of France was similarly fêted in 1574, all the appointments of the table were formed of sugar, and when the King proceeded to take up his napkin it broke in his hands. The dish placed in front of his Majesty

represented a queen seated on two tigers, the breasts of which presented the arms of France and Poland; to the right of the royal table, there were two lions with figures of Pallas and Justice, and to the left, figures of Saint Mark and of David.<sup>1</sup>

The provincial governors and proveditors lay under the same nominal disabilities as those at home, but not improbably the letter of the law was similarly set at defiance. Nor were the official ordinances respecting personal attire and ornament more practically successful. Decrees were periodically launched against the unseemly and extravagant excess in clothes and in jewellery, which was proclaimed an abomination in the sight of God; yet the alleged abuses and contempt of heaven remained in full vigour. The fashions might change, but, whether they were Oriental or French or Italian or Spanish, or even English, they were always splendid, always ruinously costly. It was not only so here, but after a time at Milan and at Florence; even Dante lived to behold and regret the disappearance in the Tuscan capital of the chaste and simple manners familiar to him in his youth.

It is almost amusing to scan some of the drastically worded ordinances of the Senate, respecting ladies' dress and ladies' preposterous extravagance in changing, at short intervals, the fashion, and incurring enormous expense at their milliners' or *modistes'*. One of 1504, just before Cambrai, enters into all sorts of particulars, and probably received as much attention as its predecessors and those which came after. But one cannot forbear to speculate, who sat down at the council-table to formulate such libels on the fair sex, and how it went with him if he was known, when he next appeared in any of the drawing-rooms.

The sumptuary laws were probably the least happy and successful efforts of the Government, and they were so because powerful private influence was ever at hand, behind the scenes or otherwise, to neutralize their effect or procure their repeal. But they have for us a practical value and interest, as contributions to our acquaintance with the history of Venetian costume and fashion among both sexes, and are auxiliary to the literary and pictorial records which we possess, while they realize in a measure the aspect of those parts of the city in its

<sup>1</sup> Sugar refineries are not officially or specifically mentioned till 1612.

days of independence, where the rich classes purchased their costly dresses and mantles, their fine and elegant underlinen, their head-gear, their trinkets and their jewellery. These regulations admit us to the *salon* of the dressmaker, to the premises where the furrier displayed his attractive goods, and where other vocations, patronized by either sex, long brought handsome profits to the proprietors. The modes were constantly changing; French patterns and models, themselves liable to variation or supersession at short intervals in obedience to the leaders of society and their advisers, may be said to have prevailed for centuries; but German costumes were discountenanced by the Government.

The passion for dress was common to all classes, and the lower orders were particularly partial to bright hues set off on holidays with beads and counterfeit stones, and, among those above them who could not afford to purchase jewels and other finery, it became a practice to hire them for the occasion or even for a term, as twenty-five ducats a year was judged by the functionaries charged with these delicate matters sufficient for a necklace or a ring.

The paternal principle in these sumptuary affairs, however, almost exclusively, as may be concluded, touched just that class which commanded the means of evading its incidence, whether such a result was attained by favouritism, or by transgressing the ordinances and paying the penalties. The latter alternative became sufficiently frequent to render proverbial the phrase *pazar le pompe*. Looking back, as we may do, at such experiments, it cannot fail to impress us with the feeling that the old Venetian Executive might well have spared itself these additional sorrows, by letting things find their own level, especially when so many instances are recorded, and of course infinitely more occurred, in which the influential personages at whom in fact the regulations aimed habitually defied them, and at most, if challenged, paid the fines. It is thoroughly characteristic of the Venetian genius, that offenders became involuntary benefactors to the State, inasmuch as, not only did the payments into the bureau swell the revenues, but those who exceeded legal bounds were presumed to be capable of meeting a higher scale of fiscal assessment.

The same spirit, however, was almost universal in Europe



down to the nineteenth century, and must on no account be understood or received as indigenous or peculiar to Venice. It may perhaps be regarded as a survival from patriarchal days, with such refinements as time and progress appeared to necessitate.

The most curious aspect of the present burning question is perhaps the occasional interposition of the Church, when the civil authorities found their measures insufficient, and the appeal from the Church to the Holy See, of which the initial sumptuary enactment of 1299 was the product. The petitions of Cristina, daughter of the late Andrea Correr, who has splendid jewels, and is not to be permitted to wear them, and of Felice and Benedetta Donato and others, were granted in consideration of a pecuniary fee for three years. But, through the centuries, it was to be a never-ending struggle between the offenders and an executive organization competent to grapple with all other problems, yet all but powerless, when the laws and female prejudice and influence were in conflict.

It may be taken for an eminent probability, that the restrictions on the length of ladies' skirts were instrumental in promoting unpleasant episodes, if the officials insisted on verifying measurements, and especially if the husband appeared on the scene and joined the Signora in abusing or even belabouring the unwelcome visitor. But both these indulgences were enjoyable at a tariff: hard words cost five and twenty ducats, blows double. There is a sort of insinuation in the ordinance of 1441, that there were such things as excess of zeal and breaches of decorum on the part of inspectors.

The aggrieved and overgoverned ladies in 1437, when the Primate of Venice had interdicted certain extravagances of attire or embellishment, went to the length of approaching the Holy See, and the Pontiff decided in their favour. But, at the coronation of the Doge Andrea Gritti in 1523, his Serenity's niece, presenting herself at the Palace in a robe of cloth of gold contrary to regulations, was sent back home to change it.

Two other directions, in which the *Magistrato delle Pompe* found abundance of employment, as well as rather invidious experience, were weddings and mourning; and within the former category fell the extravagant outlay, gradually incurred in connexion with the *Festa delle Marie*, or the anniversary

ceremony of the Brides of St. Mark, dating from the tenth century. The law of 1299 and its successors dealt with the number of guests at a wedding, the dresses to be worn and their embellishments, presents to be offered and the expenditure on the feast. One privilege was accorded to the bride on her nuptial day—it was the right to wear as long a train as she pleased.

The inquisitorial phrenzy extended to interrogatories put to parties shriving themselves. Fathers of families were asked whether they allowed their daughters to wear superfluous ornaments: the tailor, if he has ignorantly cut garments or wasted the material supplied or introduced novelties of style: the shoemaker, if he has made his goods conformably with rule or has exceeded the official limit for *zocoli* or clogs.

The same generosity of option was extended to the black toga, which with the berretta constituted normal mourning attire; it might even trail in the mud, so that the wearer brought it by successive curtailments to a more moderate length before it was cast aside.

There does not appear to have been, in the matter of fashionable mourning, the diversity found elsewhere. In England and France, white, black and white, and yellow were employed; at Venice we hear only of black and violet.

In the time of Louis XIV., the ladies appear still to have copied the French modes which had come into vogue in the commencement of the fifteenth century, and, in 1512, they are described by the diarist Priuli as firmly established, as, at an anterior period, the subjects of Charles VIII. had been influenced by those of the Peninsula, Venice included. An eyewitness tells us that when Madame du Plessis Besançon was at Venice about 1670, "they most industriously imitated her in all the fashions she brought with her out of France."<sup>1</sup> Late in the next century, an instance occurs in which a Venetian diplomatist at Rome in August, 1796, sends a lady a gown, of very inconsiderable value, he confessed, and merely wool, but made in the prevailing style, and, he thinks, with some taste. The recipient is to bear in mind that the dress should be worn, as he is informed, a little over the bosom, the sleeves gathered up to the shoulder with ribbon, and the bodice fixed

<sup>1</sup> De la Haye, *Policy and Government of the Venetians*, translated into English, 1671, p. 68.

with pins over the little white favours, says he, which you will see—a costume which will suit either town or country, and serve both for ceremony and every-day use.<sup>1</sup> This pretty little attention from the representative of the most Serene Republic at the Court of the Vatican to his sweet friend Caterina Cornaro was, no doubt, just at that moment the top of the fashion in the Eternal City.

Venetian householders of the higher class, as time proceeded and luxury increased, did not concern themselves with domestic details, and both the master and mistress of an aristocratic establishment were accustomed to engage a *sigisbeo*, who had his analogue in other parts of Italy, but was, and is, only imperfectly represented elsewhere by such officers as stewards, treasurers and bailiffs.<sup>2</sup> He was a kind of factotum; he transacted all kinds of business for his employers, acted as an escort for the lady or ladies of the Palazzo, and settled accounts. Sometimes the Signore and his consort had independent functionaries; it was a question of means and tastes. But it is easy to perceive how mischief and disaster might accrue from this anomalous relationship, when the sigisbeo presented himself at an early hour, was at liberty to proceed to the lady's private apartment, sat chatting at the bedside, assisted her in completing her toilette, conversed with her on the same sofa while the hairdresser attended to her wants, took chocolate with her, accompanied her to her place of worship, and, later on, to the theatre or the promenade, and relieved her, in short, of all trouble. He even organized the dinner parties and soirées, and if his mistress was invited to another house he was her chaperon. The sigisbeo was thus something between a major-domo and a gentleman in waiting, but of a type which only Italian manners and ideas were capable of regarding with tolerance, although we discern an approach to the same sort of cavalieresque gallantry at the courts of Charles II. and Louis XIV.

Among the most distinguished houses, the selection of the sigisbeo was a task of difficulty thought to demand careful

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vie privée* (French version), 1882, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> But the French have in this connexion the term *sigisbéisme*. See Édouard Fournier, *Le Vieux-Neuf*, ii. 298. Indeed, in modern France and even England, although the character of the functionary may have undergone modification, the thing widely survives. When Hazlitt was in Italy in 1824–5, the practice still prevailed, but was thought by him to be on the decline.



consideration. A not too fastidious abbé frequently accepted the post, and the by-name *abbatino* was coined to describe this equivocal type of ecclesiastic. In former days, a noted beauty passed through the streets, veiled or masked, attended by several male admirers or *cavalieri serventi*, to two of whom she gave an arm to support her in her clogs, while the others carried her fan or her cloak.

The sigisbeo, who was by no means an exclusively Venetian institution, may be taken to have developed gradually from the *maestro di casa*,<sup>1</sup> of whom we hear at a comparatively early period, when manners had not yet acquired so lax a tone, and when establishments of a certain rank already found it convenient to allow the management of household details to devolve on such an official. In the opening years of the seventeenth century, it casually transpires from a political correspondence that Signore Francesco Vercellini of Venice had been acting in this capacity at the Casa Barbarigo, and that he subsequently entered the service of the Earl and Countess of Arundel, who had residences at that time both at Venice and in the country. A notary of the Chancery, writing to the Council of Ten at the end of April, 1622, states that he had been acquainted with Vercellini ten years. He was apparently an ordinary steward.

But, side by side with the external splendour of life and the sumptuous embellishment of private interiors, we hear from early observers<sup>2</sup> that the Venetian gentleman was almost parsimonious in his expenditure and domestic economy, and that the possessor of eight, nine or ten thousand ducats a year contented himself with two or three women servants, and a man, or perhaps two, to row his gondola. He would go to market himself, and lay out as little as possible. He deemed it more than enough if, out of his thousands, he bestowed three or four hundred on his house. When it was a question, however, of the dress of his wife or his mistress, or of a dowry for a daughter, it was a different affair; in such directions he was lavish, and he always had a handsome sum in reserve when a public loan was announced at 10, 12 or 15 per cent. The same authority states a case for the defendant. "Admit,"

<sup>1</sup> For the important and multifarious functions of this officer, see Francesco Liberati, *Il Perfetto Mastro di Casa*, 8°, Roma, 1658.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *Historye of Italye* (1549), ed. 1561, fol. 84.

says he, "this report to be true. If I am proud, I have good cause, for I am a prince and no subject; if I am economical, it is because my commonwealth allows no pomp, and moderation is wholesome; if I keep few servants, it is because I need no more; if I buy my meat myself, it is for the reason that I wish to get what I like; if I am hard to my tenantry, it is because they live by me; if I gain, I gain on my own money, and do not hide my talent in the ground," and so forth. But the writer was possibly a little unfortunate in his personal experience, although there is evidence that Venetian notions of expenditure must at all times have struck an Englishman or even a Western European with surprise.

The Sieur de la Haye speaks of the gallantries of the ladies in church, where on saints'-days they went under pretence of public prayer, and returned the glances of the young gentlemen behind the pillars. Both de la Haye and his son served the Republic in a military and diplomatic capacity, and his account belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century, but this licence in church was by no means of recent origin or an exclusive characteristic of later and more corrupt manners, for, in the official records of the fourteenth century, occur numerous convictions for indecent assaults on ladies and their female attendants. A trace of such libertinism is visible in the incident which brought to pass the Faliero tragedy in 1355, the obscurity of which is partly owing to the loss of the registers for the years 1355-67.

At that date, no less than when Montaigne was at Venice about 1580,<sup>1</sup> the precision of the gondolier was as noted as it is at the present day; the boatman whom we happen to engage utters a peculiar cry when he is on the point of reaching some sharp turning where another gondola may be meeting yours; he has uttered that very vocable, with the least possible variation, since gondolas and canals first existed; and he has likewise equally been from time immemorial an accomplice in intrigue. Nowadays, he is in touch with all the frail sisterhood, and is prepared to convert his deck-cabin into a place of meeting at a slightly augmented tariff. De la Haye testifies to the dexterity with which he threaded his way through the infinite number of boats,

<sup>1</sup> *Essais*, livre iii. ch. 5.

as well as the unerring manner in which he would follow a gondola containing a lady whom his own freight was desirous of keeping in sight. Early in 1646, when Evelyn and his friends were escorting a lady home after supper, they heard shots from two carbines just as they approached the landing-stairs, and these had been fired at them by men in another gondola in which a nobleman and his mistress were entertaining each other, and did not wish to be disturbed or reconnoitred. It was estimated that, at this time, there were 40,000 gondoliers at Venice,<sup>1</sup> but these figures strike us as too high, looking at the total population of 200,000 or thereabout. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a collection was made and harmonized by Signor Hasse of the ballads in vogue among this class, and published in London with a dedication to the Earl of Middlesex. Even to-day, the evening serenades on the canals are among the most pleasant and recallable experiences of visitors to the city. In 1714, the charge for a gondola by the day with two men was seven *lire*.

The first explicit reference to the haberdasher in London is under 1311,<sup>2</sup> and, under 1378, we are supplied with the contents of the shop of one who had relinquished business. It does not ostensibly include any items of Venetian origin; a counterpart illustrative of a similar dépôt in the Republic is much to be desired. From the appropriation of the term *Milliner* to the city of Milan, it has been inferred that that place was in ancient times an important centre of the trade. In England, the business was known as early as the fifteenth century, and was then in the hands of the haberdasher or dealer in small wares, but, in the sixteenth, we occasionally meet with the milliner as an independent trader of considerable importance. Venice must have been furnished with keepers of such emporia as soon as any European capital. But while there is for our use and edification so extensive an assemblage of works of art, shewing the modes in which the Venetians of both sexes attired their persons, history has failed to transmit the names of their tailors, their dressmakers, their coiffeurs and their hatters, as much as it has those of their great masters in cookery, pastry

<sup>1</sup> Raymond's *Itinerary*, 1648, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Hazlitt's *Livery Companies*, 1892, p. 115. In Fairholt's *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 457, is a notice of the stock of a French maker of the thirteenth century, in which occur purses, readily saleable, it is said, at fairs.



and sweetmeats, in which the world never beheld such triumphs.

Gloves had been introduced into France at a period of high antiquity, and were in use in that kingdom in the beginning to the ninth century (814). Johannes de Garlandia in his *Dictionary* (thirteenth century) speaks of the glovers of Paris as cheating the scholars by selling them gloves of inferior material. He describes them as of lamb-skin, fox-fur, and rabbit-skin, and he refers to leathern mittens.<sup>1</sup> To the Greeks this article of apparel was familiar at a prior epoch, it being extremely probable that their knowledge of it had been transmitted to them through the Romans from the ancient Athenians. It therefore seems perfectly irrational to suppose that the Republic, which traded with both countries at least so far back as the Carolingian era, and which had already become the great vehicle of communication between the eastern and western worlds, was otherwise than conversant with a usage which she was perhaps the first to introduce to the latter. Political circumstances were about that time fortuitously instrumental in improving, to a material extent, the commercial relations of Venice with the two leading European Powers of the day. Even in the time of Charlemagne himself (768-814), Venetian fashions had found their way into the imperial palace no less than into the mansions of the nobility. So far is it from being likely that the Venetians of the ninth century were strangers to the practice of covering the hand, that the probability rather is that the great annual Fair at Pavia, which was frequented almost exclusively by their traders, formed the sole mart for the gloves which are represented to have been worn to such a pitch of extravagance by the subjects of Louis le Débonnaire.

The entertaining narrative of Petrus Damianus bears, however, the earliest allusion of an explicit nature to the employment of gloves among the Venetians, and if the evidence just adduced was not strongly contradictory of such an hypothesis, it might have been supposed that the fashion in question was much rarer than it is proved to have been at that time (1071), and that the Dogaressa Selvo was guilty of innovating upon the manners of the period to an extent which scandalized Damianus.

At what point of time the kid-glove found its way to

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *Vocabularies*, 1857, p. 124.

France, where it subsequently became so great a speciality, is not at present known to me; but, in 1622, James Howell, writing to his intimate friend Daniel Caldwell from Poissy, near Paris, desires him to forward from London "a Dozen Pair of the whitest Kid-Skin Gloves for Women."<sup>1</sup>

Marcel<sup>2</sup> does not commend the washing arrangements, as he observed them in 1714. He says: "The Washing is pretty dear, and spoils the Linen much; for if you don't pay a great Price, they will wash with Salt Water to save the buying of Fresh."

The burials at Venice in the time of Coryat impressed him as different from any that he had elsewhere beheld, for the corpse was borne to the church with the face, hands and feet exposed, and wearing the same apparel as during life, or some dress in which the departed had expressed a desire to lie; and so it was deposited in the ground. Of course, there were constant exceptions to such a form of interment, when it was a question of any notable personage. Coryat, however, was even more struck by the committal to the earth of vicious and licentious characters in the habits of monks, which, it was explained to him, was a supposed means of procuring them partial remission of their sins. The author of the *Crudities* was not aware that the same superstition prevailed in ancient times in his own England.

The funeral customs at Venice seem almost to await an historian. At the deaths of certain distinguished personages, including a few Doges, there are incidental references to customs observed in times of mourning, and to the colours adopted in commemoration of the dead; indeed, a casual passage or remark is all that assists us to an acquaintance with many other interesting features of social life. In the accounts of the obsequies of eminent Venetians in early times, which form part of the present narrative, slight glimpses are afforded of this side of the subject, as, for example, where Sanudo in his Diary, under the 18th of May, 1498, records the return of Andrea Trevisano, knight, ambassador to Henry VII., "with beard" and in mourning for the death of his father and mother.<sup>3</sup>

It entered into the oligarchical bias of everything at Venice,

<sup>1</sup> *Familiar Letters*, bk. i., sec. 2, No. xx.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels*, 1714, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Cal. of State Papers* (Venice), 1864, i. 268.

that the preponderance of interest, publicity and reminiscence in respect of social observances and functions was on the side of a slender minority of the population. In such a community, the bulk or mass came into the world, and passed through it and out of it as best they might, and where accounts have been transmitted of births, marriages and funeral rites, they are found to bear an almost exclusive relation to the governing class. Minute particulars are incidentally preserved of transactions and occurrences in the life of the people, but they amount to no more than casual anecdotes. As regards nuptial usages, till the sixteenth century a contract or betrothal before witnesses sufficed, and the parents or relatives completed the ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Burial of the poor was a process not less summary and informal than elsewhere; the common pit was for centuries the allotted destination,<sup>2</sup> and the Venetian soil probably covers millions of human beings to the resting-places or dates of whom there is not the faintest clue. The stately monument, the elaborate inscription, the proud or affectionate record, were for a few patriots and heroes who had served well the State, or for a few devout or repentant persons, even courtisans, who had fattened the Church.

Here and there it happens that a few circumstances have been put on record, less for the purpose for which posterity immediately values them than from some current official motive. We have, in this way, one or two glimpses of the marriage ceremonies among the common people. On an October day in 1443, a certain Pietro di Trento, a broom-seller, passing along the street of SS. Gervasio e Protasio, stopped in front of the house of Cattarina, widow of Giovanni Bianco, and, seeing the lady at the window, the following dialogue took place:

“Madonna, catènare qualche fante per mi  
 Bruto mato, me vorrestu mai far messela?  
 Io non dico cussi, io dico per mia muyer.  
 Ben cussi si—.”

The lady had at first charged him with taking her to be a procuress, but it turned out that he was in quest of a girl whom he could marry, and she bethought her of a likely candidate. So she tells him that she thinks she can supply him, if

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 296.

<sup>2</sup> See the case of Bianca Cappello, *suprà*.



he comes again the next day, when “una bella fanciulla, di nome Maria” presented herself, and the whole business was accomplished. Ten years later, two fellow lodgers in the house of Lazzaro Tedesco at San Luca fell in love with each other, namely Giovanni da Crema and a certain Chiara, and they, on a certain day, invited a witness before whom Giovanni says: “Chiara, I take thee for my wife.” The latter replies: “And I take thee for my husband, and am content.” He gave her a ring, and they became man and wife in the eye of the law. In a third case (1456), Beatrice Francigena, on her return home from Treviso, repaired to the house of a female relative and there met one Falcon, to whom she had apparently engaged herself by giving him her hand, but who suspected her of having been inconstant. Both, however, in the presence of the said witness, ultimately arrived at a happy understanding. He says to Beatrice: “Thou knowest that thou art mine,” and she replies: “Madi.” He touched her hand and said: “And I will take no other wife but thee,” and she made answer: “And I will take no other spouse but thee.”

## CHAPTER LXV

Meals—Diet and provisions—Character of Cookery—Confectionery—Beef and veal—Game and poultry—Fish—Fruits—Wheaten and millet bread—Shambles and fish-market—Food of the lower classes—Wines—Liqueurs—Coryat on the food—Sobriety—Forks—The Knife—Evening amusements—Games—Music—Singing—Dancing—Painters—The benches in the Piazza—The social circle of Titian—His and other men's pictures offered for sale at the Sensa Fair—Pietro Aretino—His intimacy with all the great folks of the day—Giorgione and his friends—The Bellini—Tributes of Titian to fellow artists—Paolo Veronese and the Holy Office—Rosalba Carriera—Canova.

THE science of cookery had of course passed its rudimentary stage, modelled on Italian and even Roman tradition, and on local prepossessions, before the printing-press rendered the production of manuals on the subject in all its branches feasible, although here, as elsewhere, collections of recipes for individual use were doubtless drawn up in manuscript form. From the earlier half of the sixteenth century, a regular and voluminous series of such guides, comprising instruction in the arts of cooking, serving, carving and the making of confectionery, was published at Venice itself and throughout the Venetian Dominion, and offer in their contents a striking monument of taste, ingenuity and social luxury and refinement.

Two meals in the course of the day ordinarily sufficed then, as at present. The first (*pranzo*) was originally taken at or even before noon. The other, a repast the character of which depended on circumstances and tastes, followed at seven or eight in the evening according to the season. At the Palace in ancient times, the *pranzo* was served in the principal hall, and the Doge and his ministers who resided under the same roof ate in public.<sup>1</sup> His Serenity usually supped in his own apartment with his private circle. Councils were held in the

<sup>1</sup> At Hampton Court there is a very interesting picture by Van Bassen, in which Charles I. and his Queen are dining in public. It was painted in 1637. *Law's Catalogue*, 1881, p. 212. Evelyn, under the 3rd of August 1667, records the resumption of this practice by Charles II.

forenoon, and, if the business was lengthy and urgent, were adjourned at a certain hour to reassemble "dopo pranzo."

The Kings of France are represented as similarly dining in public in the twelfth century, and as being entertained during the repast by some sort of theatrical spectacle. The more travelled Venetians were of course conversant with the social habits of other countries, but adhered to their own traditions. We find in 1515 the ambassador at the Court of England, during the May celebrations at Greenwich and Shooter's Hill, partaking of what he designates "un Brecafes à la Polita," which Mr. Rawdon Brown renders "a proper good breakfast"; but this was, it seems, at a fairly early hour.<sup>1</sup>

In cookery, oil, garlic, onions, sugar and all sorts of condiments and spices were used. Beans, peas, cabbages and other vegetables were well known, and, after the first course of soup (*grasso* and *magro*) and meat, fruit, wine, pastry and confectionery,<sup>2</sup> of the last of which the ladies were particular patronesses, were frequently placed on the tables of the more affluent.

The keen national taste for sweetmeats displayed itself in different forms at a very early date on a variety of public occasions. In 1268, an industrial exhibition was organized by the trading companies at the Palace, in honour of the Dogaressa who was presented by the Masters with comfits. In 1390, the Duke of Austria, as a distinguished guest, received on his departure thirty ducats and a parcel of sweetmeats. At the reception of Henry III. of France on his passage from Poland to take possession of the French throne, the most elaborate and splendid artifices in sugar were placed on the table in the banqueting-chamber, even the napkin of his Majesty, when he handled it, proving to be of that material; and a few years later (1597) when the Dogaressa Morosini was crowned, three hundred baskets filled with objects in gilt sugar were a feature in the solemnity. Old English banquets were similarly diversified with forms of men, animals, houses, and castles made of sugar and almonds. But perhaps the most notable and curious articles of consumption in this way was the *fava*, a recollection of the very ancient religious observance of beans, which in England

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's *Warton*, 1871, ii. 225.

<sup>2</sup> John the Deacon, Da Canale, Chinazzo, etc., *locis supra citatis*.



assumed the shape of a Twelfth Night merriment, and among the Venetians was still farther modernized by a popular confection of flour, sugar and honey, a speciality on All Souls' Day. These small delicacies were originally actual beans eaten or offered to the spirits of the departed at funeral feasts or on special occasions, but subsequently replaced by *bonbons*, on the principle, which became general, of supplying commodities of this description in an infinite diversity of forms.

Excellent beef was procurable, and the veal of Chioggia, the hams of Friuli and the sausages of Bologna were renowned. All kinds of game, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, hares, boiled or roasted, were eaten; pigeons and other birds were common. The Polesine of Rovigo and the extensive marshes bordering on the Adige supplied a never-failing store of poultry, and wild fowl must have long abounded in the Dogado. Eggs were always plentiful, and were brought down the rivers to the lagoon in little barges of light build especially devoted to this service.

Among fish, salmon,<sup>1</sup> trout, mackerel, lampreys, crawfish and eels, both fresh and salted, were favourite delicacies; but, above all, were the turbot eulogized by Boccaccio in his letter to the Prior of SS. Apostoli at Florence, the superb and too seductive red mullet, and the fresh sardine designated the ortolan of the Adriatic. Oysters and mussels were obtained, the larger oysters being served as made dishes; at Murano, Coryat tasted a very small variety resembling the Wainfleet kind, as green as a leek and (as he puts it) "*gratissimi saporis & succi*." Red mullet has been served up at the breakfast table time out of mind, and is so to-day; it is obtained from the canals. Another dish of the same class is a sort of plaice found off Lido. Shrimps were caught at Gambarere.

The grapes of San Zaccaria and of Comanzo in Chioggia had a special reputation. Large importations of apples and cherries were made from various parts of Lombardy and the Marches and from Dalmatia. Oranges, lemons, citrons, medlars, figs and melons were found nearer home. Of the melon there were three varieties, yellow, green and red, the red the most toothsome, but all, according to Coryat, apt to produce dysentery if eaten to excess in the hot weather.

<sup>1</sup> Sonetti di F. da San Geminiano, A.D. 1260 (*Poeti del Primo Secolo*, ii. 168).

Wheaten bread, in ordinary times, was not uncommon among the poorer classes, but millet was also used. During the war of 1413, the pressure of high taxes obliged many to submit to the latter, but it is said to have been regarded as a hardship. The Republic procured its wheat for the most part from Apulia and the Levant, from Egypt and from Barbary. In the famine of 1268, Venetian ships penetrated as far as the Crimea in search of grain. The ever-increasing uncertainty of political events and the imprudence of relying on supplies from home markets led, in 1493, to the institution of the *Fondaco della Farina*, where flour was stored under the control of the Government. In old times, the shops of the bakers were mainly concentrated at the Rialto and the Campanile. Forty-four depôts are mentioned as existing for the sale of different kinds and qualities.

Mattheolus, in a note on Dioscorides, acquaints us that, in later times, the flour of the prickly root called water-caltrop, growing freely in the lagoons, served as bread when roasted in the hot embers, and that this product was commonly on sale in the market.<sup>1</sup> There were also biscuits (*scalete*) which, like the British muffin, were manufactured by specialists. They were said to owe their name to the horizontal bars impressed upon one side, and might have been originally introduced from Verona where the house of La Scala once ruled.

It is through one of the tragical occurrences which so largely entered into the earlier annals, that we make our first acquaintance with a shambles in 976; the remains of a dead Doge and his murdered child were deported thither in that year in a boat as food for dogs; it was ostensibly at some little distance from the centre of the city. The coronation-oath of 1229 refers to a shambles as well as a fish-market, both licensed by the Executive. In 1339, the butchers' quarters were removed from the neighbourhood of San Giovanni in Rialto to the Casa Quirini which was popularly known as Stalon; this, again, afterward became the poultry-market. In 1649, it was estimated that 520 bullocks were slaughtered weekly. The emporium for sale of the article, however, seems (judging from much later times) to have been unrestricted in its *habitat*; for, in 1565, Jost Amman depicts a meat-shop on the Molo itself under the very nostrils of the Doge, and

<sup>1</sup> St. John, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, 1842, iii, 108.

similarly a sort of bread-market impinged on the Campanile. In 1597, the Butchers' Gild took a prominent part in the coronation of the Dogaressa Morosini-Grimani.

The gastronomic wants of the mediæval Venetian were circumscribed by his experience, and his diet was governed by the climate and by local conditions. Fish, bread, oil and fruit formed the staple food of the lower class. Oil was an article in universal demand; it was obtained from Lucca, and was allowed even to prisoners, who preferred it to season their salad, and were prepared to defray the cost. To the mediæval Italian, as it does still, oil stood in the same relation as honey or butter to his Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman contemporary. Pork and poultry were more or less plentiful, but of beef and mutton the oldest documents do not speak, beyond the general indication of a taxed shambles. The art of improving the breed of sheep and oxen had still to be learned, and the bullock was principally reserved for the plough and the wain; nor had many of the fruits and vegetables, which are now regarded as among the necessities of existence, been introduced into Europe. Still we learn something of the culinary resources of Venice, at the end of the fourteenth century, from the details of prices of various articles of food during the war of Chioggia in 1379. Everything had at that crisis become frightfully dear, however. Corn was selling at nine *lire di piccoli* the small or sixteen the large measure: millet, ten lire the measure: barley, five: beans, from eight to twelve: peas, twelve. Salt meat was fetching eight soldini a pound, oil the same. Two soldi were given for an egg or a cabbage; a *lira di piccoli*, or the third of a ducat, for a rope of onions; and, for a hundred head of garlic, two lire.

Wine was not to be bought under six lire a quart; the choicest vintages produced double that amount; and (the winter coming on) firewood was eleven lire the boat-load. It is one of those cases in which indirect or collateral evidence has to suffice in relation to the diet of the humbler classes. In the *Cries of Rome*, 1646, a various assortment of domestic necessities occurs, in company with cheese, curds, chestnuts and cakes, as well as "fine tripe" which doubtless importantly entered into the poorer Venetian cuisine, but of which a choice sort was produced at Treviso.

The Venetian chefs do not seem to have included the sweet-



potato or yam in their menu. Andrea Navagero, the ambassador of the Signory, saw it in Spain in 1525, and in his Diary at Seville, on the 15th of May, he mentions that he met in that city with many things from India or the Indies, and among them a root, called *butatas*, which he ate, and thought in flavour like a chestnut.<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that Evelyn the diarist expresses a similar judgment on the potato of his day, which appeared to him to taste "like an old bean or roasted chestnut." This seems in both cases to have been the sweet-potato (*batata edulis*) of Java and other regions, and not our common vegetable which was a later European acquisition. There is the somewhat parallel case of the introduction of tobacco into Europe so long after it was noticed by Columbus in the Bahamas in 1492.

At a later period, no refinements in luxury were omitted by the Venetian gourmet and epicure. Every article of food was procured from the locality which enjoyed the principal celebrity for its production or preparation—the *mortadella* or rich sausage of Cremona, those of Bologna, Milan and Modena, the cheese of Piacenza, the lampreys of Binasco, the sturgeon of Ferrara, the thrushes of Perugia, the geese of Romagna, the quails of Lombardy. In their sauces the chefs put sugar and even gold, as the latter was supposed to exhilarate the heart. Wines of all vintages were obtainable, and were brought, not only from Hungary, the Rhine, the Moselle and Austria, but from the East. That made from the muscat grape was much esteemed; it was this kind which the Doge offered to the Fruiterers' Guild in 1618, with other equivalents in kind for their customary oblation to him on his accession, and which the physician of Sarpi sent from his own house for the use of the patient, when that great man lay on his death-bed in 1622. Liqueurs were already in vogue, and the cherries of Zara were thought to produce the finest maraschino. All these articles of consumption must have been costly, while heavy duties were charged alike on all imports and exports. Yet the German traveller or observer, who wrote the semi-mythical account of the life of Faust published at Berlin in 1587, makes his hero particularly struck by the cheapness of food at Venice in the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. of State Papers (Venetian Series)*, iv. xxiv.; Evelyn's *Diary*, 1858, iv. 364.

sixteenth century, even in the absence of immediate sources of supply.

Coryat many years later says precisely the same thing, and enters more at large into the infinite conveniences and facilities afforded by the city under such apparent disadvantages. He remarks: "Amongst many other things that moved great admiration in me in Venice, this was not the least, to consider the marvellous affluence and exuberancy of all things tending to the sustentation of mans life. For albeit they have neyther meadows, nor pastures, nor arable grounds neare their city . . . yet they have as great abundance . . . of victuals, corne and frutes of all sorts whatsoever, as any city (I thinke) of all Italy."<sup>1</sup> But a Venetian representative at the Court of Henry IV. of France implies that the art of dressing food at Paris surpassed that at home. He seems to have lodged in the Rue de la Huchette, and after his return recalled the excellent table kept there with affectionate regret, describing the roast meat as a *cosa stupenda*.<sup>2</sup>

A French traveller<sup>3</sup> of the last years of the eighteenth century describes the Venetians as abstemious in their habits at table, and as soberer than other Italians. They drink little wine or liqueur, he says, and are not partial to ragouts; but they care more than we do for rice, *pâtés*, chocolate and ices. It is to be suspected that the prevailing tenor of the diet of the poor, and their general habits of life, were frugal to excess. Tripe, fish, fruit, bread, farinaceous substances and the cheaper wines entered into the plebeian cuisine, and those who had not the means or desire to cook at home probably resorted to public eating-houses. The Riva degli Schiavoni became famous for these establishments, as we learn from the local proverb:

"Sulla Riva degli Schiavoni  
Si mangiano bei bocconi."

At the tables of the common people, the method of eating was ever primitive enough, but, among the better classes, the food was conveyed to the mouth by a fork with one prong, which represented an evolution of the Oriental chopstick. Forks were known in England and France in the thirteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Michel et Fournier, *Hôtelleries*, 1859, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Lalande, *Voyage en Italie*, 1790, cited by Romanin, ix. 10, note.

but they were of gold or crystal inlaid with precious stones, and were laid up among the jewels of crowned or noble personages; Piers Gaveston is described as the possessor of three implements of silver for eating pears. The Greek princess, Theodora Ducas, who married the Doge Selvo (1071-84), was thought to be guilty of an almost sinful refinement in making use at meals of a double-pronged fork of gold. It is not improbable that this exalted personage merely introduced into the land of her adoption a practice to which she had always been accustomed at home. Doubtless, the very early and constant intercourse between Venice and the mediæval Greeks contributed to Hellenise at once the sentiments, manners and language of the Western Power. It has been pointed out that the Republic derived from this source the common name *piron*, for a fork in her local dialect, whereas the Italians around her employed a wholly different word, *forchetto*, to signify the same thing. But the Italian *prone* (*pirone* or lever), which presents a strong appearance of relationship to the Greek term, was perhaps at the outset a tool with a single prong, and acquired by degrees a secondary meaning in the vocabulary in which it was incorporated. The double-pronged development may have been suggested to the moderns by the pronged trident observable on many early coins, and known as a weapon among the Tartars; it is illustrated in the *Cuoco Sacrato di Papa Pio Quinto*, by Bartolomeo Scappi, published at Venice in 1598, and is there termed a *furcina*. We are all aware that a third prong was eventually added and completed the resemblance. It was not till recently that remains of mediæval domestic utensils have been on view in our museums, while those in fashion among the ancients are rendered abundantly familiar by descriptions or actual examples. The material was probably stone at the outset, then bronze, and finally copper. In the will of Richard de Plompton, 1443, mention occurs of a pair of silver *forpices* in immediate association with one of carving-knives;<sup>1</sup> these were perhaps tongs. But a fork of silver, weighing three ounces and valued at 12s., was presented to Henry VII. in 1500, and the purchase of a pair of carving knives occurs in that prince's *Privy Purse Expenses*.

A steel double-pronged fork which is said to have be-

<sup>1</sup> *Plumpton Correspondence*, 1839, xxxiv.



longed to Henry IV. of France was long preserved at Pau, his birth-place, as a curiosity. But the fork was, for the most part, limited to helping purposes during centuries, even in Italy, and, curiously enough, its employment was justified there by the prevalence of unclean hands. When Thomas Coryat was at Venice in the opening years of the seventeenth century, the fork was still sparingly used at table, but it was far more uncommon in England, and, when the traveller returned, he acquired from the circumstance that he brought some specimens with him and habitually ate with one, the sobriquet *Furcifer*, to which his friends may or may not have intended to apply a double sense.

Coryat intimates that the general habit was to employ a single fork at a table to keep the meat in position while it was being cut, and not for each person to have one. The object was to preclude the fingers of those present from touching the food, since, as the writer observes, everybody's hands are not always clean. But he had his own implement which he doubtless carried about him in a case. It appears that it was Lawrence Whitaker who *quipped* him on the point, but he assures us that it was only Whitaker's fun. Jonson, in *The Devil is an Ass*, performed in 1616, makes one of the characters say :

"The laudable use of forks,  
Brought into custom here, as they are in Italy,  
To the sparing of napkins."

But it was a custom long very much neglected, judging from a passage in Lovelace's *Lucasta*, 1649.<sup>1</sup> The information may have reached Jonson through Coryat's book.

We gain very slight explicit information about the *Knife*, an implement everywhere in vogue from the most remote times, but we know that Venetian cutlery gradually became celebrated, and was exported to other countries. At the great fairs of Europe, England included, it was a staple commodity, and our universities were supplied with Venetian knives purchased at the nearest fairs. There had been a period, however, when all refinements of this class were rare in Western Europe, and when travellers found it necessary to carry their knife, fork and spoon on their persons in leathern cases. Chaucer introduces us to the Sheffield whittle. Till recently,

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's edition, 1864, p. 77.

there was no collection of ancient cutlery at Sheffield, but at present they have one in the Central Park Museum. Besides the cutlery from Venice, a good deal was made in Germany and in the Chatellerault district in France. The specimens which have come down to us, marked with a pine, appear to be attributable to Augsburg. The Venetians, no doubt, imported and reshipped, as well as manufactured; but the cutlery the hafts of which terminate in a Doge's bonnet are of unmistakably local origin.

The evening amusements were varied. There were dancing and singing; and for those who did not dance or sing there was instrumental music, while for such as did not care for the viol, the guitar, the cittern or the lute, there was a chess-table or a backgammon-board, both in full force in the thirteenth century, the latter an inheritance from Rome; at a later time basset was a favourite form of gambling. To some of the pastimes out of doors, by which the wealthier Italians beguiled their leisure, a nation of islanders was necessarily a stranger. It is not known that the earlier Venetians were addicted to the winter diversion of snowballing the ladies, which was so much in vogue on the mainland, but hunting, fowling and fishing, at first within the alluvial confines, and eventually throughout the continental territories in Lombardy, were pursued with regularity and enjoyment by those who had the time and the means, or who found in those occupations a source of subsistence.

Convivial meetings, concerts, balls and serenades were soon introduced. In Siena the musical instruments chiefly used came from Germany, but the song and the dance were contributed by Provence, as described by the old poet, Fulgore da San Geminiano, who admirably paints in his sonnets the life of his day:—<sup>1</sup>

Cantar, danzar alla provenzalesca  
Con instrumenti novi d' Allemagna—

San Geminiano relates that in his own town Monday was the day for serenades, and Wednesday for receptions and balls,—

Ogni Mercoledì corrido grande  
Di lepri, starne, fagiani, e paoni,  
E cotte manze, ed arrosti capponi,  
E quante son delicate vivande

---

<sup>1</sup> *Sonetti de' mesi, ubi suprâ*

Vin greco di Riviera e di vernaccia,  
Frutta, confetti, quanti li e talento

E donzelenni giovani garzoni  
Servir, portando amorose ghirlande !

This picture, which refers more immediately to the manners of Siena, may by analogy afford some insight into the contemporary aspect of Venetian society, of which it is to be lamented that no similarly graphic illustrations exist. An Arezzan poet, Cene dalla Chitarra, who flourished concurrently with San Geminiano, has also left *Sonnets of the Months*. They shew that the life of Arezzo, Ancona, Florence and other places had many features in common with that of Siena, and we know enough of the intimate life of Cosimo de' Medici in the Via Larga and at Mugello to satisfy us that, in high society in the Tuscan capital in the middle of the fifteenth century, instrumental and vocal music and the dance formed habitual resources after the employment of the day. The verses of Cene are indeed less rich in colour than those of his fellow bard, but this circumstance may partly be explained by the fact that one was an advocate of abstinence, while the other was not only fond of his glass of wine, but goes even farther than Jean le Houx, author of the *Vaux de Vire*, and counsels intoxication :—

Bevete del mosto, e inebriate ;  
Che non ci ha miglior vita in veritate ;  
E questo e vero come il fiorin giallo.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of his mistress, Albertuccio della Viola, a third poet of the same epoch, writes :—

Alla danza la vidi danzare,  
L' Amorosa, che mi fa allegrare.  
Così, come danzava, mi ferio—  
Vestut' era d'un drappo di Soria,  
La Donna mia, e stavale bene.

The most ancient vestige of the employment of musical instruments at Venice appears to be the incidental notice by the Greek exarch Longinus, when he was there in 568, of the presence and use of the flute and cittern, both equally, no doubt, of Hellenic origin, and importations from the Italian *terra firma*. The culture of Music appears, from an allusion in the Chronicles of San Giorgio Maggiore under the date

<sup>1</sup> "The florin of gold."—*Poeti del primo secolo*, ii. 181, 196 *et seqq.*



790, to have found affectionate promoters among the members of this holy fraternity at that epoch. The knowledge of instrumental harmony made such rapid progress, that a Venetian priest (Fra Gregorio) was invited into France, about 826, to superintend the construction of an hydraulic organ for the king. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Mistro Zuchetto is mentioned as filling the appointment of organist to the Chapel of Saint Mark, but it is not to be supposed for an instant that Zuchetto was the first who had served in that capacity. In 1498, the Government granted a monopoly for twenty years to Ottaviano de' Petrucci da Fossombrone for the printing of all figured song and tablature for the organ and the lute; this was the starting-point of that enormous volume of musical literature which claims Venice as its source.<sup>1</sup> In 1515, in a letter from the secretary of the Venetian embassy at London to a friend at home, the writer begs his correspondent to send him some compositions by Zuan Maria, as he had been speaking very highly of him in London, and had been requested to obtain specimens of his music; he also desired a few more ballads.

The fame of Venetian musicians reached, as a matter of course, the ears of a prince who, like Henry VIII., was so passionately fond of this art and recreation, and Giustinian acquaints us that Henry was greatly struck and charmed by the performance of Fra Dionisio Memo, who was introduced to him and played to his Majesty's high satisfaction, as well as that of Catherine of Arragon and Margaret of Scotland. On another occasion, the King made Memo play before the German and Spanish ambassadors.<sup>2</sup>

Giuseppe Zarlino, born at Chioggia in 1517, composer of *Orfeo*, has been called the modern restorer of music. He harmonized the hymns used in the thanksgiving of 1577 after the cessation of the plague, and in 1589 his name and repute were sufficiently powerful to warrant a collective issue of his professional works in four folio volumes.<sup>3</sup> Not only in

<sup>1</sup> Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 1891, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Vowell, J. (*alias* Hooker); *Life of Sir Peter Carew*, ed. by Maclean, 1857, pp. 38-9.

<sup>3</sup> "Tutte l' Opere del R. M. Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia, gia separatamente poste in luce; hora di nuovo corrette, accresciute, et migliorate insieme ristampate." Venetia, 1789. Folio, with musical notation and diagrams. The *Dimostrazioni Harmoniche* appeared in 1571, but the series had appeared separately from 1558.

Venice and the Venetian territories and in Italy, but throughout Europe, the works of Zarlino were appreciated; and they found a place even on the shelves of English libraries in the eighteenth century, when the English nobility and gentry paid so much homage to literature and art, as, at all events, to collect the masterpieces on those subjects in the course of their travels abroad.

In the days which immediately succeeded and down to the close, Venice was the centre and the soul of all that was agreeable, gay, bright and seductive. In the seventeenth century, according to De la Haye, there was no want of music; it was so disposed into several apartments, that one was sensible only of a single melody. In one chamber there was a theorbo, in another a lute, in a third a viol, in a fourth a violin, and at a later date the harpsichord (*clavicembalo*) grew into favour. Montaigne, his countryman, notices precisely the same fusion of sound in the musical entertainments of his time in France. A hundred years before, there is a notice that the Lady of Forlì, Caterina Sforza-Visconti, engaged two drummers to play while her ladyship was at table.<sup>1</sup>

Down to a period not very remote from the close of the independent life of Venice, the love and culture of music had a steady succession of votaries, and public officials of high grade gave their leisure to the study of social accomplishments and humanism. Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739) has transmitted to us an interesting body of musical compositions of various classes, with which he occupied some of his spare hours during the performance of his functions as a member of the Civil *Quarantia*, and as the holder of important posts at Pola and Brescia.

The naval and commercial glory of Venice was all her own, and her literature and drama were, to a large extent, of local origin and complexion, but with her typography and schools of painting and architecture it was not altogether so. The men who worked for her earlier Doges were, like the Lombard engineer Barattiero, neither her citizens nor her subjects. They executed commissions for the first comer, or, like the soldier of fortune, for the employer who paid best. Of her great painters nearly all belonged to the Venetian *terra firma*, and adopted the city as a residence. They created a school

<sup>1</sup> Pasolini, *Catherine Sforza*, trans. and ed. by Sylvester, 1898, p. 63.

whose triumphs in form, ornament and colour are recollected when the commerce of the Republic is extinct, and her victories by sea and land are more obscure, and seem scarcely less remote, than Marathon or Salamis. They were settlers on that soil from choice; there was the sense of freedom and the assurance of security. This may possibly strike as a fanciful distinction the professional man who, destitute of sentiment and indifferent to history, visits Venice to-day to study work produced under conditions of life wholly different from his own: produced, not as speculations, but with the whole feeling and might of a generous affection for the art which they pursued. The Venetian painters were not all Titians, but they had, in the middle of the seventeenth century, become a numerous and respectable school, and with their names were then, and are even still, associated many meritorious and characteristic performances.<sup>1</sup>

A primitive survival which strikes dwellers in a harsher climate as strange and refreshing, and, apart from the question of conventional dignity, affords a curious aspect of al-fresco life in the middle period, must have been the painters' benches in the Piazza, where they were suffered to sit and make their sketches at will, and where for a time they had as an associate a dyer's son named Tintoretto. But these rude appliances made way, even in the time of Titian, for studios where the artist, if he did not desire to use his private residence, could accommodate pupils and see clients, or even place works on view; Titian himself found it necessary to have such a central convenience in Rialto. But in simpler and greater times, the merchant also condescended to occupy a bench in a prominent situation, where he would be most likely to come into contact with customers or acquaintances, and hear the latest news. The Cheapside street-counters in the London of Edward III. were very similar.

The circle which gathered round him at his successive residences in Venice itself and in the country included, during some years, the famous Aretino, who made his society acceptable and serviceable by his eulogistic notices, in his extensive correspondence, of the works which his artistic comrades had from time to time in progress. This strange character doubt-

<sup>1</sup> In 1648, biographies and portraits of the more eminent members of the school were published by the Cavaliere Ridolphi.



less promoted the sale of many a canvas which might otherwise have remained on hand, for his acquaintance among the rich and influential was considerable, and he deserves to be regarded, among his manifold qualifications, as the founder of an ingenious literary mechanism not generally thought to have so distinguished or so remote an origin. Messer Aretino could have told us the Venetian word for *tip*. The mention of paintings by masters of the Venetian school, now accounted almost priceless, among the ordinary objects exposed for sale at a fair, necessitates a word of suggestion that, at and long after their original production, these works were regarded with an admiration and respect much more qualified than ours. The charm which perspective bestows was wanting; the canvas was fresh and damp (so to speak) from the easel, and if the purchaser or patron was dissatisfied, the artist might be summoned from his own residence a few streets or a few miles away to put in the required touches. The probability is, that at the *Sensa* the landscape and the flower or fruit-piece were more usually to be seen and bought, either new or second-hand, than the portrait, which, being a direct commission from a wealthy personage for his gallery or salon, was protected from the humiliation of being offered at a stall, side by side with objects in glass and hardware. Titian, in the course of his long career as an artist, must have had an abundant and constantly growing amount of patronage. The Marchese del Guasto has often been mentioned as one of his customers and friends, and he painted the Marquis more than once. Of course this great man had rivals who shared with him the favour of sitters, such as that consummate master Lorenzo Lotto of Bergamo who settled at Venice in 1527, and, in the same year, executed a likeness of the eminent collector Andrea Odoni. Rubens, during his visit to Italy in 1600, spent some time at Venice, in order to study the work of Titian and Veronese on the spot, but it was doubtless long after Titian's death, that his works were appreciated at anything like their veritable worth, for, in his will (1637), Sir Henry Wotton, in leaving to Charles I. four portraits, by Odoardo Fialetto, of Doges contemporary with him, adds as an object of inferior consequence, "the Picture of a Duke of Venice by Titiano or some other principal hand long before my time."

It is strikingly significant of the difference between the views entertained of some historical characters in their own time and among their own people, and those with which we have been taught to look at them, that, in the case of such a man as Aretino, the relict of the great Correggio, Veronica Gambara, herself a person of literary taste and achievements,<sup>1</sup> not only ranked this celebrated personage among her real friends, but addresses him in a letter as "divino signore Pietro mio." It almost makes us pause to reflect whether we look at these famous actors of the past from the true point of view, when we remember those lines in which Ariosto couples Lucrezia Borgia with her Roman namesake—the Lucrece of Shakespear. There is a letter from Aretino to the Cardinal of Ravenna, dated from Venice on the 29th of March, 1549, in which he takes occasion to remind his Eminence of his promise to assist him in providing a dowry for his daughter. With Titian who painted him twice, Sansovino the architect and all the choicest and most spiritual society of the day, the author of the *Sonetti Lussuriosi* was on terms of the closest intimacy; they constantly exchanged visits, and partook of the best of good cheer. Nor did a stranger of distinction come to Venice without paying his respects to Aretino. He was one of the select group of men and women of culture which gathered round Titian, and made his musical *conversazioni* so delightful.

It is a pleasant point in connexion with Aretino, and a tribute to his social standing and weight, that, when his friend Sansovino was involved in trouble through a professional mishap, he exerted his utmost efforts in contributing to allay the official resentment and to obtain his pardon. In a case in which he was unlikely to obtain any benefit by interference, he also interceded for a poor galley-slave, who had been, as he deemed, more than sufficiently punished for committing an offence under strong temptation.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the stories about this strange, whimsical, many-sided man may be inventions or extravagances. It has been said that he boasted—perhaps only that—of being able, with a pot of ink and a quire of paper, to conjure a handsome

<sup>1</sup> In 1537, after Correggio's death, she published at Perugia a small volume of poems. Her husband's picture, *La Zingarella*, has been supposed to be her portrait.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Ferrante Gonzaga, 6 Jan. 1556-7, quoted *suprà*.

income out of the pockets of those (imperial majesties not excluded) who did not desire to have their weak points brought out in relief in his next Rabelaisian lampoon.

Other notable rendezvous in the *cinquecento* era were the houses of Giorgione, Lorenzo Lotto, one of whose portraits was long ascribed to Correggio, Sebastiano del Piombo, Tintoretto and Veronica Franco, where all the artists and men of letters met, and where Aretino was in exceptional form. Both Giorgione and del Piombo were skilful musicians, and the former sang; but under the roof of Tintoretto the evenings were rendered especially attractive by the accomplishments of his daughter Marietta, and the presence of Giuseppe Zarlino the great composer. Gentile Bellini, who lived at Rialto in a handsomely decorated house where he was surrounded by places of business, seems to have less courted miscellaneous society, and to have preferred a select intercourse with the members of his own profession. Altogether, there can have been no deficiency of means, during all the best period, of making life even more than endurable; in fact, the members of these pleasant circles seldom lived to be old. If they were not all so intemperate as Aretino, they did not spare themselves.

The masters of the Venetian school counted among them many whose manly and frank independence we admire and appreciate. They were, in their way, aristocrats, and they sometimes played the part with effect and success. Tintoretto advised an intending sitter who prescribed scrupulous fidelity in rendering his habiliments, his lace and his jewellery, to go to Bassano, an animal-painter; and when a distinguished party of senators and prelates once visited his studio, and remarked that he worked less carefully than one of the Bellini, the dyer's son retorted that perhaps that artist was not interrupted by such company.

Several touching personal traits of Titian and his contemporaries belong to Venetian ground, but they must be left to the biographical specialists. Such sweet and tender reminiscences, however, as that of Titian meeting Tintoretto on the Piazza, and hailing him as an honour to his art, and his exclamation on seeing the works of Correggio at Parma, "Now at length I behold a painter," are something more than common biography, and linger in the mind for ever.



Much in the private social life of this grand coterie has of course been forgotten or lost. In the *Diporti* of Parabosco, printed here before 1552, it is casually stated that Aretino and some of his friends were accustomed, at a certain time of the year, to hire huts or shanties erected at a short distance from the city, for the purpose of indulging in angling, and that, in consequence of the fact that the weather on one occasion proved inauspicious, the party decided on employing their time in the narration of a series of tales. This alleged source of the *Diporti* is a familiar invention among the earlier Italian romanticists, but for the existence of the usage it may be received as adequate authority. What a vision it raises up! In estimating the high tide of Venetian vital energy, the local atmosphere, the general costume, the hereditary training, have to be admitted into account.

At a time when the Republic was politically decadent, and had abdicated its position and pretensions as a European Power, the interest in literature and the arts was still fostered both at home and abroad. A demand came from all quarters where any measure of culture existed, even for such bulky publications as the *Views* of Canaletti, and the two atlas folio volumes of 1720 containing engravings from the masters of the Venetian school.

Among the archives of the Holy Office, occurs under 1573 the *viva voce* examination of the very distinguished Venetian painter Paolo Cagliari, *detto* Veronese, then residing in the parish of San Samuele, on account of certain alleged improprieties in a picture of the Last Supper, which he had just executed on commission for the refectory of the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The particulars are curious and piquant, looking at the chief person concerned,<sup>1</sup> and the case is one almost standing alone. The Holy Office usually consisted of the metropolitan of Venice, the papal nuncio, an ecclesiastic, termed Father Inquisitor, who represented the Holy See, and three laymen on the part of the Republic, denominated *Savii all'eresia*. These are the particulars:—

“Procès-verbal of the Sitting of the Tribunal of the Inquisition,  
Saturday, the 18th of July 1573.”

The painter was, first of all, formally asked what his

<sup>1</sup> Yriarte, *Vie d'un Patricien de Venise au seizième siècle*, 1874, p. 161.

name was, and what his employment, and then the interrogatories commenced, by the Father Inquisitor pointing out, as a strange circumstance, that one of the attendants in the picture had his nose blood-stained, and carried a bandage on his face; and, farther, an explanation was solicited of the men-at-arms in German costume, with halberds in their hands and in a state of intoxication. The tribunal invited his attention to St. Peter carving a lamb, and another apostle holding a plate or dish to receive a slice, while a third is picking his teeth with a fork.

"We painters," rejoined Veronese, "take the same liberties as fools and antics do, and I have represented these halberdiers, one drinking, the other eating, at the foot of a ladder, both prepared, at the same time, to perform their duties, for it appears to me proper and possible that the master of the house, a rich and magnificent signore, as they tell me, should have such attendants."

"Has some one directed you to paint Germans, buffoons and nude figures in this picture—one buffoon with a parrot on his fist?"

"No; but I had instructions to put in ornamental accessories, as I thought fit, and when in a canvas I have some spare room, I embellish it with inventions."

"Is it not the case that the decorative details, which you painters are accustomed to introduce, have to offer some direct relation to the subject, or are they left wholly to your fancy and discretion?"

"I execute paintings with full consideration of the spirit which seems to belong to them, and to be necessary to make them intelligible."

"Do you not know," put the Father Inquisitor, "that in Germany and other places, where heresy is rife, they have a way, by painting pictures full of fooleries, to expose to ridicule the practices of the Holy Catholic Church, and spread false doctrine among the ignorant and senseless?"

"I agree that it is a bad thing to do; but I must tell you, that I have ever deemed it my duty to follow in the steps of my instructors,"—and the speaker cited Michael Angelo and the Sistine Chapel.—"No," said he, "most illustrious lords, I do not pretend to prove that my work is decent; but I did not think that I was doing any harm. I had not reflected, and I did not foresee so much irregularity."

The tribunal deliberated; and the upshot was that the great artist was requested to make alterations, for which purpose three months were allowed him. It is remarkable that this work was intended for the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; and Veronese had already treated the same subject for other religious fraternities in Venice, apparently without comment. It was a large canvas, 39 feet by 7, and is now in the Louvre, having been presented by the Signory to Louis XIV. It exhibits the result of the citation before the Inquisitors in 1573; Veronese signs the changes made with a protest as to their impropriety, for which he would give his reasons on a future occasion. Where a harrier was in the original design, he has inserted a Magdalen.

We remember that the Roman authorities overhauled in a somewhat similar manner the *Essays* of Montaigne, which they found among that author's luggage, and ended by leaving the revision of passages to which they objected to his own discretion.

Giambattista Tiepolo (1696-1770) has been regarded and described as the last of the long series of artists of the Venetian school, and he resembled his predecessors, at least, in his versatility, for we have from his hand memorials or records of his genius in many classes of work indicative of a successful and prosperous career. He was at once an art decorator, etcher, engraver and portrait-painter,<sup>1</sup> and there is a considerable survival of his labours in all these departments. His engravings and etchings embrace secular and scriptural subjects; he executed a series of eighteen prints from the works of Marco Ricci, and, as in this undertaking he assisted another artist, it may have been an early effort.

A later painter of Venetian origin was Rosalba Carriera of Chioggia, who was famous for her crayon miniatures which conferred on her a European reputation, and who also succeeded in portrait. To her we owe the charming likeness in the Dresden Gallery of La Moceniga *alle Perle*, and in the same collection that of Caterina Sagredo Bragadino in which similar accessories are conspicuous. Nor should we overlook the portraits by Pietro Longhi, including those of the Cava-

<sup>1</sup> There is in the Maidstone Museum a portrait in oils by him of Antonio Riccobuono.



liere Tron, Matilda da Ponte Quirini, and her daughter Maria Quirini Benzon.

When the English traveller Joseph Spence was at Venice about 1740, he saw la Signora Carriera, or Signora Rosalba as he calls her, and records a conversation which he had with the lady. He makes her say: "The eyes are everything.—When some one observed to me, that a picture was like in everything but the eyes; my answer was: 'then it is not like at all.' Everything I do seems good to me just after I have done it, and perhaps for seven or eight hours afterwards.—I have been so long accustomed to study features, and the expressions of the mind by them, that I know people's tempers by their faces.—I was always imitative in everything, as far back as I can remember. As to painting, in particular, I began with miniature; and it was a good while before I drew any portrait the size of life.—That Magdalen is a very fine one! If you observe it, 'tis not only her eyes that cry; she cries all over. (*Jusqu'au bout des doigts*, were her words.)—I pray in German, because that language is so energetic and expressive.—The German painters are not so genteel (*valenthuomini*) nor so good as the French.—I have seen but very little of Sir Godfrey Kneller's.—There is a Mocenigo, done by him here at Venice; that is a very good piece. . . . I concluded he could not be religious, because he was not modest."—<sup>1</sup>

These English renderings of the sentiments of the Chioggian painter have their interest, and may add something to the narrative of her career as given by Italian biographers.

A name which has been mentioned more than once, and is more intimately associated with sculpture than with painting, is that of Antonio Canova (1757–1822), a native of the village of Possagno on the Venetian *terra firma*, who owed the completion of his course of study and his earliest success to the discernment of Giovanni Faliero, who had observed the dexterity of the boy as a modeller, and who sent him successively to Bassano and Rome, to develop his genius and extend his experience and observation. The representative of the Signory at the Vatican at that time, the Cavaliere Zuliano, was, fortunately for the young man, a distinguished patron of art, and under such auspices Canova speedily acquired confidence and made progress in his profession. During his pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters*, ed. 1858, pp. 185–7.

tracted and brilliant career as a sculptor, which he occasionally diversified with painting as a sort of by-play, much of his time and thought was absorbed by his important undertakings in Rome, Paris and elsewhere. He evinced in many cases, however, his Venetian patriotism, and was a man superior to merely pecuniary considerations, applying his Roman pension of 3000 *scudi* to the relief of poor artists in that capital, and offering his gratuitous services when a great public object was in view, or even when it was a question of private friendship. After his death, two governments claimed the honour of perpetuating his memory, and a statue was erected to him at Venice in 1827 and at Rome in 1833. Canova may perhaps be regarded as the last of the long and illustrious line of men of genius of the old school and type, whom the Venetian soil and atmosphere yielded, and who, so frequently in a commercial State, rose by a fine instinct above commercial considerations. Another opportunity will be taken to refer to his romantic and almost affectionate association with the famous restaurateur Florian.

## CHAPTER LXVI

Luxury of the later Venetian life—Indulgence of the Government toward popular amusements—Profusion of public holidays—The Regatta—Athletic Sports—*Andate*—Abandonment of some of them—Religious ceremonies—*Casini*—Clubs—Theatres, Opera-houses—Prodigality—The Carnival—Mountebanks—Masks—Gaming-tables—Dice—The Ridotti—The Café Florian—Outdoor sports—Fencing—Street-music—Evening resorts and resources of the working classes—Theatrical life—Sior Antonio Rioba—Magic—Country-houses—Popular excursions—The *Garanghelo* or Women's holiday.

WHEN we look at the profligacy and exuberant gaiety of the later and feebler Venetian life, we conceive surprise at the princely display and exorbitant disbursements of an aristocracy which no longer possessed the old channels of wealth and the former financial elasticity. The amounts expended on entertainments in the eighteenth century, especially when we take into account the higher value of money, strike us as very large, with all our own modern proneness in a similar direction in special circumstances. The municipal splendour of London appears to be eclipsed by that of a private Venetian nobleman who had fifty retainers at his call. The secular and religious *fêtes*—the ball, the masquerade, the regatta, with the pomp and expense attendant on marriages among the upper classes, tended to promote trade and to popularize the government—at a cruel and a serious cost. Those were days never to return throughout the world's whole history, when the wife of a Contarini, dancing with a king, let her priceless pearl necklace fall, and her husband, stepping forward, crushed it beneath his feet, lest it should disturb the harmony of the proceedings, or induce the suspicion that the loss of a few thousand ducats was a matter of the slightest consequence. It was the intoxication of vanity.

The severest political tension and peril—the crisis when half Europe was in arms against them in 1509—did not hinder the Venetians from organizing the most sumptuous and costly pageants in celebration of some marriage or other important event. The oligarchical government seems to have shrunk from restraining the love of splendid gaiety



among the younger aristocrats, while the funds so squandered might have proved of essential public utility.

One of the points of policy, indeed, observed more and more by the Government under the oligarchical principle, was the extension of indulgence to the subjects of the Republic in all matters relating to recreations and amusements, if no constitutional question was involved or implied; and, as time went on, pleasure was pursued on this ground in every conceivable form. But, apart from private entertainments which often, in the middle and later periods, acquired a degree of sumptuous splendour elsewhere unparalleled, both in the appointments of the table or salon and in the apparel and decorations of the guests, there were manifold diversions open either to the richer and more fashionable members of the community or to the people at large. For the former, the regatta, the masked ball, the opera, the theatre, the puppet-show and the pantomime gradually constituted an ample opportunity of bestowing hours of leisure. For the latter, there was a tolerably frequent recurrence of popular festivals and sports, characterized by coarse and boisterous humour, and by the barbarous and brutal temper yet incidental to such matters, but here advisedly left unmolested by the police unless there was the strongest cause to the contrary. Several historical anniversaries furnished the opportunity for popular holidays, which helped to reconcile the mass to the loss of their voice in the direction of public affairs, and, among pastimes in which all classes more or less joined as spectators, were tournaments on the Piazza of Saint Mark, and bull-baitings, prize-fights, wrestling-matches, acrobatic feats (*forze d'Ercole*) and equestrian exhibitions on two or three other public squares, all subject to official permission. During the intense frost of 1491, there was an equestrian joust on the Grand Canal, in which certain Estradiots took part, and which the ex-queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro, honoured by her presence.<sup>1</sup>

The public regatta, one of the most important of Venetian pastimes, is of unascertained antiquity, but it may safely be referred back to the middle of the thirteenth century. A regatta and a water-fête were among the festivities which attended the coronation of Lorenzo Tiepolo in 1268. In the

<sup>1</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-8, i. 205-18.

Latin poem on the Marian Games, written about the year 1300,<sup>1</sup> it is said that two boats propelled with oars were then usually appointed to run a course along the Grand Canal, and that whichever won the race or received honourable mention gained a prize. On the 14th of September, 1315, a decree of the Great Council ordered that an annual regatta should henceforth be held on the Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul (the 25th of January), with vessels of fifty oars, and the superintendence of the necessary arrangements was committed to the Masters of the Arsenal. The boats generally employed on these occasions appear to have been galleys, but it may be collected from the wording of the Great Council minute, that the rule in this respect was not strict.

The plausible notion that the Canal Races were instituted for the first time in 1300 by the Doge Gradenigo, as one of the methods of reconciling the people with the recent loss of their political liberty, is disproved by the manifestly superior antiquity of the custom. It is highly probable indeed that the regatta was originally nothing more than an occasional recreation or a grand holiday entertainment, and that the earlier experiments were as rude as they were intermittent. But it seems to be barely likely that the Republic remained long a stranger to a class of spectacle which was so thoroughly congenial with the national instincts, and which was so admirably calculated to excite and gratify the emulation of the seamen and gondoliers.<sup>2</sup>

The regatta was accompanied by athletic sports and other games, including water-polo, in which the populace divided

<sup>1</sup> Letter of E. A. Cicogna to Cleandro, Count of Prata, *respecting certain Venetian Regattas, public and private*, p. 17. Venezia, 1856.

<sup>2</sup> "El Decreto xe sta quello,  
Che le Feste ha comandæ  
Per le spose de Castelo  
Che xe stade rescatæ.

"Su le prime no ghe gera  
Chi la pompa avesse in cuor:  
Tuto stava in dar bandiera  
A chi gera vincitor.

"Ma col tempo sta spetacolo,  
Che xe pur original,  
Deventà xe assæ magnifico,  
Veramente nazional."

—*La Regata di Venezia*. Composizione poetica in dialetto Veneziano, da Cleandro, Conte di Prata. Ven. 1856.

themselves into two parties, the *Nicolotti* and the *Castellani*, a dim and vague recollection of an old feud which arose in the fourteenth century, by reason of a disputed claim for mortuaries from the Bishop of Castello. In 1764, the anniversary was observed on the 4th instead of the 1st of March, on account of the weather. A letter from Venice describes what occurred: "On the 4th of this month the Doge and Senators repaired to the balcony of the Ducal Palace in the square of St. Mark; which place was crowded with spectators, most of them masked; and there was performed the usual ceremony of striking off the heads of three bulls at one blow. After this operation, a man, mounted on a sort of dragon, rose from the sea, and flew along a rope to the gallery of the Tower of St. Mark, throwing *sonate* among the people as he passed. From thence he made a rapid progress, by means of another rope, to the balcony of the Doge, to whom he presented a nosegay and some verses; he afterwards mounted by the same rope to the cupola, and then returned to the sea. The two factions of the *Castellani* and *Nicolotti* afterwards amused the people with feats of balancing, morris-dancing &c."<sup>1</sup> But they also had their yearly sport on the Ponte dei Carmini, where the two opposing forces struggled to cross the bridge, and a certain number on either side were inevitably ducked. All these manly and healthy exercises, in which foreign visitors were not debarred from joining, helped to form a nursery for the stout fellows who were engaged for the navy and marine. Among the aquatic diversions introduced at the splendid coronation of the Dogaressa Morosini-Grimani in 1597, was a tilting-match with lances between certain Englishmen who happened to be in the city.

The system of anniversaries and *undate* became so frequent and onerous, that two or three celebrations were gradually blended. It was judged, no doubt, that such later episodes as the Battle of Lepanto, and the heroic achievements of the Venetian commanders in the Greek and Turkish waters, as well as by land, were not merely deserving of honourable and grateful commemoration, but that the displays of patriotic enthusiasm, renewed from season to season, contributed to foster a public spirit and encourage emulation. The day of Lepanto, for which the silver *giustina* in its several

<sup>1</sup> Willis's *Current Notes*, March, 1856.





*Prima rappresentazione del gioco "Castellani e Nicolotti" del quartiere di Trastevere  
in occasione dell'inaugurazione del ponte Sisto, l'una delle parti si chiama "Castellani" e l'altra "Nicolotti".  
Giuseppe Franceschini Roma con Privilegio*

# THE CASTELLANI AND NICOLOTTI GAMES

[Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London]



varieties was specially struck, continued to be held in remembrance for some time ; all classes took part in it, and the Merceria was roofed from Saint Mark's to Rialto with blue cloth spangled in imitation of stars. It was a kind of grand bazaar and *fête* at which the usual diversity of amusements and religious observances was to be seen, and where a multitude of objects was on sale, from a string of beads or a bunch of grapes to a *Titian* or a *Tintoretto*.

Of all these joyous spectacles, two only survived the Austrian occupation—that of the Redentore on the Giudecca (the third Sunday of July), and that of the Salute on the Grand Canal. Both of these were of comparatively recent origin, the churches themselves having been erected in 1578 and 1630, respectively, as tokens of gratitude for deliverance from attacks of the pestilence. There were a few other periodical ceremonies and processions, but there was ever a drift into increased languor and insignificance.

Even the purely religious ceremonies, which were of sufficiently frequent recurrence, attracted a vast concourse of spectators, and formed part of the general plan for occupying the public mind in its hours of leisure or relaxation. "So long have I lived," says Martino da Canale, whose very precious chronicle extends only from 1267 to 1275, "in beautiful Venice, that I have seen the processions which Messer the Doge makes upon high festivals, and which he would not on any account omit to make each year." He proceeds to depict that celebrated on Easter Day, when the Doge, holding a waxen taper, went with his suite to Saint Mark's, and his attendants held over his head the umbrella which had been given to him by Monsignor the Apostle, or in other words the Pope, and carried the sword of state at his side. This particular celebration was before 1268, in the time of Reniero Zeno, who was probably unaware that observant eyes were carefully registering whatever he did or said worth noting.

The *Festa delle Marie* appears to have been among the earliest to drop. It was the celebration of the rescue of the Brides of Venice from the pirates of Narenta in the tenth century. At first the usage was probably observed with a moderate degree of display and expenditure, but, in 1008, the Doge Orseolo II. left rather ample funds for the continuance of the anniversary. Da Canale relates that, in his time, the



Brides of Venice were accustomed to wear robes of cloth of gold, and gold crowns or coronets set with jewels, and that all the guests were regaled with wine and sweetmeats. Perhaps it was then that the oranges were added and that malmsey was introduced, but neither could very easily have made part of the original oblation by the Casemakers' Gild.

The discontinuance of the festival did not interfere with the yearly visit of the Doge to Santa Maria Formosa. But the costly character which the pageant itself had assumed combined with the grave aspect of public affairs about 1378, to induce the Government to suppress it. Probably the step was partly recommended by a fatal casualty in the year just mentioned, when one of the barques containing the girls foundered near Murano.

As recently as 1902, the anniversary of the translation in the eleventh century of San Gerardo Sagredo, a Venetian by birth, and Bishop of Csanád in Hungary, to the church of our Lady at Murano, was celebrated by a festival upon the water, but the proceedings were comparatively formal and ineffusive, as unlike those of the old time as the whole of the environing costume.

The Republic had, in 1408, instituted at Padua what was termed a *Casino*, which was in reality a social club to enable men of the better class to meet and converse. We do not hear of any anterior recourse to this sort of provision, but such establishments multiplied at a later period, and their designations sufficiently indicate their distinctive character and aim. There were the *casini* for the nobles, for merchants, for literary men, for philosophers; the house for consular representatives domiciled at Venice: the *filodrammatico*, the *filarmonico*, of the *intraprendenti*, the Casino of the Hundred denoting the limit of membership, and the *Casino de' Vecchij*. These manifold resorts evince phases of life in the city, even when certain enervating agencies had lowered the moral tone, outside and above the doubtless too prevailing elements of frivolous and profligate gaiety, and deserve to be taken into account when we estimate the general tenor of the Venetian life and thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was in these more or less intellectual centres, in common with the Institutes and Academies devoted to the Fine Arts, and often founded and upheld by private subscriptions and open

to the public, that we must suppose all the culture and taste, even down to late times, to have been fostered and promoted.

The Clubs of Venice were, of course, like our own, viewed as lounges or occasional haunts. Some, as the Bragora, were used as resorts for public dinners or for entertainments which it was inconvenient to hold at home, or were political, like the *Murazzi*, instituted in 1774 to promote certain novel ideas imbibed from France and Germany.

The city was, in the more modern days, amply furnished with theatres, opera-houses and other institutions of a less exalted and classical type, for the performance of pantomimes, marionette-shows, and other more popular diversions. At the regular theatrical establishments, the comedies of Gozzi and Goldoni long enjoyed a far more than local celebrity. The musical melodrama or spectacle founded on classical legends was constantly produced at the Grimano, Cassano and other houses in the seventeenth and following centuries, and was committed to the press under distinguished native or foreign patronage.

A State which had existed and flourished during so many ages, and which carried out the principles of civil government to approximate perfection, long survived, without conspicuous change, the debilitating effects of geographical discovery, of new political complications, and of new commercial ideas. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century, life among the aristocracy continued to be an almost interrupted course of splendid and licentious pleasure, contrasting with the soberer manners of happier and greater times. In the more fashionable quarters of the city, there was much that might be curious and instructive, yet much that pointed to the inevitable end of the decadent spendthrift, of the thoughtless, ostentatious prodigal.

The account is a *coup d'œil* of what we may conclude to have been observable at Venice in the sixteenth and in the earlier half of the seventeenth century. Many of the great families had accumulated large fortunes, and some continued to hold their ground. There was altogether a vast amount of wealth, but the earning power began to fail when the Portuguese, Dutch and English successively, and to a certain extent concurrently, absorbed more and more the trade long enjoyed as a monopoly by the Italians.

In common with nearly all Powers which have lived long enough to amass riches and their infallible incidence, Venice, in the last days of her independent existence, displayed, side by side with public pusillanimity and private degradation, some brilliant exceptions under both categories, as well as traits which wear the aspect of inconsistency and waywardness. We are supplied with several almost touching instances of the survival of the ancient heroism and dignity in private life. Napoleon stigmatized the Venetians in 1797 as *polissons*; there were such as deserved the epithet, no doubt, and the great soldier could have found an abundance in Paris. Yet to the last there was an element of patriotism and pride, and the last of the Doges only removed his bonnet and gave it to an attendant, with "I shall need it no longer," when he saw that the force brought to bear was overwhelming; he was the uncle of that Manin who led the struggle for the recovery of freedom in 1848. The naval glory of Venice, after all, far eclipsed that of France, and her military achievements were not insignificant.

But if we desire to study an epoch when Venetian glory was yet uneclipsed, and when the history of the Republic is to be read in the biographies of a few of her citizens, we have to go back to the century preceding that of the French Revolution, to the days when the magnificent exploits in arms of Mocenigo and Morosini more than vied with the noblest and bravest achievements of the Dandoli, Zeni and Loredani of brighter times, and when the aristocracy, as a body, was yet sensible of the value of personal decorum and etiquette. The reply of the noble Contarini, descendant of Doges and of a house coeval with the first settlement in the lagoons, who, when the Duke of Savoy at a public reception in 1667 offered to salute her on the arm, repulsed him with the observation, that his Highness would not find such behaviour acceptable at Venice, though it might be at Turin, bespeaks a spirit aspiring to emulate at home the heroism of her countrymen fighting against the Ottomans, and striving to win back lost empire and ebbing renown.

Yet, in a narrative written by an English gentleman at the court of the Stuarts, it is said that, when some untoward incident occurred, disarranging his dress at a masque, the Venetian ambassador severely chastised his wife who laughed



in common with other ladies, because, although such a matter might awaken mirth at Venice, it was not considered decorous in England to betray observation of a *contretemps* of that kind.<sup>1</sup>

The ruinous expense of the war in Candia did not prevent the Carnival in 1646 from being observed with unabated licence and display. Evelyn, who describes the winter of 1645-46 as very severe, went over from Padua to Venice at Shrovetide, as he says, to see the folly and madness: "the women, men, and persons of all conditions disguising themselves in antic dresses, with extravagant music and a thousand gambols, traversing the streets from house to house, all places being then accessible and free to enter. Abroad, they fling eggs filled with sweet water, but sometimes not over-sweet. They also have a barbarous custom of hunting bulls about the streets and piazzas, which is very dangerous, the passages being generally narrow. The youth of the several wards and parishes contend in other masteries and pastimes, so that it is impossible to recount the universal madness of this place during this time of license. The great banks are set up for those who will play at bassett; the comedians have liberty, and the operas are open; witty pasquils are thrown about, and the mountebanks have their stages at every corner."

Howell, writing on Ash-Wednesday, 1654, to Richard Baker, tells a story of a Turkish ambassador who informed his friends on his return from Venice, that the Christian hath a kind of ashes, which he sprinkles over his head on that day to cure him of the madness which had taken possession of him the day before. Not only were shops and private dwellings liable to invasion by the maskers, but the floor of the Great Council saloon itself was thronged with them at this season. An English traveller<sup>2</sup> of the early part of the eighteenth century lets us know that, during the Carnival, any woman found alone and masked might be solicited. Byron, writing to Hoppner from Ravenna, on the 31st of January, 1820, simply describes the Carnival there as "less boisterous."

The allusion of Evelyn to bull-baiting in the streets is confirmed by one of the plates of Giacomo Franco's book,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vindication of Richard Atkyns Esquire*, 1669, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Chancel, *Travels*, 1714, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Habiti d'Huomini et Donne Venetiane* [Venice, 1609]. One of the plates is dated 1597.

probably published in 1609, in which a lady in costume is represented as engaged in this sport, and a dog is fastening on him. The incident takes place in a particularly confined area. A second bull waits to be let loose, a lady and her male companion holding him in, while a second man keeps a dog in check till a signal is given.

We have, in the pages of Coryat, a volume prepared from notes made at Venice, an excellent account of the mountebanks (from *monta in banco*), who used to give performances twice a day, in the morning and afternoon, in two different parts of the city. They all mounted a stage, variously attired, some like fools, others like women, or in character; Coryat tells us that there were women among them. The exhibition was accompanied by music, vocal or instrumental. The chief actor delivered an address, describing the marvels which he had to offer. When our author was a spectator on one occasion, they had a viper which was the lineal descendant of that mentioned by St. Paul. No description or form of charlatanry seems to have been overlooked, and the prices demanded were retrograde, sometimes descending from ten crowns to a few pence, like the clown's ninepence. The chief commodities were oils, foreign waters, amorous printed songs, apothecary's drugs; the amorous songs remind us of Shakespeare's Autolycus.<sup>1</sup>

It is a sort of accepted notion that the pantaloon of the comic stage germinated in Venice, and that the name is a derivation from San Pantaleone, a saint of local repute, who thus became the godfather, not of the individual, but of the strange breeches and hose in one, by which this *dramatis persona* has always been distinguished. The etymology is at least dubious; the liberty taken with the saint awakens distrust.<sup>2</sup>

There is an account of the festivities in celebration of St. Mark's Day in 1680-1, which were attended and enjoyed by the Doge, the Senate, the Executive, the imperial ambassador and about 50,000 spectators. Among other novelties, a butcher with a Persian scimitar cut off at one continuous blow the heads of three bullocks. But an even more marvellous exploit was that of a man, who ascended by a rope 600 feet

<sup>1</sup> The adoption of the full Venetian breeches by the local low comedian was almost certainly the source whence the somewhat analogous artist on the English stage in the sixteenth century derived his wide slops.

<sup>2</sup> Webb, *Heritage of Dress*, 1912, p. 212.





*In questa guisa si veggono le maschere in Venezia nel Carnovale, d'ogni qualita di persone  
le quali sogliono quasi tutte alle hore 23 ridursi sulla piazza di san stefano, e quivi pascegg  
ando trattenersi fino a quasi due hore di notte*

*Giacomo Franco Forma con Privilegio*

SCENE AT A CARNIVAL

[Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London]





long from the Quay to the top of St. Mark's, mounted on a white horse, and twice saluted the Doge and company—once when he had arrived half-way up, and once while he sat on the golden angel at the summit, having left his horse in the bell-tower. This feat seems stupendous, yet the extant engravings of the *Gioco di Forza* in its various early types shew a surprising degree of skill.

So inordinately bent on the anniversary were the great body of the people, and so commercially advantageous was the concourse of visitors from the *terra firma*, that, although the death of the Doge Renier occurred on the 18th of February, 1789, the event was not officially published till the second of the following month. Nothing came amiss at such a season. In 1751, the old rhinoceros, which had been brought to Europe in 1741 and had been exhibited in numerous places, was shipped hither, and was, no doubt, a leading attraction at the festival. The animal was said to weigh 5000 pounds. A medal was struck, commemorating so signal an occurrence, but the Venetians had had a previous experience of the kind, when a specimen was imported in the fourteenth century, perhaps for transit elsewhere. The daily rations of the later visitor must have proved a serious deduction from the profits of his exhibitors.

There is a curious illustration of the Carnival, as it was celebrated at a posterior date, in the unique series of coloured porcelain figures, so contrived as to be at pleasure united or separated, executed, as it is supposed, by Kändler for the royal china-factory at Dresden. This singular production, now exceedingly rare in a complete state, extended to about one hundred pieces, and represented *Bœuf Gras* escorted by figures in the form of cupids, and intended to personify trades and professions. Two carts, each drawn by four horses and full of masked personages, accompanied the procession, and the central object, when the whole was in order, was a large clock with rococo scrolls.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of disguising the features by the assumption of masks and fanciful costumes was evidently an old one, when restrictions were imposed on its use for improper purposes in 1339. It seems to have been more or less usual for disorderly characters to cause annoyance and

<sup>1</sup> Chaffers, *Marks and Monograms on China, &c.*, by Litchfield, 1903, p. 478.

scandal in this way, by pervading the city at all hours of the night and early morning.<sup>1</sup> But at a later period, and when Coryat was here, the mask was customary among the courtezans who occupied the galleries of the theatre, and no one dared to remove or raise it. Subsequently it became the rule even for ladies to go masked.

De la Haye who was at Venice about 1660 remarks: "At their Masques they [the ladies] have a particular care of refusing their hand to no body, lest it should prove some Gentleman in Masquerade, which amongst them would be an inexpressible affront. At these meetings they place themselves all in a row, without speaking a word, and when they are taken out to dance, one must have a special care he does it not with his glove off; if he does, he not only runs a hazard of an affront, but to be pistol'd or stabb'd. Their Dance is nothing but a grave and stately motion from one room to another, till at last they return to the place from whence they were taken."<sup>2</sup>

This description of amusement lasted down to modern times; but private entertainments were gradually superseded by the *Ridotti*, places for dancing, card-playing and so on, one of which was situated at San Moisè, where public *bals masqués* were formerly held so many times a week in the winter. In the *Cries of Venice*, the *codega* with a lantern is guiding two gentlemen with masks to an entertainment of this sort. It is some criterion of the growth of artificial life, rather than of the waywardness of official arrangements, that, in 1339, it was as illegal to wear masks abroad, as, toward the close of the scene, it became to expose the features in places of public assembly.

The mask also played a leading and indispensable part in the low comedy placed on the stage in the eighteenth century, and was indeed a far more influential feature in the performance and in comic action than it is in the modern theatre. It was found to be a valuable accessory to the broad and coarse humour relished by Venetian audiences and spectators. The Government held, moreover, that it had the collateral merit of concealing identity, when ladies of family thought fit

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, ii. 3, note. The same experience survives, to some extent, at the present day, as I have been informed, although I did not personally witness it.

<sup>2</sup> The Sieur de la Haye: *The Policy and Government of the Venetians*, 1671, pp. 70, 71.



to frequent these performances, for, in 1776,<sup>1</sup> the Decemvirs interdicted women of rank and honest repute from going to the theatre unmasked.

It is therefore no matter for surprise, that the supply of these adjuncts proved, as time advanced, a large and profitable industry, and the shop of the dealer was stocked with an ample variety of masks adapted for all occasions and tastes.<sup>2</sup> Even beggars wore them; perhaps to disguise their identity or conceal their humiliation; and medical men thought them, with certain special appliances, safeguards from infection when they visited patients in a season of plague.

Evelyn, who had seen the ordinary masquerades at Venice when he went abroad in earlier life, remarks in his *Diary* under 1650, that that at Paris "was very fantastic; but nothing so quiet and solemn as I found it at Venice."

The Venetian was the forerunner of his fellows in modern Europe at the gaming-table—nearly the most fascinating and most destructive of all recreations and passions. Venice was to the eighteenth century what Homburg and Monte Carlo are to this, and some of the casinos were entirely dedicated to the object. Visitors and victims from all parts flocked hither to make or leave their fortunes; certain Venetians sought amid these scenes to retrieve their fallen prosperity and affluence, and perhaps parted with the last wreck of their family estates. What is immeasurably sadder—there were to be seen, officiating as *croupiers* at the faro-tables, descendants of men who had sat in the Doge's Chair, and who bore the most illustrious names in the Republic. The Public Lottery was yet another form of speculation.

Dice appear to have been in vogue tolerably soon; in fact, all these conventional accessories must have reached the lagoon from one or other of the numberless sources of communication, while, in the absence of collateral references, their arrival and use are often apt, from their very familiarity, to be post-dated. This particular amusement, known all over the world, is by some supposed to have conferred a new name on

<sup>1</sup> Romanin, vi. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Molmenti, *Vita Privata*, ill. ed., 1905-1908, iii. pp. 200, 202.

the Ponte del Malpasso or dei Malpassi, subsequently called the Ponte dei Dai or dei Dadi, and by the historian Sabellico *Tesserarum Pons*. Under the earlier designation, it plays a part in the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy of 1310. The election of a Doge in 1229 was embarrassed by the equal division of the forty votes between two candidates, and the tradition is, that recourse was had to the law of chance. No particulars are given. Did the grave fathers toss the dice-box? A good deal is heard in posterior times of rules and orders in regard to this pastime, which was forbidden within a certain radius of the Ducal Palace.

The *ridotto* is associated by the *Sieur de la Haye* with a place where cards and gaming as well as dancing were carried on. "They have," says he, "certain places on purpose which they call *Redotti*, where they meet, and dispose of several hours without speaking a word. Their success is never known by their behaviour, for they win and lose, receive and part with their money with the same temper and indifference." But he adds just after, that one of their chief places of meeting was at a senator's house, where they always had one of their judges under their eye. This was when De la Haye was at Venice about 1660. A little farther on he proceeds to observe: "You shall see fifty or threescore Ladies about a long Table, shuffling and managing the Cards with as much silence as they were Statues, and losing their money with as little concernment, as their Husbands. I was many times at these meetings on purpose to have learn'd the game, but they play'd so quick, and talk'd so little, 'twas impossible I should do it."<sup>1</sup> Evelyn had previously noticed the same thing. He states that his party "went to the *Chetto di San Felice*, to see the noblemen and their ladies at *bassett*, a game at cards which is much used; but they play not in public, and all that have inclination to it are in masquerade, without speaking one word, and so they come in, play, lose or gain, and go away as they please. This time of licence is only in Carnival and this Ascension-week."

Marcel, who was at Venice about 1714, gives the following account: "When the *Redotti*, or Gaming-Houses, are open in Carnival Time, prodigious Sums of Money are lost at *Basset*. None are admitted into these Houses but such as are mask'd.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 65, 71, 72.

The Nobles keep the Bank, and relieve one another from Morning till Night, who seem but little concern'd when they lose a Thousand Shekins by one Card, no more than when they win but one by another. I have seen the Bank broke twice or thrice; but could never see the least Sign of Discontent in the unfortunate Nobleman that kept it. They will play with the Loser upon his Word to the Value of Ten Thousand Ducats, which are always punctually paid next Morning."<sup>1</sup>

The gaming-houses remained open till the early hours of the morning, and the jaded and pallid players, gainers and losers alike, instead of going home, would, says Casanova, stroll about the quays or into the market place, where the business of the day had perhaps already commenced, or where the boats bringing the produce from various directions were arriving. Everybody knew who they were, even if they desired to have it supposed that they had risen thus betimes to enjoy the freshness of the air and the busy scene. It was a morbid, feverish appetite, as potent, in its way, and as ineradicable, as that for opium or for *absinthe*.

But gambling was equally rife at the country villa, where the tables were always kept ready for players, and where the comparatively harmless game of *tresette*, on which Morello founded a poem in blank verse in 1756, was a favourite. Was this similar to the Old English One-and-Thirty and the modern Vingt-et-un, in both of which the ace is the best card and counts eleven?

In the country, as well, no doubt, as in town, chess was occasionally a means of relieving the monotony of suburban or rural life. It had been one of the resources of the less diversified existence in the mediæval and Renaissance eras, and men even brought their boards into the verandah or the garden-house, and passed in this way a pleasant hour, while the villa was wholesomely and appropriately restricted to its natural costume and appurtenances, and was exempt from licentious intrusions.

In 1704, the attention of the Decemvirs was drawn to the multiplication of these *ridotti*, frequented by both sexes and a source of disorder and scandal, and it was prescribed to the Inquisitors of State to take measures for their closure. Two

<sup>1</sup> *New Journey over Europe*, 1714, p. 103.



establishments are specified: one at the Carmini, the other at Cannaregio, but, in a later edict of the same body, and on the secret file for the 28th of February, 1743, the ridotto at San Moisè is stigmatized as the common haunt of men and women of all ranks, even of a Procurator of St. Mark, and others which had started in emulation or rivalry are marked for suppression. The two principal games were basset and faro. It is particularly noticeable that the Ten in their decree on the subject discriminate between these *ridotti*, commonly called *Casini*, and the true Casino as it was familiar to the Republic from the fourteenth century. At a more recent date, the San Moisè house itself, as if the former report on it had not taken effect, was peremptorily and definitively ordered, in a very long and detailed minute of the Great Council on the 27th of November, 1774, to be shut up, as an institution which was productive of grave scandal in a State bred up in piety and good discipline.

Thousands and tens of thousands of gold *scudi* changed hands, and two ladies lost altogether 80,000, which their husbands thought proper to pay. The Abbé Nicolò Grioni staked the very clothes on his back, and another man who did the same stayed at home in the day, and left the house at night in a suit lent him by his father.

The antiquity of the café, so far as Venice is concerned, has apparently to be conjectured rather than ascertained. The origin of coffee-houses elsewhere is traced to the Levant, where an English traveller, Sir Henry Blount, saw them in the earlier part of the reign of Charles I. Nowhere should such institutions have obtained an earlier footing than here. They have been sufficiently abundant since the middle of the eighteenth century, and no establishment in Europe ever acquired such world-wide celebrity as that kept by Florian, the friend of Canova, and the trusted agent and acquaintance of hundreds of persons in and out of the city, who found him an unfailing source of information about everything and everybody. Persons leaving the city for a time left their cards and addresses and a clue to their movements with him; others coming to it inquired under his roof for tidings of those whom they desired to see; he long concentrated in himself a knowledge more varied and multifarious than that possessed by any individual before or since.

Venetian coffee was said to surpass all other, and the article placed before his visitors by Florian was said to be the best in Venice. Of some of the establishments as they then existed, Molmenti has supplied us with illustrations, in one of which Goldoni the dramatist is represented as a visitor, and a female mendicant is soliciting alms. So cordial was the esteem of the great sculptor for him, that, when Florian was overtaken by gout, he made a model of his leg, that the poor fellow might be spared the anguish of fitting himself with boots. The friendship had begun when Canova was entering on his career, and he never forgot the substantial services which had been rendered to him in the hour of need.

In later days, the Café Florian was under the superintendence of a female *chef*, and the waitresses used in the case of certain visitors to fasten a flower in the button-hole, perhaps allusively to the name; in the Piazza itself girls would do the same thing. A good deal of hospitality is, and has ever been dispensed at Venice in the cafés and restaurants, which do service for the domestic hearth.

There were many other establishments devoted, more especially in the latest period of Venetian independence, to the requirements of those who desired such resorts for purposes of conversation and gossip. These houses were frequented by various classes of patrons—the patrician, the politician, the soldier, the artist, the old and the young—all had their special haunts, where the company and the tariff were in accordance with the guests. The upper circles of male society—all above the actually poor—gravitated hither to a man. For the Venetian of all ranks, the coffee-house was almost the last place visited on departure from the city, and the first visited on his return. His domicile was the residence of his wife and the repository of his possessions; but only on exceptional occasions was it the scene of domestic hospitality, and rare were the instances when the husband and wife might be seen abroad together, and when the former would invite the lady to enter a café or a confectioner's shop to partake of an ice.<sup>1</sup> The coffee-house to a large extent was the successor of the early casino or social club, which dated from the commencement of the fifteenth century, but it did not supersede

<sup>1</sup> Havard (*Amsterdam et Venise*, 1876) has impressively contrasted the private life of the Hollander and the Venetian.

the older and poorer institution, which survived to the last, and may be said to have run parallel with the period of pronounced decline. Yet both almost equally militated against the home and the family.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, we find the Council of Ten laying their hands on alleged abuses connected with the coffee-houses of the metropolis, which are charged, in decrees of the 18th of December, 1775, and the 28th of December, 1776, with fostering all kinds of corruption and immorality, by harbouring women and youths, and remaining open till outrageous hours. An indirect fruit of this mischief was that the principal thoroughfares were thronged all night with loungers of both sexes,<sup>1</sup> and that public morals were jeopardized; the Inquisitors of State were therefore directed to eradicate this social canker.

Outdoor recreations for all were at hand: not only those with which Venice is more closely associated, but, as we perceive, the tournament, bull-baiting, which Evelyn witnessed in 1646 and in which women took part, the game of pell-mell which used to be played on the Campo San Giacomo dall'Orio, rackets and *calcio pallone* or football. In this pastime, the young patricians, casting aside their ordinary costume, attired themselves in close-fitting suits for the sake of greater freedom. Coryat describes it as he saw it played on the Campo Santo Stefano, now the Campo Morosini, in the presence of hundreds of spectators on Sunday and holy-day evenings, but it was allowed in other open spaces.

The fencing academy attracted its share of patronage, and appealed to all such as might contemplate a calling in which the use of weapons is imperative, or the contingency of a duel with rapiers, and there was a special manual of instruction for pupils. Apart from any serious application of the art, it has always been a favourite diversion, and Byron found it in the hour of sorrow a distracting solace. There were schools for the promotion of this science at Padua, Verona and other cities within the Dominion.

Many of the younger sort were addicted to the pugilistic art, and down to 1705, the Campo adjoining the Church of

<sup>1</sup> "Una deambulazione notturna praticata perfino nelle ore avanzatissime della notte per tutte le pubbliche strade di questa Dominante non meno dalle femmine nostre ma dagli uomini ancora. . . ." Romanin, vi. 188.



Santa Maria del Carmine was the scene of a yearly prize-ring. As many as seventy horses used to be kept in the inclosed space used as an arena for jousts at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, outside the Church of the Mendicanti. In some of the engraved series of views by Giacomo Franco occur scenes of popular recreations, in which the play was sometimes excessively rough; a bull-baiting is shewn with ladies participating in the sport.

So far back as 1548, street-musicians and public bands were required to obtain a licence from the *Messetaria*, an official department which superintended a variety of minutiae connected with the general comfort and security. In summer, when Lassels was here about 1670, they had at night, he tells us, "a world of *Montibancks*, *ciarlatani*, and such stuff, who together with their drudges and remedies, strive to please the people with their little comedies, puppet playes, songs, musick, storyes, and such like buffonnerie. Its strange to see how they finde dayly either *new fooling*, or *new fooles*, not onely to heare thembut even the throw them money too for such poore contentments." He proceeds to say: "We went after dinner to see the *Evening Corso* at *Murano*, where we saw those fine *Gondolas* and *Piottas*, which we had seen waiting upon the *Doge* in the morneing, now rowing in state up and downe the great *Canale* of *Murano* to the sound of *Trumpets*; and with all the force of the brauny watermen that row them. Sometimes meeting too thick in the arches of the wooden bridge here, they crack one an others *Gondolas*, breack one an others oares, overturne their boatmen, and are stoppt for an houre together without being able to untangle. *Embassadors* themselves of *Forrain Princes* appeare in *Corso* this evening with all their bravery (five or six *Gondolas* all in one livery) as well as all the gallants and gentry of *Venice*, who appeare here this evening at *Corso*."<sup>1</sup>

In the *Cries of Venice* (1785), three musicians are in some public thoroughfare, one with a violin, another with a guitar, a third a vocalist. They are preceded by a boy who extends his cap for contributions, and their aspect is sufficiently lamentable.

The resorts of the working classes in Venice itself, as well as in the suburbs and outskirts, were of two leading kinds:

<sup>1</sup> *The Voyage of Italy*, 1670, pt. ii. pp. 404, 414-15.

the *bastioni* or wine-shops and the *casini* or taverns, where the glass or other measure of cheap wine was accompanied by a turn at cards or some similar diversion; there were, after a while, the puppet-shews and marionettes. In some of the less aristocratic quarters, games, dancing and singing served to beguile the evenings of the worker. In the sixteenth century, in Murano with a dense and thriving population, only two *bastioni* existed: in the nineteenth, with a tithe of the former inhabitants and comparatively no local industry, there are twenty.

When Mr. Howells was at Venice in 1861–2, he found the Venetian of that day easily satisfied and amused, and no part of his book is more entertaining than that in which he sketches the theatrical life of the middle of the nineteenth century, and the admirable performances at the marionette and other puppet exhibitions, so largely and numerous attended by persons of all ranks. These spectacles were, in their essence, of long standing, and dated back even to before the time of Goldoni. At the Grimani Palace, there was formerly a miniature marionette theatre, handsomely appointed and divided into three compartments with a curtain. It is now in the Civic Museum, and has been depicted by Molmenti.

The author of *Venetian Life* speaks of the rough-hewn statue of Sior Antonio Rioba, set in the corner of an ordinary grocery near the Ghetto. "He has a pack on his back and a staff in his hand; his face is painted, and is habitually dishonoured with dirt thrown upon it by boys. On the wall near him is painted a bell-pull, with the legend, *Sior Antonio Rioba*. Rustics, raw apprentices, and honest Germans new to the city, are furnished with packages to be carried to Sior Antonio Rioba, who is very hard to find"—there is always a crowd of loafers near to enjoy the hoax.<sup>1</sup> A comic journal during the Republic of 1848 bore his name; it was then a jest of long standing—a thin one. In estimating the dependence of earlier ages on resources outside daily labour, there is always one element in the calculation; it is the absence of artificial light after nightfall, which for centuries rendered outdoor excursions impossible.

<sup>1</sup> *Venetian Life*, 1883, i. 225–6. A nearly identical hoax was perpetrated on the man who was sent to Tiverton in Devonshire to obtain information from Mr. Abb.

Magic and sorcery in their various forms had been familiar from a very remote date, and were called into service in a wide diversity of ways, even in winning for female serfs the affections of their employers. So, again, the Republic was not behindhand when the supernatural was reduced by the progress of science in some cases to common physical laws. In 1665, we find a notice in the Diary of Pepys of a feat performed at Bordeaux, in which a man was raised from the ground with the utmost ease by four little girls, the latter and the burden concurrently inflating their lungs with air; and this at a later period was more than once the source of wondering curiosity at Venice on the part of all who were not in the secret. An instance is cited in which a heavy man was thus held up on the forefingers of six persons. Such a trick would probably become a standard institution, and have its independent booth at fairs.

The wealthier classes had their country-houses both in the immediate vicinity of the city and on the *terra firma*, and were at liberty, in the absence of official ties, to go whither they pleased. Toward the period of the Fall, open house appears to have been kept by several of the owners of these pleasancess, on which the playwright and the satirist did not omit to lavish derision. But the operative, the artisan and the shopkeeper's assistant had their relaxation, and periodically made parties to go with music and refreshments on boating excursions to various points within a reasonable distance. Working women with a mind to forget for a moment their hard lot at home took a day in the year, and started in a body from one of the places of embarkation at a very early hour, with an escort of two neighbours of mature years and of the other sex. The expense was defrayed by a weekly payment of a *quartarolo* or *obolo* to the treasurer by each intending participator in the holiday, and this jaunt was called a *garanghelo*. The women presented a gay and bright appearance in their scarlet bodices and bombazine skirts or petticoats, their snow-white linen and muslin aprons set off with as much cheap finery or jewellery as they could command, or with bouquets of flowers. Their male relatives and friends came to carry the provisions for the day, and to see them off; their usual destination was Mestre, Lido or some place



which afforded facilities for a picnic and a dance, accompanied or followed by songs and instrumental music. In the evening, they returned with the barks (*peote*) illuminated, and with all sorts of enjoyment and fun; it was the women's own day; they left, not only the men, but the children behind them.

THE END

## CORRIGENDA

*For* Caorlo

„ Vitali  
 .. Cavarzelo  
 .. San Bragolo  
 .. San Bragola  
 .. Cypriano  
 „ 1158  
 „ Novaro  
 „ Stephen II.  
 .. that prince  
 „ Giunto  
 „ Alexius  
 „ Brabant  
 „ Gentili  
 „ Mestra  
 „ remounced  
 „ Berengar  
 „ alli Due Castelli  
 „ 1829  
 „ Jacopo di Carrara  
 „ Montagnano  
 „ 1353  
 „ Vertus  
 „ Raffaelo  
 „ receptacle  
 „ Crécy  
 „ Sudah  
 „ Malatesti  
 „ Martenengo  
 „ Maria Nani  
 „ Brescella  
 „ 1420  
 „ xxix  
 „ Rosata  
 „ Chiaro  
 .. Gian-Galeazzo  
 „ Bregno  
 „ S  
 „ His death, and  
 „ 1614  
 „ Heiss  
 „ Sciarra  
 „ Saint Real's  
 „ Bragora  
 „ Giambattista  
 „ Crossechieri  
 „ San Salute  
 „ Mitylene

*read* Caorle, i. 7, 65, 79, 109, 183, 193, 341, 445 *ter*,  
 710 ; ii. 350.  
 „ Vitale, i. 82, 86, 96, 118, 131, 147.  
 „ Cavarzere, i. 102, 113, 119, 146, 193, 208, 212,  
 216, 582, 747, 788 ; ii. 649.  
 „ San Giovanni in Bragola, i. 125.  
 „ San Giovanni in Bragola, ii. 329.  
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 „ Gentile, i. 317, 957.  
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 „ Berenger, i. 425.  
 „ ai Due Castelli, i. 425.  
 „ 1289, i. 463 (head-line).  
 „ Jacopo da Carrara, i. 557.  
 „ Montagnana, i. 586, 924.  
 „ 1354, i. 618.  
 „ Virtue, i. 622.  
 „ Raffaello, i. 642.  
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 „ Crécy, i. 692.  
 „ Sudak, i. 813.  
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 „ 1426, i. 864.  
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 „ 38, ii. 38.  
 „ His death ; ii. 50 (chapter heading).  
 „ circa 1609, ii. 134, 645.  
 „ Heiss, ii. 134, 202 *n.* 4.  
 „ Sciarra, ii. 147.  
 „ Saint-Réal's, ii. 173 *n.* 2.  
 „ in Bragora, ii. 174.  
 „ Giambattista, ii. 182, 763.  
 „ Crossechieri, ii. 205 *n.* 1.  
 „ Santa Maria della Salute, ii. 217 *n.* 2.  
 „ Mytilene, ii. 222, 257 *bis*.

<i>For</i> Serutinio	<i>read</i> Serutinio, ii. 256.
„ Höchststadt	„ Hochstädt, ii. 268 <i>n.</i> 1.
„ <i>Porti di Præsidio</i>	„ <i>Stato dei Presidii</i> , ii. 271.
„ 1610	„ 1608, ii. 282 <i>bis</i> .
„ See supra, p. 132	„ See supra, p. 14, ii. 291 <i>n.</i> 1.
„ Gratz	„ Grätz, ii. 299.
„ Saone	„ Saône, ii. 308.
„ Dorsodurs	„ Dorsoduro, ii. 317.
„ 1597	„ 1609, ii. 335.
„ 882	„ 982, ii. 388.
„ Debonnaire	„ Débonnaire, ii. 389, 713.
„ he saw the Treasury	„ she saw the Treasury, ii. 410.
„ Newman Hall	„ Mrs. Newman Hall, ii. 410 <i>n.</i> 1.
„ sytsem	„ system, ii. 425.
„ Yriate	„ Yriarte, ii. 448.
„ Jacopani	„ Jacopone, ii. 481 <i>n.</i>
„ Jacopino	„ Jacopone, ii. 844.
„ vii	„ viii, ii. 488 <i>n.</i>
„ Zou	„ Zon, ii. 525.
„ Jacopo Suriano	„ Antonio Suriano, ii. 526
„ Dandolo	„ Dandolo, ii. 557.
„ Ziana	„ Ziani, ii. 558.
„ chateau	„ château, ii. 597.
„ Otho II.	„ Otho III., ii. 620.
„ Forli	„ Forlì, ii. 631, 701, 724.
„ Aigue-mortes	„ Aigues-mortes, ii. 652.
„ Contarino	„ Contarini, ii. 668.
„ Estworham	„ Estwordham, ii. 672.
„ countrymen of Cantaletto	„ coiners of the name Cantaletto, ii. 677.
„ Sanuto	„ Sanudo, ii. 692.
„ San Bascio	„ San Baseio or San Baseggio, ii. 697.
„ Les arts du	„ Les arts au, ii. 715 <i>n.</i>
„ ikely	„ likely, ii. 787 <i>n.</i>
„ 1553	„ 1554, ii. 869.
„ Sant Paterniano	„ San Paterniano, ii. 881.
„ stran ges	„ strangers, ii. 910.
„ sp ecia	„ special, ii. 910.

*Read* *Sant'* for *San* or *Santa* before proper names beginning with a vowel, *e.g.* i. 417, 562, 948 (*v.* Index); also *Santo* for *San* before masculine proper names beginning with *S*+consonant.

*Omit* "who forwarded . . . size," i. 317 *n.* 2.  
 „ "who had . . . capacities," ii. 43.  
 „ "or Bainbridge," ii. 520.  
 „ "(as well as Urswick or Bainbridge)," ii. 521 *n.* 1.  
 „ "above . . . occurred," ii. 672.

Urswick and Bainbridge were separate persons.

*Dele* "Giorgio . . . 1774," ii. 284 (chapter-heading), *v.* Contents.

*Transpose* "Public . . . 1577" to follow "system," ii. 484 (chapter-heading) *v.* Contents.

*For* "He seems . . . ambassadress," *read* "A later ambassador was Lord Fauconberg, who represented England at Venice from June to September, 1670. His wife, Mary Cromwell, claimed to accompany him as ambassadress," ii. 522.

*For* "In the same year (1652)," *read* "In the year 1652," ii. 522.

*For* Franco *read* Gamba and *omit* "who was by birth a Gamba of Brescia," ii. 591.

*Insert* <sup>3</sup> before the third note, ii. 867.



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